Sustaining public agency in caring for heritage: critical perspectives on participation through co-design

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Abstract

This thesis explores how heritage organisations in the UK are attempting to build capacity and sustainability in community groups involved in caring for heritage places during austerity. It is based on a broad interdisciplinary reading of critical perspectives on public participation. From this vantage point, I argue that the forms of participation facilitated by participatory initiatives in the sector are constrained by perceptions of public deficits and legitimate heritage expertise, which in turn are bound up in established definitions of heritage and its cultural significance. As a result, participatory initiatives reproduce the characteristics of network governance and incumbent democratisation, whereby community groups who share professional values are asked to augment professional capacity, as opposed to more critical forms of democratisation that foreground public agency. By critically engaging with my three case studies, Archaeology Scotland's Adopt-a-Monument scheme, Bristol City Council's Know Your Place interface and associated projects and my own co-design project with three community groups in Yorkshire, I demonstrate how public agency is limited in practice in each case, despite individuals' critical intentions. In response, I argue that increasing and sustaining public agency in caring for heritage requires carefully designing participatory projects in ways that foreground participants' skills and interests. My analysis demonstrates that in order to realise such interventions, they must be based in reconceptualised definitions of heritage and more nuanced understandings of participation deficits and legitimate heritage expertise. In doing so, my thesis contributes to the growing body of scholarship that argues increasing public participation is not a critical intervention in and of itself, but a means by which control can be both retained and relinquished.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis has demanded a lot. Sara, you have put up with all of it. You are my rock and my dragon.

I like to think that I make my own decisions and am able to clear my own way, but Rolf, you have put things on the map in so many ways. You helped set me off on my failure-riddled path into the digital humanities back in 2013 and we'll never know whether this PhD would ever have even begun without you. It certainly never would have without mum and dad, who will keep on shaping me forever.

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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.

Parts of Chapter 2 have previously been published in the following articles:

Fredheim, L. H. (2018) Endangerment-driven Heritage Volunteering: Democratisation or 'Changeless Change'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24 (6), 619-633.
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1. Introduction

It is June 2017, almost a year after the pilot phase of my co-design project with three community groups in Yorkshire had begun. The same pilot phase that was supposed to be completed in July 2016 and lead to a series of collaborative projects. It is at a stand-still. I haven't heard from my partners in months. I'm about to take a deep breath, swallow my pride and pull the plug on my own participatory project that I established to model new approaches to sustaining public agency in caring for heritage. But I know that my partners expected a tangible product and we have produced nothing. While I don't particularly want my PhD to be about failure, I think I can still write it. But can I really walk away from this partnership, taking what I need and leaving my partners with nothing? I try to come up with a creative way for us to move forward with producing the sample data we need to help us design our web-interface for user-generated content about local heritage places. I write an email suggesting that I try to meet with each of my partner groups twice over the summer. 'Once to walk about, share stories, memories, attachments and take photos' and 'once to upload those photos and pieces of information to Instagram and organising them with Storify - and if we like working with these, [that we then think about] what we would want in addition to sit between the two (firming up our design ideas).'

The responses are not positive. One of the leaders of one of my partner groups outlines what she had hoped our project would provide and notes that 'vox pop on Instagram is a very long way from this'. I hear nothing from the second group for two months. The email I eventually receive says they are only interested in meeting if I have made progress 'on a technical solution useful to [our group]. I personally feel bad having encouraged our participation'. The most positive response is from the third group, who in many ways have seemed the least interested in the digital tool we were designing together. They suggest I come to their event for the Festival of Archaeology in July and that it 'would be a good opportunity to catch up with us and take photos'. I plan to attend the event. I don't have any expectations that it will lead to creating sample data for our co-design project, but it will be good to catch up and it will at least allow us to agree to part ways amicably in person.

In this thesis, I explore how heritage organisations in the United Kingdom are using participatory projects to increase and sustain the capacity of community groups involved in caring for local heritage places. It is the culmination of a Collaborative Doctoral Award, developed by my supervisors in the Department of Archaeology at the University of York and the Council for British Archaeology, which was designed to investigate the sustainability of community heritage groups engaged in archaeological heritage stewardship in the context of austerity. It constitutes the 'sustainability' strand of the Adopting Archaeology project (a second thesis on 'impact' is currently being prepared by David Jennings). The 'case for support' submitted as part of the original funding application to the Arts and Humanities Research Council outlined the following objectives:

- A review of the history and character of voluntary archaeological stewardship in Britain from 19th century roots in local guardianship, through the amenity and conservation movement of the 20th century to recent emphasis on localism.
- A critical evaluation of the effects of changing public policy for community asset management and funding for community-led initiatives in the heritage and the related context of engagement in community archaeology.
- *Facilitation of workshops and events with the CBA to connect local groups and foster ideas for cooperative practice.*
- *Development with the CBA of an online community hub to connect local groups engaged in this area to share practical advice and guidance, support exchanges of experience and showcase successful projects.*
- *An evaluation of the critical factors for resilience and sustainable futures for local community stewardship to inform policy-makers and heritage agencies.*
- Investigation of the lived experience of groups in selective case study areas, drawing on connections through CBA's networks, to gain insights into the expectations, perceptions and outcomes of engagement in this area.

Following my appointment to the project, I identified the three italicised objectives above as my primary focus, which came to shape my relationship to the Council for British Archaeology during my research. The opening paragraphs of this thesis describe the unsatisfactory and premature ending of my attempts to co-design an online community hub through a series of workshops that were hosted and supported by the Council for British Archaeology. I reflect on this experience throughout this thesis to ground my arguments about how heritage organisations are working to build capacity and sustainability in community groups involved in caring for heritage places. While the objectives listed above do outline the original intentions for this piece of research, my supervisors gave me the freedom to follow my research in new directions as it developed. Rather than tracing my research journey in detail, I take the premature ending of my co-design project as the starting point for this thesis in order to explore why participatory heritage projects that set out to mobilise and sustain community-led initiatives to care for heritage places appear to fall short of their critical ideals. As a result, I dip in and out of retrospective accounts of my own project, which was only ever intended to constitute one of my case studies and one part of my thesis, in order to weave my argument together.

The context of austerity is integral to the rationale for the research in that it has led to actual, as well as the anticipation of further, cuts to local authority archaeological services and national heritage organisations, like the Council for British Archaeology, that work to protect heritage places across the country. This loss of professional capacity has prompted a pragmatic turn to the third sector across different forms of public service provision. This turn coincides with an increased emphasis on stakeholder involvement and participatory processes on ideological grounds, namely the

'democratisation' of heritage and potential for participation to deliver social impacts. This thesis explores the intersection of these three drivers toward public participation in caring for heritage, which I outline in more detail in Chapter 2, with a focus on how heritage organisations work to build capacity and sustainability in community groups. As such it examines the aims and practices of heritage initiatives that claim the democratising potential of participatory and community-led approaches, while operating within the present context of strained organisational budgets. Tempered by my own experience of attempting to develop an empowering participatory heritage project, I question whether this participatory turn inadvertently contributes to the devaluing of professional labour, exploitation of volunteers and perpetuation of demographic deficits in the sector.

When I first introduced my research to my partner groups, I did so using terms such as 'stewardship' and 'conservation'. One of my participants responded to an email in which I was asking for feedback on a survey I was developing to help make plans for future phases of co-design, suggesting I change this:

> 'Heritage Stewardship' sounds really stuffy and [is] old fashioned language – though you may be looking at this from the professionals [sic] perspective again, as opposed to volunteers, local people and visitors. Can't this just be replaced by plain English – 'Caring for your heritage'?

Since then, I have adopted the term 'caring for heritage', which I use throughout this thesis as an alternative to 'conservation'. I made this decision, both in order to dispense with unnecessary formal language and jargon and to side-step the dual definition of conservation, which is understood to refer to the technical practice of conservators by some of the sources I reference in this thesis and the broader concept of all actions that contribute to sustaining and enhancing the significance of heritage by others (cf. Avrami *et al*. 2000, 3). Caring for heritage comfortably and unambiguously encompasses both these definitions. It also reflects the shift toward understanding conservation as a social process that mediates pasts in the present (Peters and Sully 2006; Richmond and Bracker 2009, see especially chapters by Avrami, Cane, Clavir, Eastop, Kemp and Pye) and even more significantly, as one that actively changes heritage to facilitate certain uses, simultaneously performing the 'creative destruction of alternate futures' (Avrami 2009, 183). As I discuss in more detail elsewhere (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016), within the values-based paradigm, conservation is seen as a process that attempts to sustain and enhance heritage significance. Conversely, that which is not identified as valuable will not deliberately be protected and may inadvertently be damaged. As a result, I use 'caring for heritage' to refer to all actions that form part of holistic approaches to heritage management. This includes the identification of heritage and its significance as well as all measures taken to sustain, enhance and add new layers of meaning to it.

While the subject of this thesis is caring for heritage places, the critical focus is on public agency, and, in particular, how heritage organisations work to increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage places. As such, this thesis is a study of the nature of participation facilitated by participatory heritage projects. While it originates within a heritage management context and is grounded in the concerns of heritage management literature, I depart from this context to consider participation and public agency in a wider and more interdisciplinary context. Ultimately, the aim of my 2016 knowledge exchange event on heritage expertise, to explore how professional and volunteer roles and responsibilities can be reconfigured to increase public participation without exploiting volunteers or devaluing professionals, remains the aim of this thesis. I offer no simple solutions, but over the course of the next seven chapters, I develop a critical vocabulary and a methodology for analysing how public agency in caring for heritage can be facilitated that I hope can contribute to shifting our practices toward achieving that goal. When I began my research process in 2015, I hypothesised that while austerity was forcing the sector to explore participatory approaches for the wrong reasons, the state of perceived crisis represented an opportunity to democratise the sector by establishing participatory processes that foreground public agency at the core of professional practice. However, over the course of the next couple of years, I came to realise that the default approach in such a context is to seek to do more with less, or, in the case of public participation, to increase public participation while retaining control. As a result, while austerity is the dominant context within which this research is situated, I develop an argument over the next seven chapters that I believe also applies elsewhere.

In Chapter 2 I unpack the three drivers of the participatory turn in caring for heritage I introduced above, namely capacity, democratisation and social impact. I then turn to interdisciplinary critiques of democratisation and the understanding of publics claims about social impact are based upon. I begin by identifying attempts to increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage as forms of social innovation, before introducing Naomi Klein's concept of 'changeless change', which challenges new technologies and ways of doing things to provide evidence of their virtues beyond their newness, and Sebastian Olma's assertion that informed critiques of innovation must enquire into the broader socioeconomic and political context that gave rise to the innovations in question (Olma 2016). I then outline critical perspectives on democratisation and governance, which highlight that democratisation can denote both a simple increase in participation and the devolution of power. Here, I use Ricardo Blaug's distinction between incumbent and critical forms of democratisation (2002), which I return to in my critique of how participatory heritage projects understand publics and expertise in Chapter 5. Using the concept of network governance, I then situate the rise of participatory approaches in the heritage sector, including digital forms of volunteering based in crowdsourcing, within a wider shift toward the third sector in public service provision. This leads me to critical typologies of participation and critical perspectives on 'empowerment' and 'capacity building', which challenge us to question

who is being empowered to do what. Here I highlight the growing awareness of the lack of rigorous evaluation in public archaeology and participatory heritage projects, before I turn to critiques of how we understand the publics we intend our participatory projects to have social impacts upon. In doing so, I introduce Emily Dawson's research on non-participation in everyday science communication and in particular the concept of the 'simple deficit model', which emerged in the field of science communication in the early 1990s (Dawson 2018; 2019). I show how Dawson connects the simple deficit model to emerging critiques of the way in which heritage organisations position participants in participatory approaches as beneficiaries and the how this positioning silences any costs of participating. I then outline how she uses of the concepts of 'cultural imperialism' and 'symbolic violence' to highlight non-participants' agency in choosing not to participate, even as they are excluded, in order to develop a more nuanced deficit model, which I develop further in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 3, I outline the qualitative multimethod approach I have developed to explore the ways in which heritage organisations work to increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage during austerity, and in particular how facilitating public agency might be approached differently in order to minimise the risks of devaluing professionals, exploiting volunteers and exacerbating diversity deficits in the sector. I begin by outlining the shared philosophical underpinnings of my methods in critical realism and critical theory, as well as how I temper the utopian ideals of critical theory by drawing on elements of poststructuralist critique. I then highlight that the emerging field of critical heritage studies has been criticised for promoting unhelpful and decontextualized critiques of heritage practice, outlining how I attempt to develop a pragmatic critique that is intimately connected to the realities of practice, moving beyond mere critique and attempting to outline constructive approaches to developing alternative practices. I then introduce the framework of action research and describe how the commitment to developing new knowledge and practices through iterative cycles of action and reflection underpin my chosen multimethod approach. I explain how I combine co-design and autoethnography in order to provide a close account of my own attempt at facilitating public agency in caring for heritage and how I draw on this account throughout this thesis to contextualise and temper my critique of my two other chosen case studies, Bristol City Council's Know Your Place and Archaeology Scotland's Adopt-a-Monument, which I necessarily discuss from a greater distance. I then outline my use of the framework of critical discourse analysis to approach these two case studies, and explain why I chose these cases for analysis. This description provides the transition to Chapter 4, where I describe the forms of participation facilitated in each of my three cases in more detail.

Chapter 4 provides an in-depth account of what participating entails in each of my three case studies, my own co-design project, Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place. In particular, I focus on the roles and responsibilities heritage organisation assign to participants through participatory projects. I begin by describing Archaeology Scotland's Adopt-a-Monument scheme, which during the 2011-2017 phase was divided between 'community-led' and 'outreach' projects. I outline the process

through which Adopt-a-Monument invites community groups to initiate 'community-led' projects and the types of activities these projects entail, how many participants take part and the different roles of individuals who lead these projects and the volunteers that take part in them. I then turn to a description of 'outreach' projects and the 'target audiences' these projects are designed for. I outline the scale and nature of participation in 'outreach' projects, their length and how they relate to the needs of local archaeological authorities. I then turn to questions of sustainability in the Adopt-a-Monument scheme and the potential for addressing some of these concerns by bringing 'community-led' and 'outreach' projects together. In the next part of the chapter, I provide a parallel account of Know Your Place, which describes the digital platform itself and the range of shorter-term projects that have been constructed around it, before again considering questions of sustainability. In the third section, I turn to my account of my own co-design project, reflecting on why, as I described at the beginning of this chapter, the project did not produce the results my partner groups or I had hoped. I close with a discussion of lessons I have learned about sustainability from my own participatory practice, before introducing my argument that the roles and responsibilities assigned to participants in participatory heritage projects are constrained by entrenched understandings of publics and expertise.

In Chapter 5, I mobilise the literature I introduced in Chapter 2 as critical lenses to show how the nature of participation facilitated by the projects I discuss in this thesis are constrained by how we understand publics and what we perceive to constitute legitimate heritage expertise. I connect the critiques of the simple deficit model in the field of science communication to Laurajane Smith's influential 'authorised heritage discourse' as a rhetorical foundation from which to consider the extent to which my three case studies contribute to changing how we understand publics and expertise or can be characterised as promoting 'changeless change'. I begin by exploring how each of the case studies orientate the directionality of learning within their projects and apply the critical lenses of network governance and incumbent democratisation I outline in Chapter 2. I then consider how each of the three cases position participants as beneficiaries and the ways in which this positioning elides the need for rigorous evaluation of social impacts. Finally, I draw on Emily Dawson's discussion of cultural imperialism and symbolic violence to show how my critique in this chapter can be contribute to reconfiguring how we understand deficits and non-participation. In doing so, I call for non-participation research to build more accurate understandings of the reasons why people do not participate in caring for heritage in order to provide a foundation upon which participatory approaches that foreground public agency and provide equitable opportunities for participation can be developed. I also show how the understandings of publics and expertise outlined in Chapter 5 that constrain the forms of participation facilitated by participatory projects as described in Chapter 4, in turn are constrained by the underpinning definitions of heritage I unpack in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 centres on the definitions of heritage that lay the foundation for the goals of participatory projects and the nature of public participation they facilitate. Again, I mobilise Smith's authorised

heritage discourse, which heritage practice invariably attempts to distance itself from, as a starting point to consider how conceptualisations of heritage constrain understandings of publics and expertise, and in turn the forms of participation facilitated by participatory projects. I then outline how heritage is defined in each of my three case studies. I begin by describing how the definition of heritage mobilised by Know Your Place is closely tied to how heritage is conceptualised within the National Planning Policy Framework and how, despite promoting a broader definition, the content contributed to the platform predominantly reflects the narrower definition of the National Planning Policy Framework because this is the content the Know Your Place web resource was designed to capture. I then turn to a discussion of how heritage is defined in the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool Kit', which outlines how 'community-led' projects should approach caring for heritage places, before arguing that while both projects attempt to expand definitions of heritage, the forms of heritage that fall outside narrower definitions of heritage are marginalised in practice, despite their best intentions. Finally, I argue that the growing body of critical perspectives on heritage call for a reconceptualisation of heritage and cannot be facilitated by mere expansion. I outline a range of alternative conceptualisations of heritage that together constitute a hopeful and future-oriented heritage ontology that rejects notions of endangerment and embraces the potential for generative change to constitute a constructive and integral part of new approaches to caring for heritage. I argue that like the nuanced deficit model for heritage I develop at the end of Chapter 5, a hopeful and future-oriented heritage ontology calls for new approaches to foregrounding public agency in caring for heritage. I then shift to outlining a framework for developing such approaches in Chapter 7.

In Chapter 7, I introduce the concepts of user experience and user experience design from the field of Human-Computer Interaction in order to outline the potential for a parallel framework of participant experience design, which outlines a range of considerations for centring public agency in the design of participatory heritage projects. I argue that in order to create sustainable projects, heritage institutions must facilitate public participation in ways that provide attractive participant experiences. I begin by outlining the notion of 'anticipated participation' which highlights that the participant experience begins before a potential participant decides whether or not to take part in a participatory project. With reference to my three case studies, I outline how organisations could attempt to assess anticipated participant experiences in order to better understand why some potential participants do not choose to participate. I then turn to the discussing the context in which participant experiences are formed, paying particular attention to the time, place and culture in which interactions between participants and institutions facilitating participation take place. Finally, I consider these points of interaction themselves, reflecting on how they currently are configured and how they could be approached differently, before re-emphasising that foregrounding participant experience in the design of anticipated participation, the context of participation and the participatory interactions themselves requires understanding actual and potential participants. While the framework of participant

experience design centres participants' agency, centring participants' agency in the design of participatory projects requires performing rigorous participant and non-participant research.

In Chapter 8, I summarise my argument that the forms of participation facilitated by participatory projects are constrained by understandings of publics and legitimate heritage expertise, which in turn are constrained by underpinning conceptualisations of heritage. I then reassert my view that while I apply a range of critical lenses to my three case studies throughout this thesis, each is at the forefront of facilitating public agency in caring for heritage in their own way. I stress that while the case studies operate within distinct contexts that constrain their implementation, founding their efforts on nuanced understandings of publics and expertise and more accurate definitions of heritage would allow them to more effectively and equitably facilitate public agency in caring for heritage places. Finally, I open the discussion beyond the confines of participation to consider whether it is beneficial to increase public participation in all aspects of caring for heritage places. First, however, I turn to Chapter 2, where I lay the contextual and theoretical foundation for this thesis by exploring the participatory turn in caring for heritage and interdisciplinary critiques of participation.

2. The context of participation

In this chapter, I introduce three drivers for the turn toward participatory approaches in caring for heritage. I then outline a selection of interdisciplinary critiques that provide the critical lenses I apply to my three case studies in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. I predominantly draw these critiques from beyond the disciplinary confines of archaeology and heritage studies where participatory approaches and their critique are more established. These include democratic theory, volunteering, planning, development and science communication. Without giving a comprehensive account of any of these disciplines, this chapter will attempt to weave together the critical vocabulary for public participation that forms the foundation of this thesis.

2.1 Drivers of participatory heritage

In this section, I outline three drivers behind the turn toward inviting public participation in caring for heritage places. These are the driver to augment professional capacity, to democratise heritage and the belief that participating in caring for heritage provides social impact or benefits to participants. I describe the background for each these drivers below, before cautioning the extent to which the pragmatic driver of augmenting professional capacity can come to outweigh the idealistic drivers of democratising heritage and producing social impact in the design of participatory initiatives in the context of austerity. This danger leads me to critiques of the foundations for the drivers of democratisation and social impact, which I unpack in the second part of this chapter in order to produce a critical vocabulary with which to consider the ways in which the participatory projects I analyse in the subsequent chapters do, or do not, increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage.

As outlined in the previous chapter, the focus of this thesis is on public participation in caring for heritage, as distinct from public engagement with heritage. While I exercise care in maintaining this distinction in the following chapters, the rationale for increasing public participation is in part subsumed within that of increasing engagement. As discussed later in this chapter, and again in Chapter 5, the 'Heritage Cycle' introduced by former English Heritage CEO Simon Thurley, expressly connects engagement and participation, ultimately arguing that public engagement with heritage leads to public participation in caring for it (2005; cf. May 2020). In the field of Public Archaeology, both Cornelius Holtorf and Akira Matsuda and Katsuyuki Okamura identify what they term a 'public relations' approach to public archaeology, through which archaeologists attempt to increase public support for their activities (Holtorf 2007; Matsuda and Okamura 2011). Such approaches may or may not increase active public participation in caring for heritage, yet nevertheless contributes toward professional aims by sourcing other forms of support and reducing the risk of deliberate damage. Conservators and heritage managers have often employed a rhetoric of protecting heritage from people, presenting the conservator as the neutral arbitrator siding with the tangible

material, defending its significance from the potential damage caused by people who want to interact with it (Cane 2001; Clavir 2002; Pye 2007; Chatterjee 2008; Saunders *et al.* 2008). This is illustrated by the fact that humans are recognised as one of the 'agents of deterioration' in established heritage conservation literature (cf. Canadian Conservation Institute 2017). It follows that teaching members of the public to value heritage places in the way professionals do will limit accidental or deliberate damage, thereby constituting a dimension of preventive conservation. As former Director General of UNESCO Kōichirō Matsuura expressed in 1999:

> Without the understanding and support of the public at large, without the respect and daily care of the local communities, which are the true custodians of World Heritage, no amount of funds or army of experts will suffice in protecting the sites.
>
> (UNESCO 1999)

This is arguably an established conservation maxim, also expressed by Neville Agnew and Martha Demas as that 'the interface between a site and its management with stakeholders and traditional owners, both local and more broadly defined as the "public," is often crucial to sustainability of desired outcomes' (2014), Jukka Johilehto as 'with time it has become abundantly clear that conservation of heritage is not feasible without the involvement of the community' (2017, 29-30) and traced all the way back to the 1931 Athens Charter by Kate Clark (2014, 68; cf. ICOMOS 2011). Such public relations approaches to engagement speak to a core driver for the turn toward participatory approaches to heritage management and conservation, namely that of capacity:

> Many modern democracies have long realised that it is impossible to care for all aspects of heritage using the traditional model of state-owned and maintained properties. This has led to calls to explore new models of governance and management of archaeological monuments.
>
> (Doyle 2018, 49-50)

Gill Chitty similarly introduces *Heritage, Conservation and Communities* by noting that 'in the years ahead, we can expect there will be an increasing reliance on the voluntary and community sector' (2017, 4). If heritage managers had unlimited capacity, they might not need to explore other forms of governance or involve members of the public.

Since the introduction of the Burra Charter by Australia ICOMOS in 1979, which identified 'social value' as constituting part of the 'cultural significance' of heritage sites, the legitimacy of stakeholders' interpretations of the significance of places has been recognised to various degrees in heritage management. Arguably, social values continue to be marginalised in practice (cf. Jones 2006; Smith 2006; Cresswell and Hoskins 2008; Waterton and Watson 2011; Abu-Khafajah and Rababeh 2012; Emerick 2014; Jackson 2014; Walker 2014a; Jones and Leach 2015; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016; Jones 2017; Saul and Waterton 2017; Madgin *et al.* 2018; Novoa 2018), yet values-based approaches to heritage management that recognise significance as distinct to material fabric have

spread across specialisms including archaeological and historical objects (Muñoz Viñas 2005; Appelbaum 2007; Cane 2009; Cutajar *et al*. 2016; Russel and Winkworth 2010), modern art (Schädler-Saub and Weyer 2010), archaeological sites (Teutonico and Palumbo 2002; Australia ICOMOS 2013), historic buildings and both urban and rural landscapes (Mason 2006; English Heritage 2008; Stephenson 2008; Worthing and Bond 2008). It is now widely held that heritage is conserved so it can be used, in the present or future (cf. Oddy 1992, 27; Pye 2001, 9, 158; Levin 2004, 16; Muñoz Viñas 2005, 197; Pye & Sully 2007, 30; Lithgow *et al*. 2008, 178; Caple 2011, 1), and that the values of heritage, its significance, should be conserved in order to facilitate these uses. Values-based conservation theory posits that because things continue to become or cease to be heritage, heritage values are not inherent, but rather mutable social constructs (cf. Cooper *et al*. 1995; Ashley-Smith 1999, 11, 81; Mason and Avrami 2002, 16; Buttler and Davis 2006, 96; Appelbaum 2007, 87, 115; Taylor & Cassar 2008, 7; Clavir 2009; 139; Eastop 2009, 150; Abu-Khfajah 2010; Caple 2011, 16; Douglas-Jones *et al.* 2016; Petroncelli and Stanganelli 2016). In this way, the introduction of values-based approaches to heritage management and conservation contribute to the ideal of 'democratising' heritage. In a European context, this ideal is most clearly captured and promoted by the European Landscape Convention and Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2000; 2005), which ascribe roles to members of the public in identifying heritage and its significance and recognise participation in heritage as a human right. In contrast to the driver of increasing capacity, then, democratising heritage practice is never possible without involving members of the public.

Critiques of the assumed neutrality and objectivity of conservation decisions (Clavir 2002; Villers 2004; cf. Ward 1986) have necessitated discussions of redistributing power, which has led to the development of consultative and participatory approaches to conservation (cf. Salomon and Peters 2009; Sully and Cardoso 2015). These shifts are more evident in cases where the heritage in question originates from foreign cultures or in colonial contexts (cf. Clavir 2002; Heald 2010; Australia ICOMOS 2013; Kaminitz and West, Jr. 2009; Simpson 2006), where the contested and dissonant nature of heritage significance is most clear, though it is also evident elsewhere (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000, 24; Merriman 2004; Smith 2006; Benton, 2010; Waterton 2010a; Courtney 2011; Schofield and Szymanski 2011; Abungu 2012, 68). Nevertheless, heritage professionals (Wallace 2001; Hooper-Greenhill 2006) and organisations (Hein 2000; Dodd and Sandell 2001; Marstine 2006; Fouseki and Smith 2013) continue to wield considerable authorising power, and the extent to which the ideals of participatory heritage conservation have been implemented at scale in practice is arguably limited.

The second implication of values-based paradigm relates to sharing the value of the conservation process itself. Conservation is increasingly used as an engagement and educational activity. Due to public interest and its interdisciplinary nature, straddling the arts and sciences, conservation displays, pop-up conservation studios or even purpose-built visitor-friendly studios are becoming more

common. The privilege of interacting closely with heritage and the potential for conservation to engage and educate visitors is highlighting and sharing the values of the conservation process, which previously were enjoyed only by professionals (Hooper-Greenhill 2006). While studies that evidence the social impact of participatory approaches to conservation are less common, the belief that participating in caring for heritage is beneficial to participants is another driver for involving members of the public. Arguably, due to shifts in funding structures and the increased dependence of heritage organisations in the UK on the National Lottery Heritage Fund, which requires applicants to demonstrate social impact, the pragmatic need to attract funding further reinforces the imperative for heritage professionals to adopt participatory approaches.

The National Lottery Heritage Fund is a major heritage funder in the UK, providing grants ranging from £3000 to multi-million grants for projects delivered by major heritage organisations, such as national museums and the National Trust. Characteristic of all National Lottery Heritage Funded projects is that they must deliver 'outcomes':

> Project outcomes are really important to us because we *want to back projects that make a difference*, rather than projects that just make some stuff. This is so important to us that we've decided that we'll only support projects that clearly explain what their outcomes are. More specifically, we've decided to exclusively support projects that lead to one of nine types of outcome that we think are especially important. If you aren't clear about the outcomes your project is likely to create, we won't be able to support your work. And if you are clear about your outcomes, but it doesn't line up with one or more of the nine outcomes we have prioritised, we also won't be able to help you.

<div align="right">(National Lottery Heritage Fund nd, original emphasis)</div>

The mandatory outcome for National Lottery Heritage Fund projects is that 'a wider range of people will be involved in heritage' and three of the remaining eight outcomes are specifically identified as outcomes for 'people' as opposed to for 'heritage', organisations or the local economy. As such, the priorities of the National Lottery Heritage Fund and their focus on outcomes for people represent a significant part of the driver to demonstrate social impact and benefits for participants.

In *Uses of Heritage*, Laurajane Smith argues that despite the various iterations of documents such as the Burra Charter that recognise the role of 'social values', an 'authorised heritage discourse' that insists heritage is tangible, monumental and only identifiable and knowable by 'experts' remains (Smith 2006). She insists that this is not the truth about heritage, but rather a discourse that is promoted and normalised by governments, heritage organisations and amenity groups. Instead, she asserts that heritage is a social process (cf. Smith and Waterton 2012; Smith 2018). Recent scholarship that builds on this critique advocates for marginalised and delegitimised identifications and interpretations of heritage and emphasises its inherently subjective, multivalent, multivocal and

contested nature. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that heritage scholars and organisations have become wary of constructing new 'authorised' definitions of heritage. This sentiment is evident in the absence of a definition for heritage offered by the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, by Sørensen and Carman in *Heritage Studies* (2009) and in Harrison's *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (2013a), where Harrison instead outlines what his definition of heritage is *not* through a critique of the characteristics of World Heritage offered by UNESCO.

In the absence of a definition for heritage, a growing number of heritage scholars argue that everyone should be allowed to define their own heritage (Council of Europe 2000; 2005; Schofield 2014; cf. Benton 2010, 2). As a result, countermapping is emerging as a favoured approach. Whether by listing, conceptual mapping or pinpointing heritage through the use of participatory geographic information systems (PGIS or PPGIS), countermapping produces alternative representations of heritage (cf. Byrne and Nugent 2004; Byrne 2008; Harrison 2010b; 2011; Thomas and Ross 2013; García-Martín 2016; Verplanke *et al*. 2016; Hale *et al*. 2017). While the maps, whether geographical or conceptual are in some cases still made by 'experts', countermapping offers a mechanism by which 'non-experts' can be involved in identifying, interpreting and communicating heritage, even if 'heritage' is not what they call it (Schofield 2014, 1). Due to the central role the primacy of expert knowledge and marginalisation of everyday engagements and interpretations of heritage play in Smith's characterisation of her hegemonic authorised heritage discourse, there is a danger that all participatory approaches are perceived to democratise heritage and produce positive social impact. This danger is particularly acute in the current context of austerity, in which professional capacity is reduced and the pragmatic drivers to augment capacity and attract funding through participatory approaches may outweigh the ideals of democratisation and social impact in their planning and evaluation (Fredheim 2018; cf. Richardson 2017). David Bell and Kate Pahl similarly call on proponents of co-production to be wary of the ways in which participatory projects can fail to produce the imagined benefits to participants, advocating for 'a critical understanding of "hope" rather than a "confident" or "optimistic" faith in co-production' (2018, 108) and Emma Waterton urges us to 'think seriously about the risks of becoming exploitative' (2015, 59). I now turn to outlining the interdisciplinary scholarship that provides the critical vocabulary I mobilise in this thesis to help us make such distinctions and develop hopeful yet critical perspectives on public participation in caring for heritage places.

2.2 Critical perspectives on participation

In this section I introduce a range of critiques of participation drawn from a number of different disciplines beyond the fields of archaeology and heritage studies. This is not to say that there are no critiques of participation within heritage scholarship and I do my best to include these where relevant. Instead, it is a reflection of the fact that critiques of participation are more established in other disciplines where participatory approaches have a longer history. I have also decided to broaden my

focus in this way in recognition of how the participatory turn in the heritage sector is situated within wider trends and developments in academic scholarship and society at large. As such, in the sections that follow, I introduce critiques of innovation, democratisation, governance and volunteering and outline their relevance to this thesis, before turning to typologies of participation and ways of understanding participating and non-participating publics that cut across academic disciplines. In the next section, I then turn to how these critiques inform the methodology I employ in this thesis, which I discuss in more detail in the next chapter.

Social innovation and 'changeless change'

Social innovation has been defined as 'new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously meet social needs and create new social relationships or collaborations' (Murray *et al*. 2010, 3). Phills Jr., Deiglmeier and Miller emphasise that social innovation is not just about what is new, but more 'effective, efficient, sustainable or just', where benefits accrue to the public rather than individuals (2008, 36). As such, participatory approaches to heritage can be characterised as forms of social innovation (cf. Fernández Fernández and Moshenska 2017). Pol and Ville critique four different definitions of social innovation: that it denotes innovation that causes 'institutional change', has a 'social purpose', 'works for the public good', or that it fulfils needs not met by the market, before arguing that it should be understood as innovation that improves 'the quality of life or the quantity of life' (2009, 879-880, 883). While social innovation is an appealing concept, the flexibility of the concept means that any new way of doing things may be framed as virtuous and just through association with the concept, without public benefit or social justice being the core aim of the initiative in question. It is in this context that Sebastian Olma mobilises Naomi Klein's concept of 'changeless change', which he defines as 'the kind of innovation that simultaneously upends current practices and studiously protects existing wealth and power inequalities (2016, 77). He contends that 'in many cases, the understanding of social innovation is such that the "social" in social innovation is provided by a real or imaginary social problem, while the "innovation" part comes from the application of new – often digital, web or social media based – piece of technology' (Olma 2016, 66). This leads to his argument that a meaningful role for technology in social innovation requires it to be 'understood as something [that is] embedded in *social practices that are innovative in their own right*', whereby technology is 'a *means* of social innovation', not the basis upon which a new way of doing this identified as innovative (Olma 2016, 67, original emphasis). This is especially important as Sabina Mihelj, Adrian Leguina and John Downey argue that despite the democratising rhetoric that surrounds digital technologies, research on cultural participation, diversity and the digital divide demonstrates that digital technologies 'act as engines of inequality' (2019, 1471).

Olma's critique of social innovation calls for a critical analysis of both the social problems the innovation sets out to solve and the means, digital or otherwise, that are mobilised by the innovation in question. By drawing on Naomi Klein's concept of 'changeless change', he highlights that this

critical analysis must ask what the innovation changes and for whom. Clayton Christensen, who coined the term 'disruptive innovation' (Bowe and Christensen 1995), distinguishes between market-creating, sustaining and efficiency innovations in an interview with Stephen Denning (Denning 2015). He explains that while sustaining innovations improve products to maintain markets, market-creating innovations create new markets and more jobs, while efficiency innovations aim to do more with less resulting in fewer jobs. Clearly, different types of innovation bring about different kinds of change for different people. Olma draws on the work of 19th century French sociologist Gabriel Tarde to argue for the 'value of existing social practices [that] avoids any false hopes of intentional "change making", "deep impact", or even "systemic change"', further noting that 'the entire project of modern sociology bears testimony to the highly problematic nature of attempts at controlling or intentionally steering processes of social change (2016, 75). Crucially, he contends that what makes the notion of social innovation dangerous is the false promise of real change without activism or politics, positing that 'if you want the world to remain as it is, this kind of social innovation is the thing to do' (Olma 2016, 77). This critique of 'changeless change' is useful in considering what initiatives to increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage places change, and for whom. It also cautions efforts to 'engineer' social change, which I explore in more detail through a critique of 'democratisation' below.

Democratisation and governance

As I outlined earlier in this chapter, the ideal of democratising heritage is a driver in the turn toward participatory heritage practices. Nevertheless, it should be considered within the context of wider shifts in politics and the social sciences. Citizen participation is central to both the efficacy and legitimacy of representative democracies, as representatives must be aware of the wishes and needs of their constituents to represent them and require support through votes for validity (cf. Verba *et al.* 1995). Democratisation is the process of increasing democracy, of making something more democratic, yet Ricardo Blaug has argued there is no obvious answer to what this actually means in practice (2002). Despite his critics (cf. Smith 2009), Blaug's argument that democracy is a catch-all term for both subversive and reinforcing acts is worth considering. Blaug asks whether democratisation, or increased democracy can have a single simple meaning if both reinforcing institutions through voting and undermining institutions through protest are considered acts of democracy. He goes on to suggest that those in power will seek to engage citizens in 'incumbent' democratisation, through voting or participating in controlled and specific ways that contribute to and legitimise their position. Conversely, those on the periphery engage in 'critical' democratisation, in response to the perceived suffering and injustice caused by institutions of power, and are therefore rightly weary of institutional co-option. As a result, Blaug argues that 'democracy is not one thing which we can deepen from the state down into civil society, or vice versa … what divides democracy into two distinct objects is partly a matter of *location* in the structure of power' (Blaug 2002, 108,

original emphasis). Democracy can therefore be understood as a struggle for power, and democratic participation as actively supporting or undermining institutions of power. There are important implications for the efforts of those in power to engage in democratisation. According to Blaug, this can only ever mean extending one's influence through processes of increasing support, or the act of relinquishing or sharing power. It follows that the extent to which institutionalised participation can be seen to develop individual agency is questionable.

Clear parallels can be drawn between Blaug's incumbent and critical democracies, including their implications for engineering participation and agency, and critical approaches to caring for heritage that advocate participation. While calls to participate in the activities of heritage organisations and professionals may be considered evidence of democratisation, such calls bear a striking resemblance to incumbent forms of democratisation where those in power invite participation in carefully managed programmes that harness public enthusiasm to further institutional goals, simultaneously limiting opportunities for dissent. Although this can be understood as a form of democratisation, as defined above, the stark contrast of such self-serving ventures to democratising processes of power-sharing, to which the virtuous connotations of democracy tend to be intended, must be recognised. Participatory projects may aim to conserve heritage, as understood by professionals, and empower participants, but depending on which of these aims ultimately takes precedence, the project may be considered either incumbent or critical. This recognition of incumbent and critical democratisation as being distinctly different processes, rather than two sides of the same coin, explains Chantal Mouffe's suspicion of 'participation':

> I am very suspicious of this notion of participation. As if participation by itself was going to bring about real democracy. Of course there are many different forms of participation. If it's some kind of agonistic or conflictual participation, as you call it, in which there is a real confrontation between different views, then, yes, I think it's very good. But participation can also mean participating in some form of consensual view in which nobody is really able to disturb the consensus and in which some form of agreement is pre-supposed. I would definitely not see that as something positive. Participation really depends on how you understand it. It is certainly not an innocent notion.
>
> (Mouffe in Miessen 2007)

If the power-dynamic of incumbent and critical democracies is too abstract, a brief visit to the field of governance theory serves to render it clearer. Political scientists observe a shift from government to governance, whereby the boundaries between public, private and third sectors are blurred and the government attempts to become bigger and more powerful, while simultaneously leaner, by delegating responsibility while retaining control (Griggs, Norval and Wagenaar 2014; Levi-Faur 2012). This involves governing though governance networks that are established by inviting powerful

interested parties to govern collaboratively. The rationale is that no single party is powerful enough to govern in isolation and that the networked parties, while having different interests, have enough in common to work together (Sørensen and Torfing 2007; Torfing 2012). Lobel identifies this new governance as regulatory governance, where an important challenge becomes how to encourage participation in regulation by the regulated without causing deregulation (2012). As a result, governance networks require governance, which is known as 'meta-governance', 'the governance of governance' or 'the regulation of self-regulation' (Torfing 2012, 107). The crucial point here is that the shift from government to governance and the establishment of governance networks is not an attempt to democratise government in a critical sense but must be seen as a new mode of control (Levi-Faur 2012), in which control is enacted through collaboration, and power-imbalances masked by a discourse of 'community participation' and 'stakeholder dialogue' (Griggs, Norval and Wagenaar 2014, 6). Coombe and Weiss have brought such readings of neoliberal governance models to heritage studies by calling for 'a more nuanced and theoretically informed understanding of neoliberalism, governmentality, and human rights' (2015, 43; cf. Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019), introducing characterisations of neoliberal governance as 'reconfigured, re-engineered, restructured and redeployed' in order to undermine 'myths of state withdrawal' (Peck and Theodore 2012, 181). This mirrors Torfing's assertion that 'we must not only analyze "power *in* governance," but also analyze "power *of* governance," "power *over* governance," and "power *as* governance" … if we are to fully understand the essentially political character of interactive governance' (2012, 210, original emphasis).

Arguably, the same rhetoric of participation and inclusion promoted as part of this shift from government to governance in national politics, permeates current 'democratising' heritage management discourse. While literature written by political scientists describing how governments can retain and increase control through a pretence of power-sharing may be chilling, the adoption of the same rhetoric by heritage institutions, however good their intentions, should be no less disturbing. In both cases, power is retained while responsibility is shared, arguably based on the belief that while inclusion and participation are laudable sentiments, as experts, we know best. As heritage professionals argue it is beneficial for citizens to be involved in identifying and caring for heritage, political scientists believe there are both intrinsic and instrumental benefits to involvement in political processes (cf. Pateman 1970; Smith 2009). Irrespective of the validity of such claims, participatory approaches that do not share power, but seek to involve citizens in performing tasks identified as necessary by professionals should be understood as incumbent forms of democratisation and not be disingenuously promoted using the liberating connotations attached to their critical counterpart. One of the areas in which the mobilisation of principles of network governance and incumbent democratisation in participatory projects is the most obvious is in volunteering in public service provision, which I turn to in the next section.

Volunteering in public services

Volunteering has a long history in the UK and is increasingly taking a central position in political policy discussions (Kendall 2003). This should perhaps not be surprising in the context of a concerted shift toward network governance and continued austerity. The transfer of public services to the third sector during austerity is the subject of a growing body of research. While working for the Royal Societ of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce, Paul Buddery wrote a report on volunteering and public services, in which he argued that public participation in public service provision is both an opportunity and a threat:

> The RSA believes that the changes that are underway call for a more open political discussion of upside opportunities and downside risks. We believe that by expanding formal and informal volunteering, local public services have a positive opportunity to promote wellbeing and social value, move resources towards prevention, and re-design services to be more inclusive, collaborative and accountable to their communities and service users. But the risks are real.

> There are good reasons to be wary about volunteering's growing importance in public services – where the charge is that it is bad for services (colluding in their impoverishment as budgets are slashed) and bad for volunteering itself (engaging us in our own regulation and subordianation – a prime instance of what Foucault termed 'governmentality' – whereas volunteering should be freely chosen and an opportunity for dissent). Volunteering, like the sector which bears its name and channels most of its activity, plays a risky game when it gets too close to the state. … The voluntary sector has wrestled on the one hand with its wish to play a greater role in society, and on the other hand with the risk of being maneuvered into a role written for it by government.

> (Buddery 2015, 7-8)

Buddery then, connects the risks associated with public service volunteering to the spread of network governance, incumbent democratisation. He proceeds to note that the manifestation of this risk is made clear in how the tangible 'impact of increased public service volunteering on staffing in the current financial climate':

> National and local compacts and volunteering strategies have consistently stated that volunteers will not substitute for or displace paid public service staff, but it is at best difficult, and at worst logically impossible to see how this principle can be maintained in practice at a time of major job losses and service closures. 631,000 public sector jobs were lost between 2008 and 2014 (10.7 percent of the workforce), and around a million more look likely to disappear under this administration. These losses are leaving gaps in provision that public service volunteering is being reshaped to address. In other words, however sensitively

changes are being made at micro level, pull back to the macro level and the reality appears to be displacement from paid to unpaid labour on a significant scale.

<div align="right">(Buddery 2015, 8-9)</div>

While Buddery proceeds to offer a more positive take on these developments, the decision to term this 'a shift from social security to social productivity' is telling, as is the fact that the shifts he describes have 'frequently [and most effectively] been pushed through with the explicit or implicit threat of closure (2015, 10).

Marit Rosol describes similar developments in the maintenance of urban green spaces and community gardening in Berlin, arguing that this shift toward what Buddery terms 'social productivity' can also be understood as a form of outsourcing without pay.

> This [roll-out neo-liberalism] also involves using voluntarism as a resource. Today, in many cases, inclusion of non-state actors is less geared towards citizens' participatory rights but rather at the outsourcing of traditional state functions to civil society organisations. Crucial for the following discussion of community gardens is the rising significance of 'governance beyond the state', namely the increasing participation of non-state actors in urban governance and the transformation of roles, responsibilities, and institutional configurations of the (local) state and citizens in urban spatial politics. The role of the voluntary sector then is to meet the shortfalls in services and benefits that result from entitlement reductions and withdrawal of funding.

<div align="right">(Rosol 2016, 87)</div>

She proceeds to note that local government and volunteers have distinctly different interests in this arrangement:

> The administration, faced with massive financial cuts, has an interest in reducing its own workload by outsourcing particularly unskilled, repetitive, non-qualified work. The community gardeners, however, search for a self-determined use and organisation, which necessarily also include decision-making power. The self-determination, the voluntary nature of their engagement, and the openness of the process are important factors for many of the gardeners. … Community gardening projects initiated by the local state can be successful in finding citizens to run them voluntarily if the gardeners can determine the manner and extent of their commitment and work. … Yet, local politicians' and administrators' hope for a long-term commitment of volunteers to maintain the existing green spaces independently from administrative support is not being realised currently.

<div align="right">(Rosol 2016, 88)</div>

Rosol argues that this approach to network governance based in volunteering has several problems. One important aspect is that residents in middle class neighbourhoods are more effective in negotiating terms with local government and have been successful in securing most of the limited funds still available for the management of green spaces in return for their efforts:

> This is a valuable form of approval, but as a result, money is withdrawn from other areas with less engagement. Those areas are often the very areas with the greatest need, lacking in public and voluntary infrastructure and with a population under great economic pressure and time constraints so that providing voluntarily for neighbourhood greening is far from possible.
>
> (Rosol 2016, 90)

This impact of what Rosol terms 'roll-back' and 'roll-out' neoliberalism, through which public spending is rolled back, clearing the way for rolling out new models for public service provision, such as Buddery's model of 'social productivity', demonstrates why large voluntary sectors are in line with the ideologies and interests of the upper- and middle classes (cf. Kendall 2003; Salamon and Anheier 1998).

While the examples Buddery and Rosol provide are drawn from public health services, libraries and public parks, the heritage sector's experience of austerity and resulting turn to volunteering is no different. The scale of voluntary activity in the heritage sector is illustrated by the Heritage Alliance's response to a 2017 call for 'full-time social action' to be compensated at the minimum wage, that asserted 'the sector could simply not function without the support of volunteers' and estimated that if heritage volunteers in the UK were paid the national minimum wage, this would have amounted to over 500 million pounds in 2015/16 (Heritage Alliance 2017). Yet despite the long history of voluntary work in the sector, there remains a notable trend toward deprofessionalisation during austerity. Bethany Rex has recently studied the processes by which local authority museums are transferred to community-management (2018; 2019) and the Museums Association's 2017 report on the annual UK Museums Survey identified 'a correlation between loss of public funding and paid staff, and a rise in volunteers' (2017, 24). While the corresponding developments in archaeological service provision are less well documented, Lorna-Jane Richardson rightly notes that the trend of 'replacing paid positions with volunteers is an austerity-budget solution, not a punk [or democratising] one' (2017, 313).

This process of deprofessionalisation can only further exacerbate diversity issues in the sector, as less privileged individuals are unable to volunteer, complete unpaid internships for experience in order to secure paid jobs or support themselves on underpaid and precarious contracts (Richardson 2017, 313; cf. Hardy 2015). In this context, it is worth noting that the professional archaeological workforce in the UK was shown to be over 99% white in 2013 (Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen 2013), with conservation faring marginally better at 97% of professionals and 98% of volunteers (Aitchison

2013). Even if one accepted the overly simplistic notion that democratisation is achieved through increased participation, the question of who participates and who this democratisation benefits remains. As such, the wider potential social impact of advocating for increased voluntary participation in heritage must be considered very carefully. The rise of digital approaches to heritage volunteering such as crowdsourcing, which I turn to in the next section, must be understood within this broader context.

Digital volunteering and crowdsourcing

Crowdsourcing is the use of digital technology to tap into the 'wisdom of crowds' (Surowiecki 2004) for a cheaper and more effective means of outsourcing business (Howe 2006a; 2006b). Crowdsourcing, or crowd employment, has been framed as contributing to the deregulation of labour markets in order to maximise profit by accessing the capacity of digital crowds that operate outside established labour laws and regulations (Bervall-Kåreborn and Howcroft 2014).While the corporate use of crowdsourcing, such as Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Amazon nd) where workers known as 'Turkers' perform tasks and receive micropayments, has raised a number of ethical concerns, crowdsourcing in the heritage sector has been portrayed as a natural progression of more traditional volunteering in the digital age (Ridge 2014, 5). However, as crowdsourcing has been utilised in cultural organisations, there is a growing recognition that even when 'crowds' are consulted, communities of interest respond, and that engaging in crowdsourcing activities can strengthen links between organisations and these communities. As a result, many crowdsourcing projects are being repositioned as engagement activities rather than time- or cost-saving approaches to work (Ridge 2014, 8; cf. Bernstein 2014, 42; Lascarides and Vershbow 2014; Leon 2014; Owens 2013). For these projects, which aim to foster communities of interest rather than harvest anonymous information, community-sourcing is arguably a more appropriate term (cf. Heimerl *et al.* 2012; Philips 2014; Ward 2011). Community-sourcing projects encourage transparency and allow participants to identify themselves as well as interact with other users to allow more involved co-production and other forms of 'heavyweight' peer production (Haythornthwaite 2009; 2012).

It is worth noting that applications of crowdsourcing to heritage contexts, like volunteering, are not without their critics. Echoing those who critique participation in other fields, Sara Perry and Nicole Beale lament the lack of critical engagement with the use of the social web in archaeology, questioning the often utopian narratives of its implementation and cautioning the potential for its use 'to actually heighten or cement inequalities, maintain existing lines of authority, and exploit participants' (Perry and Beale 2015, 156; cf. Walker 2014b; Taylor and Gibson 2016; Tourle 2017; Richardson 2017; Fredheim 2018; Fredheim 2020). As noted, these dangers are not exclusive to voluntary participation through digital media, but given that the dominant discourse of the social web is one of democracy and emancipation, it is worth noting that very little, if anything, is inherently democratic about digital technology (cf. Noble and Tynes 2016). This does not mean that the social

web cannot be used to share authority and promote inclusion in archaeological and heritage practice, but that as in all other areas, such practice is always deliberate, never accidental. In fact, Paul Tourle argues convincingly that the perceived democratic nature of crowdsourcing renders it more likely to mask and hide implicit bias (2017; cf. Taylor and Gibson 2016).

Despite the deliberate distancing of heritage crowdsourcing from its commercial roots, the tasks participants are asked to perform are remarkably similar, be they transcription or tagging (Marselis and Schütze 2013; Raimond *et al.* 2014; Ridge 2014), though there are examples of projects that ask users to perform more complex tasks (cf. Ross 2012; Bonacchi *et al.* 2014). Like commercial applications, projects are broken down into repetitive micro-tasks that are often performed repeatedly by a number of different users in order to increase data reliability and might be described as an especially 'clinical' environment for public participation (cf. Boast 2011, 66). As in citizen science, heritage crowdsourcing attracts participants with specialised knowledge, skills and interests, through processes of 'crowd-sifting', by which small numbers of 'super-users' self-select to perform the vast majority of the work (Dunn and Hedges 2012; Causer and Terras 2014; Eccles and Greg 2014; cf. Haklay 2016). That participating in such projects is beneficial to participants is largely taken for granted, evidenced by the fact that user experience research for citizen science projects is only now becoming the subject of research. As Artemis Skarlatidou and colleagues argue in their introduction to a special issue on the user experience of digital technologies in citizen science, 'in citizen science, digital technologies are often developed without HCI [Human-Computer Interaction] principles and methodologies in mind. Thus, it is not surprising that many citizen science applications fail or cause problems for researchers and users' (Skarlatidou *et al.* 2019). Despite these problems, more effort has traditionally been put into increasing participant retention through mechanisms such as automated reminder emails than improving the participant experience, suggesting that the adoption of such approaches is often primarily driven by a pragmatic need to augment professional capacity.

While recognising the potential value of digital modes of participation in heritage, it should be clear that inviting volunteers to complete predetermined tasks, however entertaining or rewarding, only democratises research within an incumbent framework for democracy. Nevertheless, crowdsourcing and citizen science projects tend to employ the rhetoric of critical democratisation. Instances where this rhetoric appear less misplaced are where participants are involved in forming research questions, not merely contributing data (cf. Ridge 2014, 8). This, however, involves giving up degrees of control over the research process many researchers may not feel they can afford. In the next section, I probe this further by introducing typologies of participation that explore different configurations of power and control.

Typologies of power

Shelley Arnstein's much cited 'ladder of participation' outlines how the participatory practices of social programs initiated by the United States federal government could be characterised by eight rungs on a ladder, ranging from 'manipulation' to 'citizen control'. She explains that 'the idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you … the applause is reduced to polite handclaps, however … when the have-nots define participation as redistribution of power' (Arnstein 1969, p. 216). While her typology was designed to disentangle various forms of participation in the 1960s planning system in the United States, she argues that the principles remain the same in other fields. Since then, Sarah White and Jules Pretty have contributed further typologies of participation that shift the critical focus from participants to those who initiate participatory processes, with higher level participation defined as 'transformative participation [that] achieves empowerment' (White 1996, 13) and 'self-mobilization' (Pretty 1995, 1252; cf. Cornwall 2008a). Pretty's definition of 'self-mobilization' neatly explains how institutions can strategically 'empower' others and appear to be democratising systems while reinforcing existing power structures through governance networks:

> People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.
>
> (Pretty 1995, p. 1252)

In 1971, just two years after Arnstein's seminal publication, Seán Damer and Cliff Hague published a review of public participation in planning in the UK, where they note that 'for all its familiarity', public participation in planning emerged as a concept in UK planning literature only six years earlier, before being incorporated in the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act. They proceed to note that despite the rapid pace with which the concept was adopted, questions such as 'Where did it originate? Why was it accepted? Why are people so interested in it? Does it work? How do planners legitimize its appearance? … do not seem to have been asked very often' (Damer and Hague 1971, 217). They also explicitly connect the interest in participatory planning to 'a general growth of interest in participatory rather than representative democracy'. As such, the origins of participatory planning in the UK can been traced to the 1960s and 70s, when it was adopted from planning in North America, where it gained prominence in the 1950s and 60s as part of the growing social justice movement. It is interesting to note that the original Burra Charter, often identified as the beginning of participatory approaches in conservation can be seen as emerging out of this broader international context.

While scholars such as Arnstein, Damer and Hague introduced critical perspectives on participation to planning literature fifty years ago, Yasminah Beebeejaun argues that critical analysis has stalled:

> The word 'participation' has compelling imaginative force. … There is a seductive appeal in the idea that we can co-create urban life for the better. … The idea of opposing state-led urban development and proposing community-centred alternatives has had a wide impact upon contemporary debates that reaches beyond these individual cases. Participation has expanded across numerous fields. In many ways the vagueness of the term and its capacity to encompass a diverse range of activities are part of its inherent appeal. Public involvement is seen as a 'good thing'. Conversely, promoting a 'non-participatory city' would be a surprising option. Yet the term has become increasingly elastic, and critical analyses remain limited. Whilst participation gestures towards a set of practices that are empowering and democratic, its limits and contradictions remain insufficiently explored and analysed. Whilst there are a number of compelling accounts of specific cases of participation, the question remains: who actually benefits in the long run?
>
> (Beebeejaun 2016, 7)

Beebeejaun notes that attempts to change the roles of planners from experts to facilitators dominated participatory planning literature between the 1980s and 2000s. Similar discussions are currently ongoing in the heritage sector (cf. Thomas 2004, Proctor 2010, Schofield 2014; Macdonald and Morgan 2018; Onciul 2019). In their introduction to *Participation: The New Tyranny?*, development scholars Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari reflect on their own complicity in promoting such critiques within, rather than of, participation:

> We found ourselves, in our roles as workers in the development industry, more often than not promoting and perpetuating the received wisdom. Of course, as academics, we claimed that our work was informed by a critical understanding of participatory development. However, the criticisms we raised were often at the level of problems of technique, or about how the practitioner should operate.
>
> (Cooke and Kothari 2001, 1)

They proceed to note that one of their aims in editing the volume was to move the conversation further, beyond how participatory projects should be facilitated to whether or not participatory approaches should be promoted at all:

> We wanted to demonstrate the different strands of the critique and at the same time show the ways in which together they provide a serious and fundamental challenge to participatory approaches and demand at best their rethinking, if not their abandonment.
>
> Cooke and Kothari 2001, 2)

Within this more comprehensive critique of participation, practitioners 'own reflexive self-criticism' is positioned as limiting the possibility for 'more profound critique':

> Participatory development's tyrannical potential is systemic, and not merely a matter of how the practitioner operates or the specificities of the techniques and tools employed. We want to move away from the methodological revisionism that characterizes the limited self-reflexivity within participatory development to address more directly how the discourse itself, and not just the practice, embodies the potential for an unjustified exercise of power.
>
> (Cooke and Kothari 2001, 4)

What Cooke and Kothari call for is a more sustained critique of participatory approaches that focuses on the broader context and impact of participation. Rosol's identification of 'roll back' and 'roll-out' neoliberalism and its impacts are arguably one example of this, as are Klein and Olma's critique of 'changeless change', Blaug's take on incumbent democratisation, Tourle's assertion that crowdsourcing heritage tends to result in 'white noise' that further marginalises underrepresented voices, Perry and Beale's critique of how the social web is restructuring archaeology and Richardson's take on 'punk' archaeology. However, despite their critique, Cooke and Kothari write that they 'would resist being labelled anti-participation', noting that 'there are acts and processes of participation that we cannot oppose' (2001, 13), a sentiment the other critics of participation cited in this chapter no doubt would agree with. Yet embracing such critiques demands accepting that participation may not always be a good thing and that participatory approaches may not always be the best solution. As a result, more rigorous approaches to assessing the impact of participatory projects is required, which are currently sorely lacking in public archaeology and heritage (cf. Ellenberger and Richardson 2018; Perry 2019). Earlier in this chapter, I argued that democratisation and social impact constitute two key drivers behind the turn toward participatory approaches. In the next section, I shift the focus from critiques of the democratising potential of participation to critiques of the impact it has on participants. I do so by introducing the concept of the 'simple deficit model' from the field of science communication, which critiques the understandings of publics upon which claims of the social impacts of participation are made.

The simple deficit model

The most fundamental critiques of the social impact of participation begin with a critical view on the assumptions made about the general public, or the baseline upon which participation is viewed to have an impact. One such critique is the identification of the 'simple deficit model', which originated in the field of science communication (cf. Ziman 1991, Wynne 1991, Irwin and Wynne 1996, Lock 2011; Dawson 2018; 2019) and was briefly introduced to museum studies and public archaeology by Sharon Macdonald and Nick Merriman respectively (Macdonald 2002, Merriman 2004). During the

conference that launched the new journal *Public Understanding of Science* in April 1990, Physicist John Ziman first identified and critiqued the concept:

> The fact is, however, that a simple "deficit" model, which tries to interpret the situation [the perceived lack of public support for science] solely in terms of public ignorance or scientific illiteracy, does not provide an adequate analytical framework for many of the results of our research.

<div align="right">(Ziman 1991, 101)</div>

In her research on participation in everyday science learning, Emily Dawson expands the concept from referring to a simple lack of knowledge to a simple lack of engagement or participation, yet the core of the concept remains unchanged. She describes it as the prevalent belief 'within everyday science learning that these practices, venues and their content are wonderful, and if minoritised communities only know this secret, they would flock to them' (2019, 23).

Critics of the simple deficit model argue that it does not accurately capture how non-scientists understand or use science and incorrectly assumes a direct correlation between knowledge about science and levels of trust in and support for science, thereby misidentifying effective engagement strategies. This critique lies at the heart of what Irwin and Wynne mean by their claim 'that it is *science* which misunderstands both the public and itself' by simultaneously blaming non-participating publics and absolving itself of any responsibility (1996, 10, original emphasis). Archaeologist Sarah May argues that the same mistaken assumptions underpin much public engagement work in archaeology. She identifies English Heritage's 'Heritage Cycle' as 'a deficit model suggesting that if people do not participate sufficiently in heritage it is because they do not have enough concern for its vulnerability' (May 2020, cf. Thurley 2005). The Heritage Cycle was 'English Heritage's strategy for making our past part of our future [by creating] a cycle of understanding, valuing, caring and enjoying'. The English Heritage Strategy 2005-2010 went on to assert that 'knowledge is the prerequisite to caring for England's historic environment. From knowledge flows understanding and from understanding flows an appreciation of value' (English Heritage 2005). The implication, as May identifies, is that the reason for any lack of public support in caring for heritage is a simple lack of knowledge. Furthermore, while the cycle is not referenced in formal policy documents by either English Heritage or Historic England today, May argues the assumed causal link between, engaging, enjoying, understanding, valuing and caring for heritage continues to underpin both organisations' outreach work (2020).

Critical science communication literature challenges these causal links for science communication (Macdonald 2002, Lock 2011, cf. Evans and Durant 1995, Wynne 1995, 1996, Irwin and Wynne 1996), while Dawson's more recent research provides contextualising evidence through insights from interviewees who claim they are well aware of what is on offer in science museums yet would never

choose to visit and might even be embarrassed to admit having been there (Dawson 2018, 779). Other research in museum studies has similarly demonstrated that engaging with museums is not invariably a positive experience and may not promote support for institutions (Lynch and Alberti 2010, McSweeney and Kavanagh 2016). Yet such perspectives are usually completely absent from efforts to promote participation in heritage. As I have argued elsewhere (Fredheim 2018), cultural policy continues to promote participation as a social good, and non-participation as a social deficit. In the heritage sector, Historic England's annual 'Heritage and Society' publication was among the most explicit for several years, boldly proclaiming that 'heritage makes you happy' and 'volunteering in heritage makes you happy' (Historic England 2017a, 3). The series provides 'bite sized facts and figures that demonstrate the importance of heritage to society' (Historic England 2017a, 1). Closer investigation reveals that some of these 'facts' are at best less meaningful than they appear and at worst deliberately misleading.

Most of the statistics on wellbeing and public perceptions of heritage are drawn from the annual national 'Taking Part' survey. The survey follows a detailed sampling strategy to ensure representative selection of households but in 2016 it had a response rate of only 49.3% for fresh addresses, adjusted to 54.4% to account for invalid addresses (DCMS 2016, 27). Clearly, if only half of a representative sample is represented in responses, this raises serious questions about the impact of nonresponse bias, common forms of survey response bias, such as leading questions and social desirability, aside. Nevertheless, the resulting data is used to make claims such as that 'people who visit heritage sites are happier than those who do not' (Historic England 2017a, 2), supplying the slogan with which the report has been promoted since 2014 that heritage and heritage volunteering 'makes you happy'. Estimated wellbeing values are pulled from a report that stresses these are upward limits of the value of the average number of heritage visits per year', given as 3.4 visits (Fujiwara *et al*. 2014, 6), and presented as the value of a single visit. Even if taking the higher levels of wellbeing reported by current heritage participants at face value, this does not prove that heritage participation causes wellbeing; participating may instead be an effect. This possibility of reverse causality is repeatedly discussed in the cited report but not in 'Heritage and Society' (Fujiwara *et al*. 2014, 5, 13, 29, 31).

Arguably, this is what the second cited wellbeing study, conducted by AgeUK, demonstrates. While 'Heritage and Society' reports that 'engagement with creative and cultural activities including heritage, makes the highest contribution of 5.75% to one's overall well-being' (Historic England 2017a, 2), the AgeUK report also provides more striking statistics that fail to receive a mention. This includes statistics demonstrating that respondents reporting wellbeing levels in the top 20% have an average financial wealth in excess of £50,000, 85% are outright home owners and 86% have a GCSE or higher qualification, while of respondents ranking in the bottom 20% for reported wellbeing 27% receive means-tested benefits, 72% rent or have an outstanding mortgage and 80% have less than

GCSE qualification (Age UK 2017, 11). This picture is further confirmed by research conducted for the National Lottery Heritage Fund. 'Heritage and Society' extracts a single sentence from a 144 page document to claim that National Lottery Heritage Fund volunteers report 'levels of mental health and well-being that are far higher than for the general population, or for the general volunteering population' (Historic England 2017a, 3). This quote is drawn from the report summary, which clarifies that the social impacts of volunteering on this projects are not distinct to a 'heritage-based experience' (BOP Consulting 2011, 4). Instead the report emphasises that volunteers on National Lottery Heritage Fund projects are on average white, exceptionally well educated, from affluent neighbourhoods, from highly skilled occupations and are already active participants in social and civic life (BOP Consulting 2011, 1-4, 29-30). This reinforces the impression that while National Lottery Heritage Fund volunteers may report remarkably high levels of wellbeing, these high levels are unlikely to be caused by participating in heritage alone.

The 'Heritage and Society' series is not alone in presenting results in this way. The recent report on *The Value of Arts and Culture in Place-shaping*, commissioned by Arts Council England (Wavehill 2019) is promoted in a similar manner (cf. Arts Council England 2019; Serota 2019), despite the far more nuanced results presented in the report itself. Sarah May, similarly notes that a recent call for evidence into 'the social benefits of culture and sport … take the benefits of cultural participation, including greater "community engagement", as an accepted fact' and only asked for information that corroborated this and outlined how participation could be increased (May 2020). Such reports are evidence for the dominance of a simple deficit model in the heritage sector, where engagement and participation are positioned as inherently beneficial and those who choose not to participate are labelled as having 'the wrong values and attitudes' (Levitas 2004, 49, cf. Dawson 2018, 774). By extension, anyone who is prevented from participating would benefit from opportunities to participate, such as free school visits to museums for children from disadvantaged neighbourhoods or programmes that remove barriers to participating in caring for heritage. This logical consequence of the simple deficit model has been identified as positioning participants as beneficiaries and gives rise to the rhetoric of empowerment and capacity building that is currently entering heritage sector from other fields, such as development. This is what I turn to in the next section.

Beneficiaries, empowerment and capacity building

Bryony Onciul has shown how positioning Blackfoot First Nations participants in Albertan museum projects as beneficiaries denies their agency and silences the potential personal costs of participating:

> Engagement is generally viewed by museums as a positive process for the benefit of the museum and community involved. Community participants are seen as beneficiaries, who gain representation, a voice within the museum, and training. However, community members often view the museum as the main beneficiary. My research reveals that for community

members engagement can come at great cost, and they engage knowing the risks because they believe in the importance of their work. However, this agency is often overlooked because the assumption that community members are beneficiaries obscures the potential for consideration of negative outcomes.

(Onciul 2015, p. 119)

In her account of participating as a co-curator in Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery's exhibition 'The Past Is Now', Sumaya Kassim reflects on her first-hand experience of these 'costs' and 'risks' of participating:

This came to a head at the last meeting. We raised these issues – about emotional labour, about not receiving adequate pay for the work we were doing, and about the fact certain key decisions were made without us – and explained that the co-curation process betrayed a fundamental lack of understanding of what decoloniality is and who it is for. We argued that words and systems that hide exploitative practices such as 'volunteering', 'zero-hour contracts', and 'diversity' have no place in a decolonial project. Too often people of colour are rolled in to provide natural resources – our bodies and our 'decolonial' thoughts – which are exploited, and then discarded. The human cost, the emotional labour, are seen as worthy sacrifices in the name of an exhibition which can be celebrated as a successful attempt by the museum at 'inclusion' and 'decolonising', as a marker that it – and, indeed, Britain – is dealing with its past.

(Kassim 2017)

By regarding participants as beneficiaries, it becomes inconceivable that participants might participate at a cost to themselves or that those who do not participate are not simply ignorant and oblivious to the fact that they would be 'happier' if only they participated in heritage. Onciul rightly notes that this 'assumption is paternalistic and patronising' (2015, 220).

Uma Kothari critiques the notion of 'empowerment', drawing on Foucault's analysis of power:

The arguments presented here are that participatory development can encourage a reassertion of control and power by dominant individuals and groups, that it can lead to the reification of social norms through self-surveillance and consensus-building, and that it "purifies" knowledge and the spaces of participation through the codification, classification and control of information, and its analysis and (re)presentation.

(Kothari 2001, 142)

Arguably, it is this process of reifying norms and building consensus that Kassim describes pushing back against during and after the last meeting of the co-design process described in the quote above:

After this, the co-curators were emailed the interpretation (the exhibition text). To our dismay, it was written in the same neutral voice that we had critiqued weeks earlier. We were told that we could 'edit' the text, but there would be little time to make larger changes. There was nothing to be done: we had to set aside questions like *am I being exploited* and *would a white man accept this* and *what about self-care* so that we could 'decolonise'. Four of us locked ourselves in a room and collectively re-wrote the entire interpretation. We spent hours arguing about wording and grammar – what would be added to the story, what would we leave out – on the history of Birmingham and eugenics, partition, Kenyan independence, the environment… All the while we were concerned that our efforts might not be accepted, and that our passion might be edited away.

(Kassim 2017, original emphasis)

Clearly, from the perspective of the museum, the co-curators were being empowered through the process of participating, while the co-curators themselves worried they were being exploited. Here the fact that co-curators were allowed to 'edit' the text with no guarantee that there would be time to implement their changes illustrates Bernadette Lynch's argument that all too often schedules are constructed around institutional needs in ways that marginalise the agency of participants:

In such (all too typical) situations, while the illusion of creative participation is on offer, decisions *on behalf of* communities tend to be coerced or rushed through on the basis of the museum's agenda or strategic plan, manipulating a group consensus of what is inevitable, usual or expected – or 'good for' the people involved.

(Lynch 2017, 20, original emhpasis)

Kothari argues that despite the best intentions on behalf of facilitators of participatory projects, 'participative methods of enquiry simplify the nature of power and are thus in danger of encouraging the reassertion of power and social control not only by certain individuals and groups, but also of particular bodies of knowledge' (2001, 142) She unpacks this claim by referring to Stanley Cohen's *Visions of Social Control*, which outlines how 'society responds to behaviour and people it regards as deviant, problematic, worrying, threatening, troublesome or undesirable in some way or another' (Cohen 1985, 1):

Cohen similarly refers to insidious modes of inclusionary control. He suggests that programmes designed to bring the excluded in often result in forms of control that are more difficult to challenge, as they reduce spaces of conflict and are relatively benign and liberal. That is, those people who have the greatest reason to challenge and confront power relations and structures are brought, or even bought, through the promise of development assistance, into the development process in ways that disempower them to challenge the prevailing

hierarchies and inequalities in society, hence inclusionary control and the inducement of conformity.

(Kothari 2001, 143)

What Kothari invites us to consider is that what all initiatives that attempt to facilitate participation have in common is that they attempt to change the behaviours of participants. As such, they can be considered modes of social control. Constructed on the foundation of the simple deficit model, this control is construed as primarily beneficial to participants and connects back to a core feature of network governance discussed earlier in this chapter, namely 'self-regulation' (Torfing 2012, 107). It is with this in mind that Henkel and Stirrat argue that the 'empowerment' promised by participatory approaches 'might not be so straightforwardly liberating as it appears. Indeed, we suggest that what the new orthodoxy [of participatory approaches] boldly calls "empowerment" might be in effect very similar to what Michel Foucault calls "subjection"' (2001, 178):

> In the language of discourse theory, participatory approaches 'afford' certain subject positions to the participants, and thus, to some extent, presuppose and shape 'participants' from the very beginning. But this is done in ways not always foreseen by exponents of participation. It is in this sense that we suggest that participation, counter-intuitive though it may seem, is a form of governance – in fact the ultimate modern form.
>
> (Henkel and Stirrat 2001, 179)

This realisation, that the empowerment on offer through participatory projects is an invitation to self-regulation and 'not just a matter of "giving power" to formerly disempowered people', leads Henkel and Stirrat to the core of their critique of empowerment, namely that 'the question that arises with regard to empowerment is not so much "how much" are people empowered but rather "for what" are they empowered' (Henkel and Stirrat 2001, 182). This echoes Blaug's critique of incumbent democratisation and Joel Taylor and Laura Kate Gibson's assertion, as part of their critique of the democratising potential of digital participatory heritage projects, that 'it is not the extent of interaction, but the *kind* of interaction' that is significant (2016, 413, original emphasis).

Yet the portrayal of the 'empowerment', or 'capacity building', on offer through participatory projects in heritage contexts is almost exclusively positive and benevolent. Jukka Jokilehto, for example, mobilises it in this way, drawing on ICCROM, IUCN and ICOMOS' use of the term originating in the UNESCO World Heritage strategy for capacity building (UNESCO 2011; cf. ICCROM *et al.* 2015):

> The city of Asmara was designed by Italian colonisers and built by the Ethiopians starting from the end of the nineteenth century, until the 1940s. Subsequently, it was colonised by the British and then by Ethiopians, until independence from the 1990s. Here, the population has built up an identity with the modernist city, but there is a lack of understanding and incentives for a proper management strategy. Therefore, even though the city has retained its original

fabric reasonably well, the buildings are not in good state of conservation. Therefore, in
Asmara, the question is about the development of that community's awareness through a
Steering Committee. This Committee would involve the principal stakeholders and imitate a
process of capacity building, aiming to learn to appreciate the significance of the existing
building stock. This must be based on appropriate management strategies that take into
account the building up of a socio-economic development that supports the cultural heritage
assets of the place within its regional context.

(Jokilehto 2017, 25)

In this example, 'capacity building' is described as a participatory process through which the local
community's 'awareness' and ability to 'appreciate the significance of the existing building stock' is
to be 'developed', aptly illustrating what Kothari calls 'consensus-building' through 'inclusionary
control'. Significantly, the entire process is framed as primarily benefitting participants.

Bernadette Lynch reflects that her experience of working with UK museums that seek to engage in
truly collaborative projects has demonstrated 'a situation where the museum is committed to social
change but, as an institution, has difficulty in changing itself' (2017, 21). Similarly, Trinidad Rico
asserts that while 'there is a habit in heritage-related disciplines of making recommendations for
including alternative and marginalized voices, [there] is less of an interest in, ability to, and track
record of putting these intentions into practice through dedicated and reflexive methodologies that
sideline our own privileged expertise' (2017, 48). As a result, Lynch, mirroring the arguments of
critiques of the simple deficit model in science communication, argues museums need to change how
they view themselves and publics in order to develop equitable partnerships:

It requires a degree of 'un-learning' to understand that community engagement and
participation are not a question of 'inviting people in' to the museum's 'party' – it is rather
about saying, 'We can't do this without you – we need you! We need your critique in order to
change'. Then, and only then, might museums begin to develop a proper partnership
relationship with community partners.

(Lynch 2015, 3)

For no matter how progressive and 'well-meaning' the museum's practice may be, it becomes
clear that the museum too often remains firmly in the centre, displaying a relationship of
'chairperson', teacher and pupil, 'carer and cared-for', even while citing high moral ground
emancipation and 'rights-talk'.

(Lynch 2017, 23)

By dispelling the notion that participants necessarily are the primary beneficiaries of participatory
projects, the relative costs and benefits of participation can be placed on the table and equitable
partnerships negotiated. However, because the perception that people who do not support and

participate in heritage are deficient, either through having 'the wrong values and attitudes' (Levitas 2004, p. 49, cf. Dawson 2018) or otherwise being prevented from taking part, the assumption that participants inevitably are the beneficiaries of 'empowerment' and 'capacity building' initiatives continues to hold sway. As a result, publics are inevitably cast in one of two roles, as empowered beneficiary or deficient non-participant. Neither of these roles affords publics agency in negotiating their own relationship to heritage and heritage organisations and limiting the choice to one or the other denies the possibility of informed and justified non-participation. I unpack this further in the next section through introducing the concepts of cultural imperialism and symbolic violence.

Cultural imperialism and symbolic violence

Emily Dawson begins her book, *Equity, Exclusion and Everyday Science Learning* (2019), with an interview excerpt and two questions, asking 'what does it mean to feel that science museums and indeed that "science itself" are not for you? And why does that matter for our societies?' By identifying access to science communication as valuable while also recognising non-participants agency in choosing not to participate, her work calls for a more nuanced deficit model that recognises exclusion as a problem while calling for new models of inclusion that do not place the burden of changing on non-participating publics alone.

> I also draw on an inclusive, participatory democratic model of 'the public' from social justice theorists whose work has understood publics as heterogeneous and active in global, multicultural societies and has sought to value difference. From this perspective, an inclusive, empowering model of science communication would be one that involves multiple voices, spaces and publics in equitable ways. For scholars of social justice, being unable to participate in, benefit from or otherwise shape valued public practices constitutes a significant form of marginalisation and oppression. Thus, if we consider science communication socially or personally valuable, we must consider issues of inclusion/exclusion.

> (Dawson 2018, 776)

In the excerpt above, Dawson identifies 'being unable to participate' as a form of oppression. Efforts made to facilitate inclusion by mitigating 'barriers' might therefore be positioned as forms of emancipation, unless of course they reproduce forms of inclusion that mimic modes of 'subjection' (Henkel and Stirrat 2001). In order to move toward a more nuanced deficit model that goes beyond simple inclusion, Dawson draws on the concept of 'cultural imperialism' in her research, of which Smith's authorised heritage discourse may be considered one manifestation. She outlines how the reality of this concept was well known to the participants in her research (who were *non*-participants in 'high-brow' science communication, such as science museums):

> Cultural imperialism – when the culture, views and practices of the socially dominant appear universal at the expense of the marginalised – was particularly salient for participants in terms

of 'race'/ethnicity. In the UK, socially dominant cultural practices – including representation in terms of language, stories, knowledge and images – can be understood as racialised. Specifically, the knowledges, practices and the representation of people from white ethnic, middle- and upper-class backgrounds are valorised, and those practices reserved for men remain at a premium. *This was no secret to participants*.

(Dawson 2019, 91, my emphasis)

She goes on to explain how the awareness of science museums privileging white middle- and upper-class narratives and perspectives, coupled with the realisation that 'there's not going to be anyone like me there', present potential participants with a terrible choice:

Should they engage with everyday science learning practices that may offer valuable forms of cultural capital, which may become particularly appealing when their own cultures, practices and knowledges are represented, however briefly? Or, do they avoid a system where even when they are represented, that representation is rarely on their terms? Either way, they were left feeling profoundly uncomfortable.

(Dawson 2019, 93)

This struggle is clearly evident in Sumaya Kassim's account of participating as a co-curator for 'The Past Is Now' and Bryony Onciul's discussion of Blackfoot First Nations participants in Albertan museums, both of which I introduced in the previous section. Kassim writes of having 'to set aside questions like *am I being exploited* and *would a white man accept this* and *what about self-care* so that we could "decolonise"', while Onciul notes that community members 'engage knowing the risks because they believe in the importance of their work' (Onciul 2015, 119; Kassim 2017, original emphasis).

Dawson also draws on Bourdieu's theory of 'symbolic violence' to call for a more nuanced understanding of participation deficits. Symbolic violence denotes a misattribution of agency in situations where someone who is excluded internalises blame for their own exclusion. It was originally used by Bourdieu to explain how women and the working classes are made to look and feel complicit in their own exclusion from traditionally male and middle class spaces (cf. Bourdieu 1990, Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). As such, it aptly describes a situation in which an individual is told it was their choice to leave, or never enter, a venue or working environment they perceive to be sexist, classist or racist. David Osa Amadasun's account of taking his daughter to an art gallery is a striking example of this:

In May 2011 I took my daughter, who was 14 at the time, for a surprise trip to see the Tracey Emin exhibition at the Hayward Gallery in London. We arrived at the Southbank Centre, parked underneath the gallery and walked up the stairs towards it. Shaniah glared at me as we

neared the Hayward. Before I could say anything, she froze and said that she wasn't going into the gallery. 'It's not me dad, it's not me'.

I was speechless. The daughter who I have seen hold her own in a rough school and area was visibly affected by a building. I wasn't upset or disappointed with *her*, it was because in that brief moment I felt my family's vulnerability to the mundane violence of cultural value.

(Amadasun 2013)

Amadasun goes on to describe part of his ethnography of minority ethnic exclusion in art galleries, recounting the experience of having 'Richard', a fellow black man tell him that 'black people don't go to galleries' and insinuating that black people who do are not really 'Black'. In his account of a subsequent gallery visit, Amadasun explains what is going on here:

During the exhibition Richard was clearly uneasy. He looked uncomfortable and kept glancing around at the other gallery visitors. In his video account of his exhibition experience he said that due to the lack of representation of his culture, it was as if he and his culture had never existed. Why? Because the exhibition was supposed to represent popular working-class culture in Britain but in reality it was an exhibition of white working class lives and cultural artifacts. It later transpired that Richard's conversation about black people not going to galleries was in part a response to his own feelings of anxiety within the gallery space. Richard, as well as a few of the other participant parents, had developed personal strategies for avoiding painful situations and settings in which they felt inferior or out of place. In effect they were using strategies of self-policing and elimination with regard to places of "high" culture, deploying their own versions of subculture as a rationale for their own exclusion.

(Amadasun 2013)

The simple deficit model promotes symbolic violence by denying the reality of structural inequalities. As a result non-participants are blamed, and may internalise blame, for having 'the wrong values and attitudes' (Levitas 2004, p. 49, cf. Dawson 2018, 744). Simultaneously, it also denies non-participants agency in choosing not to participate in opportunities they identify as inequitable, because promoting participation as 'wonderful' and positioning participants as beneficiaries elides any costs of participating, as outlined in the previous section.

By recognising structural inequalities that prevent disadvantaged communities from participating in science communication and highlighting the ways in which cultural imperialism renders equitable participation impossible, even when other barriers to participation are removed, Dawson attempts to dispel the hold of symbolic violence and place the responsibility for exclusion squarely on institutions. Clearly, many of her research participants already view their own non-participation in these terms. Dawson documents them for the benefit of institutions that are willing to change. Ryan Al-Natour has shown the way in which heritage can be profoundly racialised and deliberately

constructed as an exclusive White space through his study of protests against an Islamic school in the outskirts of Sydney (2017). Šerek, Petrovičová and Macek similarly note that ethnic minorities engaging in civic organisations in the Czech Republic do not only have positive experiences, but must also contend with 'stereotypes, prejudice and non-acceptance' as well as levels of distrust within their own ethnic groups (2015). Organisations willing to answer Dawson's call for change must therefore first recognise the ways in which participating can be inequitable and combat the misattribution of agency for non-participation assigned through symbolic violence in order to recognise and respond to the actual agency non-participants have in rejecting participation while they are excluded:

> I have argued that practices of racialised, classed and gendered discrimination worked to exclude participants from everyday science learning, producing a visceral, embodied sense of alienation for participants. Such practices led participants to reject everyday science learning in taken for granted and explicit ways, even at the same time as they were excluded.
>
> (Dawson 2019, 104)

I return to elaborate on this nuanced deficit model in Chapter 5, based on my discussion of how publics are understood in the three case studies I analyse in more detail in the remaining chapters of my thesis.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced capacity, democratisation and social impact as three core drivers behind the participatory turn in caring for heritage. Following this introduction, the bulk of the chapter introduces a range of critical perspectives on participatory approaches from a variety of disciplines, all of which, I argue, have relevance for considering the ways in which heritage organisations attempt to increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage during austerity. The critiques of the driver to democratise heritage include the concept of 'changeless change' and the healthy suspicion towards the innovation it provides, the distinction between critical and incumbent democratisation, the concept of network governance and an awareness of the broader socio-political context of the increase in volunteering in public service provision. I then introduced ways of considering how power operates within participatory approaches through concepts such as empowerment and capacity building, before turning to the critiques of participation that speak to the social impact of participatory approaches and in particular the assumptions about publics such claims are based on. This critique centres on the concept of the simple deficit model, which lays the foundation for challenging the assumption that participants invariably are the primary beneficiaries of participatory projects and exploring more nuanced understandings of deficits that centre participants' agency.

These critiques provide the foundation for my approach to assessing the ways in which heritage organisations attempt to increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage in the following chapters. However, as I outline in the next chapter, I combine these critical lenses with a commitment

to pragmatically consider how facilitating public agency in caring for heritage could be approached differently. At its core, this exploration is concerned with renegotiating the roles of publics and professionals and querying whether there is a place for concepts such as 'empowerment' and 'capacity building' within a critical approach to participatory practice. In the next chapter, I describe the methodology I have developed for this exploration as well as its philosophical underpinnings and introduce the three case studies that constitute the subjects of my analysis in the remainder of this thesis.

3. Methodology

As outlined in the previous chapter, this thesis places the participatory turn in heritage conservation within the broader context of the neoliberal 'democratisation' of public service provision during austerity and mobilises democratic theory and critical perspectives on participation from a range of disciplines as critical lenses to analyse the change offered by participatory initiatives. I adopt the philosophy of action research and its commitment to social justice, which situates research as a mechanism for change rather than a simple description of the present. The resulting aim of this research is to contribute toward the development of new approaches to facilitating sustainable public agency in caring for heritage. I do this through the analysis of my own participatory practice as well as Archaeology Scotland's Adopt-a-Monument scheme and various projects connected to Bristol City Council's Know Your Place platform. As suggested by Norman Fairclough, critical research of institutions that aims to identify the impact of what institutions do, as distinct from what they claim to, requires a multimethod approach (Fairclough 1995, 49). In this thesis, I therefore develop a qualitative multimethod approach that brings co-design, critical discourse analysis and critical reflective writing inspired by autoethnography together within a framework of action research. While the influence of action research is most overt in my work and reflections on co-design, it also underpins my whole thesis. Reflecting critically on my own practice informs my analyses of Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument, which in turn construct my argument for how public agency can be increased and sustained through the concept of participant experience design. As such, my thesis as a whole represents a cycle of reflection, planning, action and observation (McNiff 1988, 50), laying the foundation for further cycles of research and action in the future.

In this chapter I introduce the theoretical foundations of the methods I employ in this thesis and describe how the results from each intersect. I also explain why I have not applied other methods and justify the selection of the case studies I have chosen for closer analysis. I begin by describing the philosophical underpinnings of my methodology. I then introduce my approach to action research within my co-design project and how I document and discuss it through reflective writing inspired by autoethnography. Finally, I outline the origins of critical discourse analysis and how it influenced my analysis of Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place, before describing how the results from each of these methods combine to make up the next four chapters of this thesis.

3.1. Philosophical underpinnings

My thesis adopts the ontological positioning of critical realism, which is located between positivism and relativism and accepts reality beyond human experience but problematizes the extent to which this reality is directly knowable without assumptions (Agger 1991, 109; Braun and Clarke 2013, 26). As a result, although critical realism accepts that reality exists outside of human knowledge and discourse, it is only through the structures of knowledge and discourse available to us that we can

know reality (Bhaskar 1978; 1989). Critical realism draws on the body of literature known as critical theory, sharing its goal of socialist emancipation and emphasising the reality of power, ideology, class and truth in supposedly neutral and necessary social systems. Critical social theory, or simply critical theory, is the term used to denote the writings emerging from the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt in the middle of the twentieth century, particularly the work of Horkheimer and Habermas. Critical theorists drew on German philosophers such as Kant, Hegel and Marx, merging Hegel's 'praxis' of action and reflection with Marx' work on social emancipation and radical social transformation through revolution (Rasmussen 1996). By dispelling the idealised views societies have of themselves and the illusion of the necessity of contemporary social structures, critical theory promotes the idea that things could be different (Forst 1996; How 2003, 173). The critical theorists hoped to deconstruct oppressive structures toward their 'dissolving in freedom' (Menke 1996, 57), for 'the emancipation of human beings from the circumstances that enslave them' (Horkheimer cited in Bohman 1996, 190).

The goals of critical theory then, are distinctly practical, and relate to the extent to which humans can be considered free and autonomous agents or are controlled and constrained by social systems (Forst 1996). It was ultimately as a result of its failure to realise the envisioned practical outcomes that critical theory went through a negative turn and required the new direction offered by Habermas. While Horkheimer and the first generation of critical theorists predominantly critiqued production, labour and economic structures, Habermas shifted the emphasis to communication and introduced the idea of the 'ideal speech situation' as a route to emancipation, where disagreements are settled 'by reasoned discourse and uncoerced consensus rather than by force, authority, dogma, or the like' (McCarthy 1994a, 245). While the 'ideal speech situation' has been criticised for being of little practical relevance, it provides a benchmark for political and social justice; systems and structures should be justifiable without coercion. Despite Habermas' emphasis on communication, Horkheimer's definition for critical theory remains applicable. A theory is only critical if it can 'explain what is wrong with current social reality, identify actors to change it, and provide clear norms for criticism and goals for the future' (Bohman 1996, 190). The refusal to accept idealist conceptions of present systems or their inevitability, gives utopianism a central role in critical scholarship, by virtue of its ability to provide a means by which present realities may be transcended to guide change (How 2003). It is in this sense that this thesis is intended to be critical. While its critical nature draws on post-structuralist suspicions of ideal systems and simplistic so-called best-practices, the use of action research and commitment to critical theory relies on the belief in the potential of a better future. This places it firmly within the growing literature of critical heritage studies, which does not necessarily focus on heritage, but rather its social, political and economic context.

While the notion of utopia may seem idealistic and outdated, it is absolutely fundamental to critical research or professional practice that rejects the inevitability of current circumstances and intends to drive change. The very notion of positive change presupposes the recognition of the potential for a better present; change for social justice requires a conception of what a more just society or system looks like. A utopian spirit is no less central to critical work that criticises present realities and identifies injustice without actively outlining avenues toward or visions for utopia. The critical power of concepts like marginalisation, injustice and exploitation lies in their attribution as immoral and the rejection of their inevitability. Thomas McCarthy notes that 'to be sure, critical theory is not interested in *merely* utopian ideals, but in ones which, however unrealizable in the present order of things, represent actual potentials of social development (1994b, 23, original emphasis). Alan How similarly claims that utopianism is not about fiction or detached dreaming, but imagining, observing and critically theorising in order to look beyond present circumstances to 'glimpse what might be; in effect to disclose reality more fully, not play high and wide with it' (How 2003, 181). Arguably, utopia have a place in critical realism, as utopia provide a mechanism for seeing beyond the surface appearance of the present to discern underlying social realities as well as the possibility of different futures.

Alongside its foundation in utopianism, critical theory shares in poststructuralism and postmodernism's critique of positivism, as outlined by sociologist Ben Agger:

> Above all, critical theory, poststructuralism and postmodernism are effective as *critiques of positivism*, interrogating taken-for-granted assumptions about the ways in which people write and read science. … Although most American sociologists are not wedded to positivist doctrine, the research and writing they do tend to embody the central positivist tenet that it is possible to reflect the world without presuppositions, without intruding philosophical and theoretical assumptions into one's work. All three theoretical perspectives discussed here reject presuppositionless representation, arguing explicitly that such representation is both politically undesirable and philosophically impossible.
>
> (Agger 1991, 106 cf. Gotham 2010)

Post-structuralism is a term applied to philosophical writings reacting to structuralism, especially critiquing structuralist binaries and unitary solutions, and instead favouring pluralism (Griggs, Norval and Wagenaar 2014, 17). It has its origins in Derrida's writing on literary criticism and cultural analysis and in concepts such as deconstruction:

> Derrida insists that every text is *undecidable* in the sense that it conceals conflicts within it between different authorial voices – sometimes termed the *text and subtext(s)*. Every text is a contested terrain in the sense that what it appears to 'say' on the surface cannot be understood without reference to the concealments and contextualizations of meaning going on

simultaneously to mark the text's significance (e.g. the use of specialized jargon). These concealments and contextualizations might be viewed as the assumptions that every text makes in presuming that it will be understood. But these assumptions are suppressed, and thus the reader's attention is diverted from them.

(Agger 1991, 112, original emphasis)

Central to structuralism is the idea that a process or system can validate a product and that decisions can thereby be justified by virtue of being the outcomes of an agreed upon process. Conversely, the suspicion of new approaches and 'best practice' that will somehow overcome systemic problems is central to post-structuralism (Griggs, Norval and Wagenaar 2014, 1). Instead of developing new norms and systems in the pursuit of consensus, post-structuralists emphasise resistance and the deconstruction of the processes by which these norms are created, exposing the role of power in creating seemingly power-neutral spaces and situate their critique of abstract universalisms in concrete social situations (Hanssen, 2000, 7; Hoy 2005, 5). Hence, Springer's identification of 'poststructuralism's classic critique that all power/knowledge is for someone, serving some purpose, and any notion of disinterested objectivity is illusory' (2012, 134). Through deconstruction, poststructuralist thinking challenges the theoretical purity of 'reason', exposing, among other things, the 'myth of the centred, self-conscious rational subject, transparent to itself' (Benhabib 1996, 327). As a result, there is an underlying distrust of democratic structures, in recognition of the 'intrinsic imperfections' of democracy (Norval 2007; 2014; cf. Cavell 1990), and a commitment to critiquing institutions to combat the fossilization of democracy by calling for imagination and an 'alternative way of doing things' (Griggs, Norval and Wagenaar 2014, 27). The logic of focusing on critique and imperfections lies in the belief that it is not the 'core' but the 'limits' that define the object of analysis, or as Williams puts it: 'the claim is that *the limit is the core*' (2005, 2, original emphasis). Applied to democracy, a democracy is defined by its limits – by the instances in, or individuals to, which democratic ideals do not apply – not the ideals themselves. The critique of democracy then, stems from a commitment to democratic ideals coupled with the belief that these ideals are unattainable; critique is the post-structuralist solution to this dilemma, as dissent, dispute and renegotiation are the democratic remedy to static systems. As a result, the alternative ways of doing things called for by post-structuralists, are rarely constructed by post-structuralists, due to their rejection of normative and deliberative idealisations and commitment to deconstructive and critical theorising (Norval 2014, 76-77).

The critique of post-structuralism that it is limited to mere critique has also been made against the emerging field of critical heritage studies, within which I situate this thesis. Critical heritage studies is an emerging interdisciplinary field of study that signifies a shift in heritage studies toward emphasising the social context and consequences of heritage, caused by a frustration with the lack of theoretical and philosophical work focused on the heritage sector. While the term may have been

coined in 2010 (Smith 2012; cf. Harrison 2010a), it can be applied to earlier work that questions what heritage is and does in society, such as the publications of Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge in the 1990s (cf. Tunbridge 1994; Graham 1996; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Graham; Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000) and Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage* (2006; cf. Harrison 2010a, 15-16). Furthermore, it is worth noting that similar critiques are evident in some earlier writing by archaeologists such as Peter Ucko (cf. 1989). Traditionally, heritage scholarship has tended to emphasise technical issues of how to preserve or study material culture from the past; conversely, critical heritage studies emphasises the political and sociological impact of heritage processes and practices (Harrison 2010a; Smith 2012; Waterton and Watson 2013; Winter 2013a; Witcomb and Buckley 2013), promotes post-western approaches (Winter 2013b; Winter 2014a; Winter 2014b; cf. Onciul 2015) and adopts a focus on the present and future (cf. Harvey 2001; Harrison 2013a; Zetterström-Sharp 2014; Harrison 2015; Harrison *et al.* 2016). Critical approaches to heritage are evident across subject specialisms relating to heritage, and have been for some time, if not at the overarching scale currently promoted by critical heritage studies. The theorising of the 'new museology' (Vergo 1989), which centres the museum as a place of critical enquiry, calling for transparency, power-sharing, activism and the promotion of human rights (Marstine 2006), and parallel developments in conservation theory, promoting relativism, plurality, respect and highlighting the social impact of conservation practice (cf. Larsen 1995; Clavir 2002; Muñoz Viñas 2005; Sully 2007; Salomon and Peters 2009; Sully and Cardoso 2014), are but two examples.

While critical heritage studies is loosely bounded as a field, central tenets are the claims that heritage is a social construct and that identifications and interpretations of heritage are therefore multiple and contested. What heritage is and how it should be used, or not used, are therefore questions of power rather than moralistic absolutes. As a result, scholarship within critical heritage studies tends to focus on the role of politics and power in the heritage sector, often either to expose power in supposedly neutral contexts or to critically investigate modes of power and authority sharing, such as forms of participation and co-production (cf. Onciul 2015; Perry and Beale 2015; Taylor and Gibson 2016; Tourle 2017). This often involves what Celmara Pocock and Siân Jones characterise as focusing on the periphery in order to critique and change the centre (2017), echoing Williams' poststructuralist assertion that the limits are the core (2005, 2). It is therefore perhaps not surprising that the charge of the post-structuralist tendency to deconstruct, criticise and call for alternatives without providing any has also been levelled against large sections of critical heritage literature that alienates heritage practitioners, resulting in what has been described as a 'widening gap between theory and practice, the thinkers and the doers (Ashworth in Onciul *et al.* 2017, 52). Helen Graham also suggests that this gap can be explained by the fact that 'museums and heritage studies have been quick to take up the critique offered by post-structuralism, but slow to register the full implications for practice' (2017, 74). While I situate this thesis within critical heritage studies, I do so guided by critiques such as those

offered by Witcomb and Buckley who call for critical heritage scholars to engage with heritage practitioners in order to produce scholarship that goes beyond post-structuralist deconstructive critique (2013), following the work of Hall, Bennett, Said and Ang in embracing the 'dirtiness' and 'worldliness' of cultural studies (Said 1983; Hall 1992; Bennett 1998; Ang 2006). I do this by mobilising the 'messiness' of action research to inform my textual analysis of Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place and by wrestling with a utopian vision for public agency in caring for heritage, which informs my analysis throughout this thesis.

While I have spent considerable effort attempting to construct a utopian vision for increasing public participation in caring for heritage without devaluing professionals or exploiting volunteers, the vision I have settled on is simple. It rests on the concept of *agency*, as distinct from mere participation, and provides the focal point for my analysis in the following chapters. The distinction between agency and participation is based on the recognition of heritage as a contested and dissonant space. As a result, my vision for public agency in caring for heritage draws on radical theories of democracy, such as Mouffe's agonistic pluralism and Norval's aversive democracy, which foreground difference, dissensus and the 'aversion to conformity' (Norval 2007, 7-8; cf. Mouffe 2000). These theories of democracy are the result of post-structuralist suspicions of ideal systems for democratic participation and simplistic so-called best-practices. In the chapters that follow, I use this critical foundation to tease apart how participatory initiatives that set out to be democratising can simultaneously silence dissensus and enact exclusion. Wary of unhelpfully contributing to the 'insatiable' cycle of counter-hegemonic critique followed by utopian optimism in museum and heritage studies (Graham 2012; cf. Bennett 1995; Graham 2017), I focus my analysis on the underpinning beliefs that trap participatory heritage practice in cycles of 'changeless change' rather than on the aesthetics of co-production. As a result, I trace how the roles and responsibilities assigned to participants in participatory heritage projects are constrained by understandings of publics and legitimate heritage expertise and conceptualisations of heritage. By writing specific roles for publics, these constraints restrict public agency while facilitating increased public participation. Ultimately, I argue that facilitating participation while limiting agency leads to unsustainable projects. The utopian vision I have developed iteratively through the preparation of this thesis posits that successfully increasing and sustaining public participation in caring for heritage rests on foregrounding participants' agency and providing equitable opportunities for productive expressions of 'aversion to conformity'.

3.2. Action Research, Co-design and Autoethnography

In this section, I introduce the theoretical foundation of action research and outline how it underpins this thesis as a whole. I then turn to the branch of action research known as participatory action research, which emphasises the agency of participants in action research projects and how its ideals underpin my approach to codesign. I explain my rationale for selecting co-design as a methodology, before describing how autoethnography inspired my reflective account of my own practice and how I

use it to analyse my co-design project alongside my other case studies in this thesis. Finally, I introduce critical discourse analysis and how it has shaped my analysis of Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place.

Action Research

Action research is not a research methodology or discipline, as it has developed from a range of different fields (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood and Maguire 2003; Greenwood and Lewin 1998); rather, 'it is an approach to enquiry that supports many methods in the service of sense making through experimental action' (Burns 2007, 11). By linking theory, practice and values, action research is centred around 'praxis' (Packham and Sriskandarajah 2005), though usually with a stronger emphasis on practice and action than critical theorists. Action research has also been characterised as a social process for co-creating knowledge and social change that can be understood as a reaction to social science research, performed exclusively by experts, that merely observes and does not cause change (Greenwood and Lewin 1998, 93, 109). As a result, action research should both make a direct contribution 'to processes of democratic social change and the simultaneous creation of valid social knowledge' (Greenwood and Levin 1998, 3). Epistemologically, action research does not question evidence-based research practice, but expands traditional definitions of valid forms of evidence and knowledge production. Action research is used to study practices and processes, but more significantly, is used to cause change through research by iteratively acting and analysing action and change, drawing on cyclical models of learning developed within pedagogy (Costello 2003; cf. Kolb 1984). Action research is used to study the consequences of actions, generally to develop new and better ways of doing things (McNiff and Whitehead 2011). It is applied as the result of dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, leading to continuous cycles of reflection, planning, action and observation (McNiff 1988, 50). While action research projects may vary greatly, they all involve research, action and participation (Greenwood and Lewin 1998). Thus, like critical heritage studies, participatory approaches to caring for heritage, participatory governance and participatory planning, the origins of action research are traced to social justice movements and critical theory, often citing the work of scholars such as Jürgen Habermas (Hockley 2013). More directly, the philosophy of action research is connected to critical pedagogy, and especially the founding work of Brazilian educator and activist, Paulo Freire.

Freire is most famous for his first book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), where he draws on his experience teaching Brazilian adults to read and write and problematizes the traditional practice of treating students as empty vessels that need filling, especially in a colonial context such as Brazil. Rather than teaching students to mimic the powerful, reinforcing their own perception of inferiority, Freire argues that students must be led through a process of 'conscientization' that involves raising awareness of oneself and of society, very much in the vein of first generation critical theorists such as Habermas who promoted critical theory as a means to raising consciousness that would drive

revolution. Freire revisits these ideas in *Pedagogy of Hope*, where he emphasises hope as 'an ontological need [that] demands an anchoring in practice' to cause real change (1998, 9). The role of the educator then, becomes one of empowerment rather than of knowledge transfer. This requires that educators recognise themselves as one of two, or many, agents in an encounter where all are 'capable of knowing and each wishing to know, and each working with the other for an understanding of the object of cognition' (Freire 1998, 46), where this understanding is internalised and made one's own rather than simply accepted and memorised. Understood in this way, it should be clear why action research, which emphasises participants' agency in generating knowledge and applying that knowledge in practice, identifies Freire and his critical pedagogy as a key influence.

Freire's influence is particularly clear in participatory action research, which emphasises deeper participation and shared authority, where participants are co-researchers rather than research subjects (Kindon *et al.* 2007), unlike many action research projects that maintain more traditional distinctions between researchers and participants. While many action research projects are led by a professional researcher, a participatory action research project is one where research question, methods, participants and timelines are agreed with the larger body of participants. A professional researcher may be part of a participatory action research project, though often in the capacity of a participant or member, rather than as a leader with formal power over other participants (Pain *et al.* 2017). Participatory action research holds all participants in high regard, emphasising that through critical reflection on experience, anyone can be an active agent in knowledge production (Kindon *et al.* 2007; Macdonald 2012). Participatory action research projects tend to be fluid, both in terms of participants and purpose as favoured research questions change and participants leave established projects to form their own, where they may pursue issues that more closely align with their own interests. There are clear links between participatory action research and activism, although while participatory action research may easily be construed as a form of activism, not all activism would be considered participatory action research due to the centrality of formal research processes, such as data gathering and analysis, to participatory action research projects.

Participatory action research is an established framework for causing change through research. It is often used to reflexively improve professional practice, and as such is a natural choice for exploring ways of developing and sustaining public agency in caring for heritage. A further characteristic is that participatory action research projects tend to originate organically within familiar networks of trusted partners as needs arise and convergences of interests are identified. Creating a new participatory action research project therefore takes time where existing networks do not exist. The approach taken in this research project was therefore to pitch an idea for an action research project in order to establish a trusted network that in time would organically generate participatory action research projects. The main distinguishing factor of participatory action research projects is that power, roles and responsibilities are more equally distributed between participants than in more generic action

research projects where a researcher sets the agenda, collects data, analyses data and reports on findings. Formalised research methodologies prepared in advance by a researcher are counterintuitive where establishing organic participatory action research projects is the goal. Instead, researchers must approach such situations with flexible plans and a willingness to be adaptable.

It was with this emphasis on flexibility and adaptability that I set out to develop my own action research project to create a digital community hub, to be hosted by the Council for British Archaeology, through a series of participatory workshops as outlined in the initial objectives for this research in Chapter 1. I pitched this project as an attempt to involve community groups in developing digital tools to help them care for their heritage. In order to deliver a proof of concept for my supervisory panel, I first pitched an idea for something we could design together, based on my own previous research (Fredheim 2016a) and explaining that subsequent iterations of the design process would originate in their own ideas. In line with more traditional approaches to action research, as the professional researcher, I suggested an idea for our pilot project and outlined a range of methods to evaluate whether our work together was increasing the capacity and sustainability of participating groups. This focus on empirically documenting increases in capacity and sustainability reflects my early intentions for how I intended to use this case study in my thesis, as an evaluation of co-design as a method for participatory heritage projects.

Co-design

Co-design, or collaborative design, denotes an approach to design where the design process is 'opened to people, whether stakeholders or users' (Koskinen *et al.* 2011, 82-83; cf. Smith *et al.* 2017). It should not be confused with concurrent design, which is also abbreviated to co-design and denotes a process where digital software and hardware are designed concurrently. In this thesis I understand co-design as forms of participatory design that engage end-users as partners in the design process. Gabriela Avram, Lugina Ciolfi and Laura Maya have recently provided an overview of co-design in the heritage sector, which remains limited (2019). Co-design can be considered a form of user centred design, which is a design philosophy that places users, their needs and wants at the centre of the design process (Pratt and Nunes, 2012, 14). User-centred design is founded on the belief that 'designing for real people, understanding who they are, and what they want, where they live, and where they work, and ultimately meeting their unmet needs, leads to better design, more successful products, and more satisfaction as designers' (Pratt and Nunes 2012, 7).

Designers seek to understand clients' goals, potential users, required features and functionality, the details of when, where and how the product will be used, how potential users are currently meeting their needs and more. For co-design to be successful, participants must be able to work through this design process in order to provide a designer with the information necessary to build the desired product. The level of detail provided through the co-design process will determine the extent to which

the designer actually *designs* a solution from the guidelines provided, or simply builds a fully defined product. Unlike co-production, where participants make products rather than design solutions, the use of a designer means that participants in a co-design process need not be able to programme or code. Testing is central to user-centred design approaches (Pratt and Nunes 2012, 12), and is no less crucial for co-design. Various approaches to prototyping allow functionality to be simulated and tested before building complete products (cf. Snyder 2003). One approach to prototyping is the 'wizard of oz' technique, or 'wizard-of-ozzing', in which users interact with a seemingly complete interface, while the designer manually simulates the intended functionality behind the scenes (Thimbleby 1990, 101). By applying such methods, co-design participants can highlight whether or not the designer has understood their requirements as well as providing the opportunity to actually see how their design will work in practice, which will often lead to refinements in their design vision.

The rationale for investigating the potential for digital co-design to provide a means for building capacity and sustainability in community groups involved in taking care of heritage places originated with a dilemma of having to do more with less. I regarded co-designing digital tools as a means to develop both skills and a sense of agency within groups, establish networks for skills and capacity sharing between the different community groups involved and to produce useful digital infrastructure through a suite of co-designed digital resources that could provide a source of support alongside the diminishing number of staff at the Council for British Archaeology during austerity. While other participatory approaches might be equally effective in developing skills and networks, I considered the digital products produced through the co-design process to give the digital approach an extra dimension for facilitating sustainability (Fredheim 2016a). I was also inspired by the concept of 'systemic action research', which attempts to scale up projects in recognition of that the impact of action research projects often is limited because they work with individual or small numbers of participating groups and are context specific, despite often aiming to address structural and systemic issues (cf. Packham and Sriskandarajah 2005; Burns 2007; Stringer 2007; Flood 2010, 282). Finally, I considered adopting a participatory action research and co-design approach ideal for trialling a new way of working with community groups for the Council for British Archaeology that foregrounded participants' agency.

As described in more detail in the next chapter, I invited community groups in Yorkshire to participate in a pilot phase of a co-design project to design digital resources intended to support community groups involved in caring for heritage places. While the co-design project was established to produce digital resources, it was also positioned as an experiment of the efficacy of co-design to deliver transformative experiences for participants. I envisioned it as an action research project that was attempting to develop new ways of increasing the capacity and sustainability of participating groups without devaluing professionals or exploiting volunteers. As a result, I set out to document how participating in my project was changing my participants through the use of questionnaires

before and after meetings and inviting participants to provide stream-of-consciousness reflections on our meetings using dictaphones or by sending me emails after each event (Appendix A). While I did not conduct formal focus groups or interviews to evaluate my own co-design project, I stressed that developing new ways of collaborating was one of the major aims of our work together. As such, I invited participants to reflect on our collaborative process regularly as part of meetings, email correspondences and comments on my blog posts. I also designed two surveys that were intended to gather information about challenges to sustainability such groups were facing around the country to identify potential design objects and partner groups for future iterations of the design process (Appendix B). Finally, I organised a knowledge exchange event in York on the topic of '(Re)negotiating Expertise and Participation' (Council for British Archaeology 2016a), which brought together heritage volunteers, professionals and academics to discuss the core dilemma of my research: how public participation in caring for heritage could be increased without exploiting volunteers or devaluing professionals.

My knowledge exchange event and distribution of the two national surveys took place during the early stages of my co-design pilot and coincided with my attendance at several international conferences where I presented my approach to participatory action research and co-design. The cumulative impact of conversations during these conferences, further background reading on critiques of participation such as Blaug's 'Engineering Democracy' described in Chapter 2, lessons from my knowledge exchange event on expertise and the difficulties I experienced with encouraging participants to engage with my intended feedback mechanisms to empirically demonstrate increased sustainability, shifted the focus for my research from my participants to myself and heritage institutions such as the Council for British Archaeology. This change of focus represents the belief that changing how heritage professionals and institutions work and relate to community groups is a more realistic means of facilitating sustained public agency in caring for heritage than attempting to change community groups by building their capacity to act more like professional institutions. The aim of utilising action research to investigate how heritage organisations can help increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage remained the same, as did the mechanism of co-design, but co-design changed from a mechanism for changing community groups to a reflexive lens for changing institutional and professional practice. While the co-design project remained largely unchanged, this called for different ways of assessing the process of co-design, leading to my discovery of autoethnography.

Autoethnography

Autoethnography is a qualitative method that lies at the intersection of autobiography and ethnography. It is a form of reflective writing where the author reflects on their own experiences and their relation to wider societal issues. As a result, autoethnography retains the outward focus of ethnography, while paying particular attention to personal experiences and the contexts in which they

occur (Denzin 1997), and can be understood as 'cultural analysis through personal narrative' (Boylorn and Orbe 2014, 17). As a research method, autoethnography allows the exploration of social practices and suggests that some realities can best be most fully understood when interrogated through narrative (Witkin 2014, 14; Boylorn and Orbe 2014, 24). The use of narrative allows capturing the lived experience of the author/subject in a way that communicates that experience to the reader. As a result, many autoethnographies use literary techniques such as dialogue, to bring the reader into the interactions that are described. Nevertheless, autoethnography is not just about sharing experiences, but also critically reflecting on the contexts in which they occur. The purpose of autoethnography is not to obtain 'truth' by providing a clinically accurate recording of events, but to increase understanding. Nevertheless, this understanding is not necessarily singular and autoethnographies are often written in ways that let readers actively engage, rather than passively receive authoritative knowledge, encouraging readers to development multiple, more specific, meanings.

Boylorn and Orbe write that 'critical autoethnographers are invested in the "politics of positionality" that require researchers to acknowledge the inevitable privileges we experience alongside marginalization and to take responsibility for our subjective lenses through reflexivity', clarifying that they 'write as an Other, and for an Other' (2014, 15; cf. Madison 2012). Autoethnography has a history of centring the perspectives of marginalised individuals who more often are the objects of traditional ethnographies. Mary Louise Pratt defines autoethnography in this way:

> A text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them. Thus if ethnographic texts are those in which European metropolitan subjects represent to themselves their others (usually their conquered others), autoethnographic texts are representations that the so-defined others construct *in response* to or in dialogue with those texts.
>
> (Pratt 1991, 34, original emphasis)

By contrast, Gresilda Tilley-Lubbs, who describes herself as 'a member of the dominant culture', identifies her autoethnographies in which she presents herself 'as a participant in the study so that I can internalize the researcher gaze and thus examine my Self in the same way that I examine others' by performing 'intense reflexivity and introspection, examined through the perspective of critical pedagogy' as 'critical autoethnography' (2016, 3). I was wary of making similar claims in relation to my own writing and, despite some initial attempts, therefore chose not to include autoethnographic vignettes in this thesis. However, my discovery of autoethnography as method nevertheless led to the approach I have adopted in the reflective accounts of my co-design project in this thesis, in particular an approach to autoethnography described as 'analytic autoethnography'.

Autoethnography has been divided into two broad sub-categories: analytic autoethnography and evocative autoethnography (Witkin 2014). Analytic autoethnography emphasises 'improving

theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena' (Anderson 2006a, 375; cf, Saul and Waterton 2017), which aligns with the overarching aims of this thesis, specifically, understanding the dynamics of participatory projects that aim to facilitate sustainable public agency in caring for heritage. It was coined by Leon Anderson in 2006, to some resistance by autoethnographers who felt their approach to ethnography, based in creative analytical practices, was being co-opted by more traditional ethnographers (cf. Denzin 2006; Ellis and Bochner 2006). Nevertheless, when tempered by these critiques, analytic ethnography provides a useful reference point for the methodology utilised in this research as it brings autoethnography back from postmodernism to critical realism while leaving some of the lessons learned from postmodern and poststructuralist critiques intact (Charmaz 2006). In this thesis, I draw on Anderson' (2006b) approach to autoethnography within a broader critical and realist research agenda, in which I want to situate and position myself and my practice clearly and address issues of power. Anderson identifies five characteristics of analytic autoethnography, (1) that the researcher is a complete member of the studied context, (2) a recognition of the 'mutual informativity' of researchers and their research contexts and subjects through 'analytic reflexivity', (3) the visual and active positioning of the researcher in the text, (4) the inclusion of multiple informants to contextualise and validate experiences to allow generalisation and (5) a commitment to an analytic agenda of using experiences to address general theoretical issues (Anderson 2006a). While I am cautious of identifying my account of my co-design project outlined in the following chapters as autoethnography, analytic autoethnography provided the framework for approaching the analysis of my own project and using it to inform my critique of my other case studies.

I also draw on Jennie Morgan and Sarah Pink's interpretation of autoethnography. They 'emphasize that "self observation" typifies autoethnography as a process and product of drawing on personal experiences, emotions, thoughts, and feelings to better understand those of others' (2018, 402). They connect ethnography and apprenticeship as compatible ways of learning to describe 'Jennie's autoethnographic apprenticeship in safety', where they came to understand how occupational safety and health procedures were learned by copying the practices of more experienced staff (Morgan and Pink 2018, 403). While I did not shadow other facilitators of co-design projects during my PhD, I contend that my iterative reading of critical perspectives on participatory approaches, analysis of established projects and discussions with colleagues throughout my research process while conducting my own co-design project, similarly constitutes an apprenticeship in sustaining public agency in caring for heritage places. Practical constraints and institutional sensitivities prevented me from observing my other case study projects in action. In part these relate to the relative timing of my research and the projects I discuss in this thesis. By the time I was ready to interact with my chosen case studies in more depth, they were approaching the ends of their active projects. Participatory projects, such as those I discuss in this thesis are often also considered risky from a publicity perspective. For example, Historic England's 'Enriching the List' project was originally identified as

a case study, but later removed due to a reluctance to provide access. Similarly, the extent to which Archaeology Scotland's institutional sustainability is tied up to the Adopt-a-Monument scheme made them understandably cautious of providing me access to projects and documentation.

Reflections on the process of co-design are shared on my blog (harald.fredheim.co.uk/blog) along with more theoretical discussions around negotiating professional and volunteer roles and responsibilities in participatory projects, both specifically in caring for heritage and more generally. These reflective accounts provide the bulk of the data for my critique of my own project in the following chapters. The public nature of these notes provides an element of accountability for the truthfulness of my reflective account. Sharing my reflections on a public blog also allows my project partners and other readers to contribute comments. While most of my participants did not chose to engage with my reflections in this way, some did, and these comments have helped shape how I reflect on my practice in the chapters that follow. As a result, the blog is not simply a report on the co-design process, but a part of the process itself and an additional venue for the active negotiation of roles and responsibilities. Alongside the blog posts and comments, my discussion of my own project is informed by my extended notes that formed the basis for my blog posts and by email correspondence with participants.

As described in Chapter 4, the process of receiving ethical approval to conduct my co-design project constrained the time-frame for the initial design of the pilot phase of my co-design project. While research ethics featured as a major concern in the early development of my research design, it is not a major topic of discussion in this thesis. This is the result of how the focus of my research changed during my co-design project, from studying how co-design was building capacity and sustainability in my partner groups to how I as a practitioner was attempting to build capacity and sustainability. This shift from studying participants to studying practitioners and institutions facilitating participation means that I do not foreground data produced by participants in this thesis. In the few instances I have reproduced participant contributions, I have anonymised quotes and utilised pseudonyms. The shift in the focus of my thesis also explains why the ethical considerations around collecting and sharing user-generated data that were part of our discussions around the *product* we were designing do not feature in this thesis, while the ethics of co-design and other participatory *processes* feature throughout. This shift in focus is reflected in my use of institutional documentation and my own reflections on co-design, the use of which did not require information leaflets and formal consent forms. The information leaflet and consent forms I used in my co-design project are reproduced in Appendix C.

3.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis provides a framework for 'studying language in relation to power and ideology' (Fairclough 1995, 1; cf. van Dijk 1993) that allows critiquing texts, discourse practice and sociocultural practice relating to the same phenomena within a single framework. In doing so, critical

discourse analysis, like critical realism, draws heavily on critical theory, emphasising the reality of power, ideology, class and truth in supposedly neutral and necessary social systems and constitutes textual analysis that accounts for 'the social, political, and historical dimension of language use in context' (Reisigl 2013). It challenges traditional discourse analysis to consider how analysed texts operate within sociocultural practices, where texts can include spoken interactions and considering how texts are communicated as well as how they function within the context in which they operate (Fairclough 1995). Critical discourse analysis has been applied to heritage studies most famously by Emma Waterton, Laurajane Smith and Gary Campbell (2006), Smith in her identification of an 'authorised heritage discourse (2006), which portrays the way professionals and academics usually talk about heritage as a discourse based in ideology as opposed to a necessary reality or 'truth', and Waterton in her work on UK heritage policy and the distinction between 'rhetoric and reality' (2007; 2010a).

As Teun van Dijk argues, 'CDA [critical discourse analysis] does not characterize a school, a field or a subdiscipline of discourse analysis, but rather an explicitly critical *approach, position or stance* of studying text and talk' and may 'pay attention to *all levels and dimensions* of discourse, viz. those of grammar (phonology, syntax, semantics), style, rhetoric, schematic organization, speech acts, pragmatic strategies, and those of interaction, among others' (1995, 17-18, original emphasis). Discourse is understood to 'consist of talk, text, and media that express ways of knowing, experience, and valuing the world' and can take the form of genres including 'policies, narratives, written texts such as letters of textbooks, conversations, speeches, meetings or classroom lessons, nonverbal communication, visual images, multimedia, and film' (Mullet 2018, 119; cf. Wodak and Meyer 2009). This flexibility allows me to analyse websites, promotional materials, toolkits, conference presentations, project reports, project evaluations and more within a single analytical framework in the chapters that follow. Critical discourse analysis is particularly concerned with identifying naturalised ideological norms that form part of a 'taken-for-granted "knowledge base"' (Fairclough 1995, 39) and the consequences and impacts these assumptions have in practice.

In this thesis, I use the framework of critical discourse analysis to explore the degree to which my chosen case studies increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage. I do this by describing the roles and responsibilities they assign to participants in participatory projects (Chapter 4) and the ways in which the agency afforded to participants is constrained (Chapters 5 and 6). To do so, I draw on the critical perspectives on participation outlined in Chapter 2 and apply these as lenses with which to read the participation facilitated in each of my case studies. Rather than accept claims made by projects at face value, I critically probe the nature of participants' agency in each project and how the relative agency afforded to participants is rationalised. Due to the nature of the data that was made available to me, I focus my attention on the discourse institutions use to describe their own participatory practices and their impact on participants. In Chapters 5 and 6, I draw on Laurajane

Smith's identification of what she terms the 'authorised heritage discourse' (2006) to apply the critique of 'changeless change' (Olma 2016), identifying common factors that limit the extent to which how these participatory initiatives actually change the roles and responsibilities traditionally assigned to publics in heritage practice. Crucially, here I explore whether projects afford participants agency in determining their own roles and responsibilities in caring for heritage and the ways in which this agency is constrained through understandings of publics and legitimate heritage expertise and conceptualisations of heritage.

The selection of cases for critical discourse analysis has been carefully considered, according to five identified criteria, in order to align the analyses with the outlined research aim and the focus of my own co-design project. Firstly, the scope of the projects chosen as cases must align with the overarching topic of this research project; that is, public involvement in caring for heritage places. Secondly, their aims must align with the general aims of this research, of facilitating and sustaining public agency in caring for heritage, through a commitment to democratisation, empowering participants or supporting community-led initiatives. Thirdly, the core research theme of sustainability necessitates that the projects selected as cases for critical discourse analysis are examples of approaches applied over time, ideally permanent programmes rather than short-term projects or initiatives. Fourthly, this research project approaches sustaining public agency in caring for heritage from an institutional perspective, in particular that of the Council for British Archaeology; the programmes analysed should therefore be run by organisations that have a similar role, remit, capacity and commitment to engaging the wider public and representing public interests. Finally, due to the fact that my third case study is a digital project involving user-generated content, specifically though crowdsourcing, similar digital initiatives to democratise and build public agency in caring for heritage would be especially relevant cases for analysis. Based on the criteria outlined above, I chose two cases for critical discourse analysis. These are the Adopt-a-Monument scheme run by Archaeology Scotland and the cluster of initiatives centred around the Know Your Place platform, developed and maintained by Bristol City Council.

The Adopt-a-Monument scheme is an Archaeology Scotland programme aiming to support community-led projects to care for heritage, and has been active on-and-off since the early 1990s. The scheme's focus on public involvement in caring for heritage and clearly delineated scope of exclusively supporting community-led projects speaks directly to the first two criteria outlined above. Although the 2011-2017 iteration of the programme came to an end during my period of research, the fact that Adopt-a-Monument has been active in phases over two decades and the ongoing efforts to finance its continuation clearly demonstrate that the scheme is not a short-term solution or experiment. Funding has now been secured for two members of staff to keep working on the scheme until 2024. Archaeology Scotland is the Scottish equivalent of the Council for British Archaeology, and while there are differences between the two organisations, they are organisations that have a

similar role, remit, capacity and commitment to engaging the wider public and representing public interests. Despite the fact that Adopt-a-Monument does not have a large digital component and therefore is not concerned with applications of crowdsourcing to heritage, the programme is closely aligned with the majority of the criteria outlined above. While the Adopt-a-Monument scheme does not explicitly claim to democratise heritage, its emphasis on supporting community-led projects and building capacity means it is exactly the kind of initiative that is used as an example for claims that the heritage sector is undergoing a democratisation process, countering the orthodoxy of Smith's authorised heritage discourse. The influence of the scheme is demonstrated by the development of sister 'Adopt-a-Monument' initiatives in Ireland and Finland (Nissinaho and Soininen 2014; Abarta Heritage 2017; Soininen 2017).

In the following chapters, I analyse a range of 'texts' that outline the roles and responsibilities assigned to participants in the Adopt-a-Monument scheme and the ways in which participants' agency in caring for heritage are constrained. The two core documents that are the subject of the bulk of my analysis are the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit', which provides participating groups in 'community-led' projects with information and guidance on how to 'adopt' a monument, and the 'Summary Report' written for the Heritage Lottery Fund (now National Lottery Heritage Fund) at the end of the 2011-2017 funding period. This report includes a summary of the scheme's activities over the seven years in question, featuring case study reports on the aims and outcomes of many of the projects that were facilitated as part of the scheme. In addition to these documents, I draw on the external report of the 2011-2017 phase conducted by Hall Aitken, several video recordings of conference presentations made by Archaeology Scotland staff, the form participating groups use to express their interest in participating and the Archaeology Scotland and Adopt-a-Monument web-pages. Together, these 'texts' constitute a large body of evidence concerning how Archaeology Scotland attempts to increase public participation in caring for heritage through the Adopt-a-Monument scheme.

Know Your Place is a web-based platform, developed and managed by the City Design Group at Bristol City Council, that provides access to the Historic Environment Record for the city of Bristol and allows the public to add information to a 'community layer' of the resource. Since its launch in 2011, Know Your Place has become the centre point for a number of participatory initiatives initiated by the council, as well as various partner organisations, that aim to increase public participation in caring for heritage through the planning system, which sits comfortably within the scope of this research. They also aim to democratise and build capacity, thereby satisfying the second criterion outlined above. Established in 2011, and increasingly embedded in the core practice of the City Design Group, Know Your Place is clearly intended as a permanent feature and a strategic node for public participation in caring for Bristol's built heritage in the future. While there are several differences between the roles and remits of a city council and the Council for British Archaeology, both organisations are under financial pressure during austerity and share similar commitments to

engaging the wider public and representing public interests. This is not to say that the Know Your Place platform was developed as a result of austerity, yet the public participation it facilitates inevitably now takes places within this context. Significantly, Know Your Place is a digital platform that crowdsources user-generated content in the form of public contributions to the development of a shared understanding of heritage and attempt to tap into the 'democratising' potential of digital technologies. As such, Know Your Place is perhaps the closest comparator initiative to my own co-design project, in terms of the central digital product both set out to produce.

My analysis of Know Your Place is centred around the digital platform itself as well as other 'texts' that communicate how Bristol City Council attempt to increase public participation in caring for heritage places through the planning system. I draw on documents produced by the Council, such as the 'Bristol Heritage Framework', documentation on the Bristol Local Plan and the report on the Our Place project, which invites residents to initiate character assessments that feed back into Know Your Place and the Local Plan. I also analyse documents relating to the range of Know Your Bristol projects, delivered by academics at the University of Bristol in partnership with Bristol City Council, that were designed to use and add content to the Know Your Place platform. These 'texts' include published articles and book chapters as well as project websites and blog posts. Finally, I also analyse guidance documents relating to the use of the Know Your Place platform. As in the case of Adopt-a-Monument, taken together, these 'texts' represent a substantial body of evidence detailing the roles and responsibilities written for participants in Know Your Place and related projects and how these roles are constrained by understandings of publics, expertise and underpinning definitions of heritage.

I had planned to develop a final case study focusing on institutional change at the Council for British Archaeology to reconnect my research to the organisation after my co-design project stalled. This work was connected to a National Lottery Heritage Fund resilience grant application intended to support a process of institutional change that would have explored a further attempt to navigate some of the issues I explore in this thesis in practice. Unfortunately, this grant application was unsuccessful and the Council for British Archaeology was subsequently forced to downsize and restructure. As a result, the Council for British Archaeology features less prominently in this thesis than originally intended. A further consequence is that instead of a critical account of an organisation attempting to reorient itself in order to more deliberately foreground public participation and agency in its practices, Chapter 7 of this thesis is a more theoretical discussion of how similar changes might be made in my two other main case studies, Archaeology Scotland and Bristol City Council.

Despite the similarities between the Council for British Archaeology, Archaeology Scotland and Bristol City Council on the one hand and my own co-design work, the Adopt-a-Monument scheme and the Know Your Place platform and surrounding projects on the other, there are significant differences. Significantly, Know Your Place operates within a specific political and policy context

that Adopt-a-Monument and especially my own co-design project to a greater extent sit outside. Conversely, Adopt-a-Monument is accountable to its funders and membership. I am necessarily more able to give an accurate account of the impact of practical constraints on my own co-design project, than on Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument. Furthermore, the account of my own project is informed by my presence within the project and interactions with participants by email, over the phone and in person during meetings. I am not able to draw on experience of such interactions in my description and analysis of Adopt-a-Monument or Know Your Place. Finally, as the leader of my own co-design project and the author of this thesis, I am able to both control and respond directly to my own critique, a privilege not afforded to the individuals and organisations involved in my other case studies. While I have shared drafts of my thesis for feedback in an effort to mitigate the scale of these discrepancies, significant differences remain. As a result, the account and analysis of my own project diverges significantly from that of my two other cases in the subsequent chapters.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter I introduced the philosophical and methodological foundations of this thesis and provided a justification for my selection of case studies. In the next chapter I turn to the results of my analyses, beginning with a description of the forms of participation facilitated by each of my case studies, with a particular focus on the roles and responsibilities assigned to participants. I then highlight sustainability concerns in each of the cases and connect these to my core argument that the agency afforded to publics through participatory heritage projects is constrained by the ways in which heritage organisations understand publics and legitimate heritage expertise and define the heritage they attempt to care for.

4. Roles and Responsibilities

In this chapter, I describe the participation facilitated by each of my three case studies, Adopt-a-Monument, Know Your Place and my own Adopting Archaeology co-design project. In doing so, I explore which roles and responsibilities heritage organisations attempt to assign to participants through initiatives intended to increase and sustain community groups' capacity to care for heritage places. I describe each case in detail, asking what participating in one of these initiatives entails and who participates, before concluding each section with a brief discussion of the sustainability of each case. As elsewhere in this thesis, while my concern is on the participant experience, my critical focus is on heritage organisations rather than participants and individual participant experiences. In the next two chapters, I draw on the descriptions in this chapter to highlight how the roles and responsibilities assigned to participants are constrained by understandings of publics and expertise as well as definitions of heritage.

4.1. Adopt-a-Monument

In the 2011-2017 phase of Adopt-a-Monument, funding was secured for two distinct types of projects: traditional 'community-led' projects and 'outreach' projects that specifically targeted 'disadvantaged groups' (Hall Aitken 2017, 4), or 'non-traditional audiences', as they often are referred to in Adopt-a-Monument reporting. In this section I outline how each of these types of projects are facilitated. I explore how they begin, what they aim to achieve, who participates, for how long and to do what. Finally, I discuss the outcomes Archaeology Scotland report for both types of projects and reflect on the sustainability of the scheme and its constituent projects.

Community-led projects

'Community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects begin by community groups contacting Archaeology Scotland. Those who have a monument they would like to 'adopt' in mind are asked to fill in an application form to 'help us assess the suitability of your project and allow us to consider how we can help you best'. The form asks for information about the group, the monument ('What kind of site is it? Where is the site?') and provides a text box 'to tell us a little about your aims for your chosen project. Are there any specific ways in which Archaeology Scotland can help' (Archaeology Scotland nda). The Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' is a resource provided to all participating groups that describes itself as 'the main source of information to help you develop your project' (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 2). It outlines that groups can expect an initial site visit and 'start-up' meeting, at which the aims and objectives of the project will be agreed as well as the 'level of support the AaM team can provide'. The 'Tool-Kit' explains that groups can expect a development meeting or workshop every three months and that the team 'will be able to attend site events at least three or four times a year to help with outreach, site clearance/conservation tasks or to teach archaeological skills' (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 3).

The nature of 'community-led' projects supported by Archaeology Scotland through the Adopt-a-Monument scheme varies widely, yet analysis of the reported aims and outcomes of projects included in Archaeology Scotland's report to the Heritage Lottery Fund (now National Lottery Heritage Fund) paints a picture of what participating in one of these projects usually entails (Figure 1). Of the 36 projects with reported aims, approximately half were set up to conserve, research, interpret or promote local heritage. The Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' states that 'excavation is not an AaM activity (Archaeology Scotland, ndb, 44), yet despite this a handful of project aims also involved excavating. As shown in Figure 1, some projects also sought to upskill participants, increase participation, make heritage more accessible, provide education activities and increase tourism or economic benefit.
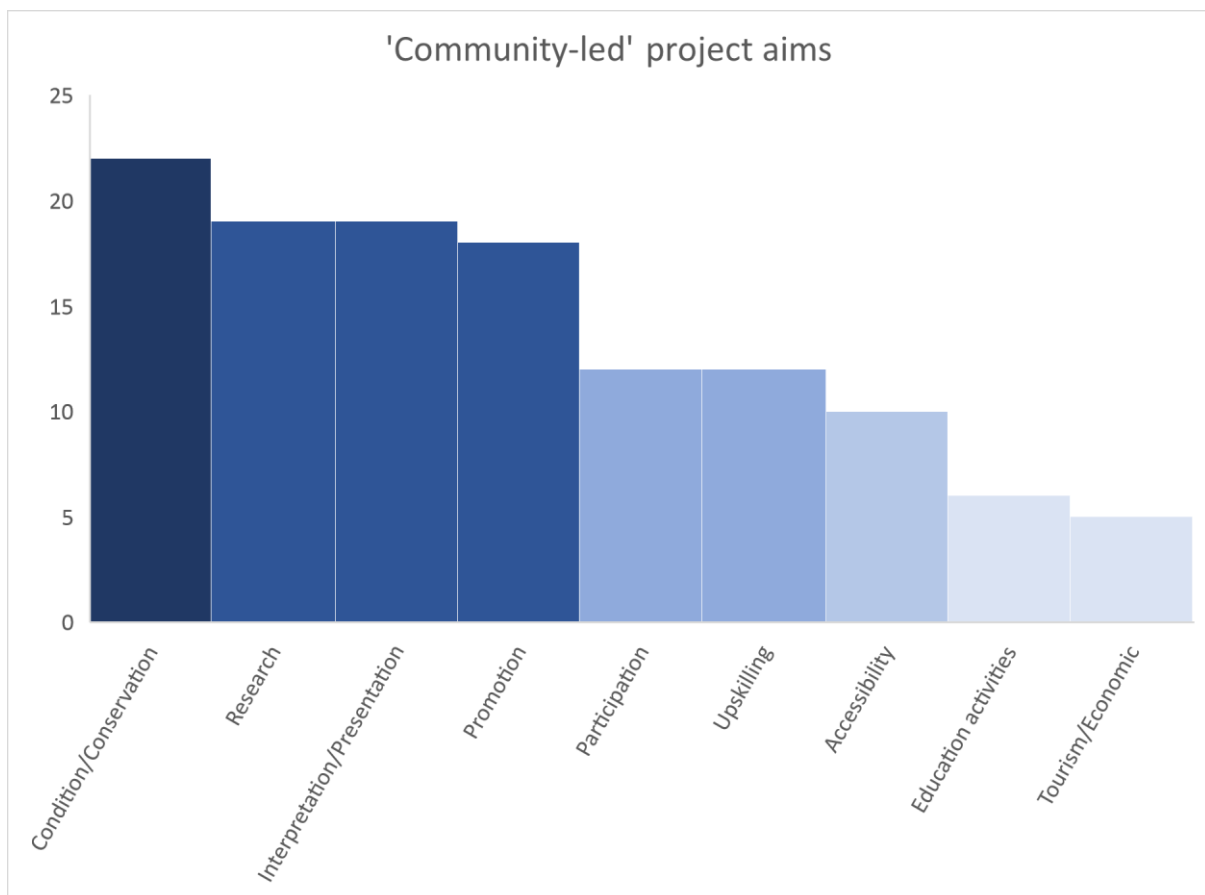
Figure 1 – Overview of aims reported for 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects (collated from Archaeology Scotland ndc)

These categories are my interpretations based on descriptions in documentation provided by Archaeology Scotland (ndc). I have chosen to separate 'upskilling' from 'education activities' in order to distinguish between participants learning skills from taking part in workshops provided by the Adopt-a-Monument team and education activities organised by participants for other members of their local communities. Project aims were generally outlined by participating groups with support from Adopt-a-Monument staff. While the listed aims suggest a wide range of potential activities and the most frequently mentioned aims (conserving, researching, interpreting and promoting) cover the

major traditional components of caring for heritage, the reported project outcomes suggest a more limited pattern of activities.

The most frequently reported benefit for people was participation in Adopt-a-Monument workshops, referenced in three times as many case study reports as any other outcome, while the most frequently reported benefits for heritage were surveys of heritage sites and vegetation removal (Figure 2). Other reported benefits include condition monitoring, general site awareness, interpretation boards, leaflets, information on websites, public presentations, tours and general public learning. Many projects also involve fundraising, though this was not formally included in lists of benefits for people and heritage in the case study reports. Of the 32 'community-led' projects with reported outcomes, only 5 did not involve surveying heritage sites or removing vegetation. What this suggests is that a typical 'community-led' project involves participating in an Adopt-a-Monument workshop on an approach to survey and/or sensitive vegetation removal, with some projects also including the production of interpretation materials and/or tours and public presentations.
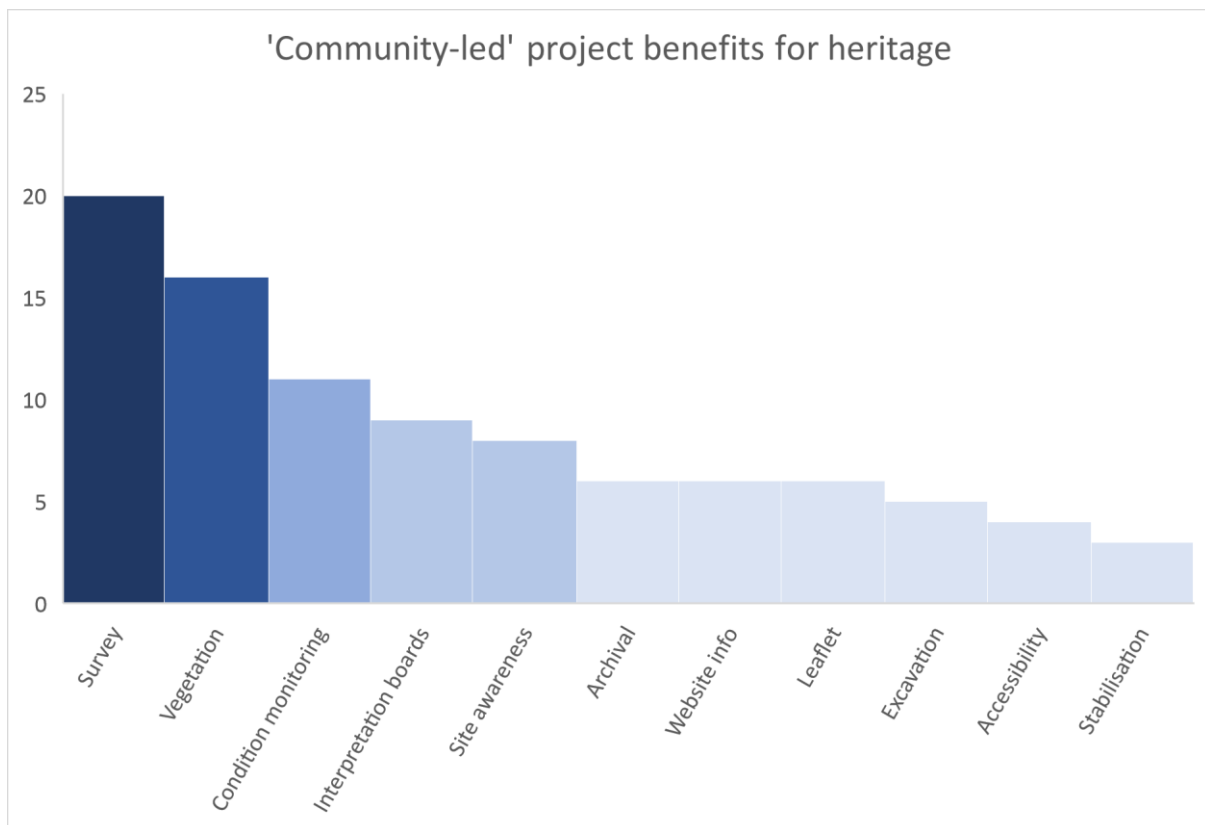
Figure 2 – Overview of benefits for heritage reported for 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects (collated from Archaeology Scotland ndc).

The perception that many Adopt-a-Monument projects are restricted to vegetation removal is expressed by other Scottish heritage organisations in the external evaluation of the scheme in the context of envisioning a future version of Adopt-a-Monument that is 'better at prioritising sites' and 'more ambitious in the projects it takes on to encompass more complex work such as masonry, whereas the emphasis seems to be on low skill stewardship and control of vegetation' (Hall Aitken

2017, 17). While I am wary of this motivation to mobilise 'community-led' projects to work to heritage organisations' priorities, the comment is helpful in contextualising a large proportion of the projects conducted as part of the scheme.

The median number of reported regular volunteers in participating groups is 10.5, with numbers ranging from 2 to 70, though these figures were only provided for two thirds of the 32 'community-led' projects with reported outcomes. A number of the project reports indicate that projects were driven by one or two committed individuals and that projects faltered if they, for whatever reason, could no longer take part. This is consistent with the groups I worked with in my co-design project and is arguably also true of the various initiatives centred around the Know Your Place platform described later in this chapter. The Tinker's Heart 'community-led' project was initiated by a single individual, whose enquiry lead to a desk-based assessment conducted by the Adopt-a-Monument team. More frequently, as noted in the external evaluation, 'most projects involve a relatively small group of people but can often mobilise larger groups of volunteers for work parties, for example clearing vegetation' (Hall Aitken 2017, 17). In correspondence, Cara Jones notes that this way of working is a pragmatic response to the fact that many groups are based in isolated rural contexts and whole groups do not necessarily have the time to commit to leading a project. Members often have multiple roles and one or two individuals will step forward to take on the bulk of the responsibility while other members help in other ways.

Archaeology Scotland's case study reports suggest that 'community-led' projects also vary in the extent to which they can be said to truly be 'community-led'. The fundamental unifying characteristic of these projects is that they begin by an individual or group contacting Archaeology Scotland with an enquiry about the Adopt-a-Monument scheme. From this point, projects differ dramatically in terms of assigned roles and responsibilities and time spent, ranging from the Tinker's Heart project referenced above that consisted of a desk-based assessment conducted by Archaeology Scotland staff in response to a query from a single individual, to the Baliscate Chapel project on Mull with Mull Museum that reported 917 volunteer hours, an incredible 273 of which were spent on funding applications (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 18). Clearly, this level of commitment is not tenable for most groups, especially those who are less familiar with heritage projects and might be put off by the bureaucracy of funding applications. It is therefore reasonable for Archaeology Scotland to claim it is their 'needs-based method of delivery [that] allows a multitude of participants to take part' (ndc, 8). This explains why many projects only draw on elements of the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' and may rely more on Adopt-a-Monument staff to source necessary permissions and complete funding applications. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that a large number of the project reports describe

processes that raise questions as to their 'community-led' nature. One such example is the report on Harehope Cairn. The project summary is reproduced below:

> Harehope Cairn was excavated [sic] 1970's and is situated near to the Moffatt coach road, now promoted as [a] major walking route. The cairn is designated as a Scheduled Monument and is currently situated within commercial forestry, which has begun to encroach onto the monument itself. Adopt-a-Monument assisted the Peeblesshire Archaeological Society with clearing the monument of vegetation and installing an interpretation panel to the [sic] promote the site for walkers and visitors to the area. Adopt-a-Monument secured Scheduled Monument Consent for the erection of an interpretation panel, and continued vegetation management on site. Two workshops were carried out that allowed the group to learn how to managed [sic] vegetation on a Scheduled Monument and within commercial forestry. Adopt-a-Monument also monitored the excavation of the postholes required for the interpretation panel.

> The workshops engaged with 9 participants from the local community and Peeblesshire Archaeological Society, and cleared the vegetation on the cairn, although a further 25 members of the Peeblesshire Archaeology Society attended at [sic] talk about the project, given by the Adopt-a-Monument team. No archaeological remains were found during the excavation of the postholes for the interpretation panel.

> <div align="right">(Archaeology Scotland ndc, 27).</div>

In this case, the Adopt-a-Monument team is described as the active party in all mentioned activities: in obtaining consent, delivering workshops and giving the talk about the 'community-led' project *to* members of the Peeblesshire Archaeology Society. There is no further mention of who was involved in designing the interpretation panel. It is worth remembering, however, that this text is taken from a report to the National Lottery Heritage Fund in response to how they ask for their outcomes to be evidenced. In correspondence, Cara Jones explains that the group wrote and designed the content, which was subsequently produced professionally. The case study report for the Glenuig 'community-led' project with Moidard History Group is another project that raises questions about projects' 'community-led' nature. Based on the report to the National Lottery Heritage Fund, it appears to have consisted of a two-day archaeological survey workshop delivered by Archaeology Scotland (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 62-63), though Jones clarifies in correspondence that the group proceeded to complete more survey work subsequent to the workshop. The Torwood Broch project, where Archaeology Scotland were funded by the Forestry Commission Scotland to collaborate with two local authority archaeologists to clear vegetation over a six day period with 25 local volunteers is another example (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 67-68).

Other 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects were described as constituting activities Archaeology Scotland were, in effect, commissioned to perform for a community group as part of a body of community-led work that was not otherwise connected to the Adopt-a-Monument scheme. The Viewpark project in North Lanarkshire, involved Archaeology Scotland 'conduct[ing] a desk-based assessment and walkover survey … for The Viewpark Conservation Group to inform them as they carry out a programme of activities in order to record, interpret and disseminate the rich cultural heritage contained within the Douglas Support Estate' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 76). While the overarching project can be said to be 'community-led', it is unclear how the Adopt-a-Monument' portion of it can, or whether the rest of the group's activities that clearly are community led have any connection to the Adopt-a-Monument scheme. There are several cases where it is similarly unclear where the Adopt-a-Monument project begins and ends. In part this speaks well of the scheme in that Archaeology Scotland are eager to keep supporting groups, not just dropping them once formal programming ends but continuing to provide support as groups apply the skills they have learnt to other projects, while on the other hand it blurs the nature of co-produced impact and adds to the ambiguous nature of exactly what an Adopt-a-Monument project is.

In highlighting these projects and questioning the extent to which they can be considered 'community-led', it is not my intention to be critical of Archaeology Scotland for engaging with these projects. I do so to highlight that many 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects do not manifest in the way one might assume based on reading the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' alone, and that they instead represent the full range of projects Archaeology Scotland pursue in collaboration with community groups. Understandably, this has raised some confusion among groups as to what exactly is on offer through the Adopt-a-Monument scheme (cf. Hall Aitken 2017, 15). My review of reports on projects delivered between 2011 and 2017 suggests they are characterised as 'community-led' because their inception takes place outside Archaeology Scotland as an organisation. This does not, however, mean that a community or community group necessarily is the driving force behind the resulting collaboration. Instead, Archaeology Scotland may, in some cases, take a leading role in driving the project. In correspondence, Jones notes that this reflects the realities of the rural and isolated contexts some projects operate in, where the groups involved have limited capacity. My noting this is not intended to be a criticism of the scheme, but rather to clarify the range of approaches to projects captured within the 'community-led' label. More often leading roles are taken on by a small group, often one or two individuals, who may in some cases be employed by a third party, such as the Forestry Commission or a local museum. Often, as I explore in more detail in the next chapter, these individuals approach the Adopt-a-Monument scheme in an effort to get more local people involved in their vision, an observation which calls for a more nuanced view of 'community', even in projects that may be considered 'community-led'. This review analysis suggests therefore that 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects can be understood as a catch-all term for support

Archaeology Scotland offers to local organisations and individuals that may be time-bound or continuous, but that always originates outside the organisation. These projects are clearly distinguished from 'outreach' projects, which are initiated by Archaeology Scotland and specifically designed to engage 'underrepresented groups' or 'new heritage audiences'.

Outreach projects

While Archaeology Scotland's approach to facilitating 'community-led' projects is built on the assumption that the communities involved will take the initiative to participate in caring for heritage, the approach to 'outreach' projects is designed with the understanding that the 'target groups' for these projects will not. Mirroring National Lottery Heritage Fund priorities, the Adopt-a-Monument Activity Plan, written between 2009 and 2010, identified homeless people, individuals who identify as Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic, women, members of lower socio-economic groups, immigrants and the elderly as 'target audiences', also frequently referred to as 'new heritage audiences' in project reports. In contrast to the 'community-led' projects, 'the Outreach projects required a more professional-led or top-down approach – Adopt-a-Monument endeavoured to create appealing and relevant projects which could be flexible and reactive to the interests and skillsets of the participants' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 9). Project reports describe 'outreach' projects as 'projects which are audience rather than heritage led' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 64), yet, despite this, like participants in 'community-led' projects, participants in 'outreach' projects are described as having 'made a huge contribution to the recording and researching of Scotland' [sic] historic environment whilst learning new skills and benefitting from new experiences' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 12).

While 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects begin with a group contacting Archaeology Scotland, 'outreach' projects begin by Archaeology Scotland contacting an organisation that already works with one of their 'target audiences' and has existing relationships with potential participants. These partnerships are described as 'crucial to the success of each project', especially in 'developing projects which were suitable for specific audiences', in reducing 'the amount of time it would have taken Adopt-a-Monument to establish working relationships with the participants' and in drawing on partners' expertise in working 'with people who have specific requirements' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 9, 13). In collaboration with each partner organisation, Archaeology Scotland would propose a series of workshops or activities to be delivered by Adopt-a-Monument staff, but facilitated by the partner organisation and promoted using partners' contacts and communication channels. In cases where partners did not have the capacity to facilitate extra projects or workshops, outreach projects were not taken forward.

Beyond the foundation of engaging with 'target audiences' and working with partner organisations, Adopt-a-Monument 'outreach' projects, like 'community-led' projects, vary greatly. Most 'outreach' projects engaged between 10 and 30 people though numbers also varied across different times and

activities within single projects. For example, while the Dighty Connect project involved 25 participants, 'only one participant took on the field survey, and while that individual was happy to record sites, it fell to Adopt-a-Monument to write up the results' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 45). Similarly, while 13 participants took part in the Women at War project and 'enjoyed the site visits, only one participant enjoyed the archaeological recording of the site' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 65). The 13 participants included two partner staff and were divided over two project phases, the second of which only engaged with three service users. As this suggests, like in 'community-led' projects, participants also engage to varying degrees in 'outreach' projects; Digging the Scene engaged with 25 participants, six of which made up the core group of those most involved (Jones and Richardson 2014).

'Outreach' projects also varied in length and scope, from Digging the Scene, which ran for 20 workshops, to the Tamfourhill project with Barnardo's in Falkirk that only consisted of three (Archaeology Scotland, ndc, 9). Unlike 'community-led' projects, which predominantly focused on prehistoric monuments, 'outreach' projects targeted less traditional and more recent histories, monuments and sites. Despite this, most 'outreach' projects aimed to create baseline surveys of sites for addition to regional and national historic environment records and the archaeological or heritage skills taught to participants were similar to those in workshops offered within 'community-led' projects. These were predominantly excavation and various approaches to survey and recording, including photogrammetry and 3D modeling, though several 'outreach' projects included oral history research and more creative approaches to disseminating results, including poetry.

Many projects were planned in response to needs identified by local authority archaeologists. One example of this is the Women at War project, delivered in collaboration with Ross-shire Women's Aid who offer short-term support for women to leave abusive relationships, as well as longer-term support-groups. During a conference presentation at the Institute for Archaeologists 2014 conference and training event, Cara Jones explained that the site of HMS Owl was chosen in collaboration with the Highland Council Historic Environment Team, who identified the site as at risk in 2011 (Jones and Richardson 2014). It was in need of a baseline survey and there were available archival records that had not been studied previously. 'So we took their sort of research questions, we took our sort of interest in working with this particular audience and we created this project that we've actually just finished' (Jones and Richardson 2014) She goes on to explain that the scope of the project was kept flexible, but that it was based on her own interests:

> We kept the topics of the project quite loose, quite flexible, so we could adapt the project to what they were actually interested in. We developed this project, this project came, to be honest, out of my interest in World War Two archaeology, but the topics that we did on each research came from them. And so we were able to move the project toward their interests.

This built-in flexibility was used to bring in professional contractors to perform the tasks participants were less interested in in order to allow participants to focus on what appealed to them, all while completing the overarching project and allowing participants to engage with the results produced by the professional archaeologists. Jones puts it this way:

> We did recognise early on that we probably weren't going to complete a baseline survey of the site without professional support. So early on, because we'd seen that with some of our previous projects, so early on, we were able to make budget allocation, to make allowance for getting more professional archaeologists out on site and working side-by-side our women to report that site.
>
> (Jones and Richardson 2014)

Archaeology Scotland's report to the National Lottery Heritage Fund explains that 'outreach' projects, which were a new addition to the Adopt-a-Monument scheme during the 2011-2017 phase, were a 'learning curve' for Adopt-a-Monument staff (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 12). The Minding Merkinch project is a good example of this. The project summary is reproduced below:

> Minding Merkinch is a collaborative project delivered by Adopt-a-Monument to give local residents in Merkinch, Inverness, an opportunity to learn about and engage with the history and archaeology of their area. The partnership with For the Right Reasons, Merkinch Partnership and Merkinch Enterprise enabled us to reach people in this part of Inverness who might not otherwise get involved in this type of work. Merkinch is one of the most deprived areas of Scotland with areas of over 40% unemployment and ranked 23rd worst in 2009 SIMD [Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation] rankings. Against this backdrop opportunities for personal development are limited. The historic environment of this area is also undervalued and much of its significant heritage is unrecorded. This project hoped to record and research local historical features, to provide fascinating insights into the history and development of Inverness and the part Merkinch played in the cities [sic] development, demonstrating the value of the area and promoting a sense of pride and belonging in local residents. Minding Merkinch aimed to inspire people to investigate the history and archaeology of Merkinch's many interesting features. Over a series of four oral history workshops, participants recorded their memories of the local area and the group did an end of project exhibition in the Merkinch Welfare Hall.
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 72)

While the project had initially aimed to enhance regional and national archaeological and heritage records, the project moved away from this as it got underway:

> The Minding Merkinch brief changed throughout the project, and very little building recording took place, with project volunteers preferring to collect oral history interviews. This element of the project was applied to future Adopt-a-Monument outreach projects – to start with a loose concept and theme, and adapt workshops and events to the interests of participants. The team has found that this approach is far more successful at retaining volunteers.
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 73)

Despite the success in retaining participants by shifting the focus of the project from buildings recording to oral histories, this also brought with it a new set of problems. None of the project volunteers were willing to commit to transcribing the recorded oral histories and the large size of the resulting audio files are creating problems with regard to long-term storage. These lessons played a significant part in foregrounding participants' interests in future 'outreach' projects and constitutes learning that is still being developed as part of ongoing projects.

One project that stands out as unique is the Tarbert Castle Disability project organised in collaboration with Tarbert and Skipness Community Trust, Lochgilphead Resource Centre, Mid Argyll and Kintyre People and Agencies Coming Together, the Young Disabled Group, Val Cannell and Kintyre Six Circle Group (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 110-112). Tarbert and Skipness Community Trust were interested in learning more about how to make Tarbert Castle more accessible and appealing to a wider range of people. In partnership with local disability charities, Adopt-a-Monument facilitated indoor workshops and a series of visits to a range of local heritage sites. The Fieldfare Trust, who specialise in facilitating access to the countryside for people with disabilities, were commissioned to deliver two workshops introducing participants to a wide range of interpretive media. Participants were then invited on away days to local heritage sites and to meetings to discuss the site visits and different interpretive offers. While this project facilitated people with disabilities attending heritage sites, who would not have done so otherwise, significantly, it was also designed as a learning opportunity for Archaeology Scotland and Tarbert and Skipness Community Trust. The project highlighted that in addition to the physical barriers needing to be navigated during site visits that they might have anticipated, a whole range of other barriers kept participants from taking part, some of which could be mitigated by making more information available for visitors ahead of a visit. This experience once again underlined the importance of working with partners to deliver 'outreach' projects and the training necessary for Archaeology Scotland staff to be able to work effectively with 'new heritage audiences'. It also highlighted that such 'new heritage audiences' can be significant sources of information themselves and that sustained engagement requires heritage organisations to be willing to listen, take expressed views seriously and implement changes.

Sustainability in Adopt-a-Monument

'Outreach' and 'community-led' projects represent the ways in which the Adopt-a-Monument scheme attempted to facilitate and sustain public involvement in caring for heritage places during the 2011-2017 phase. While presented as two distinct types of projects, they make up a continuum of approaches to working with various publics. The defining difference is that in 'community-led' projects, groups make contact with Archaeology Scotland to pitch a project, while 'outreach' projects are designed by Archaeology Scotland in collaboration with partner organisations already working with 'target groups' that have been identified as 'new heritage audiences'. While 'outreach' projects are generally characterised by more formal programming organised by Archaeology Scotland, the degree to which 'community-led' projects actually are led by community groups varies greatly and some of these are also structured around, and dependant on, formal Archaeology Scotland programming. Conversely, as Adopt-a-Monument has delivered more 'outreach' projects, they have come to realise that sustaining participation in these projects also relies on giving participants agency in determining the focus and content of the projects. These projects have demonstrated that, unlike the 'community-led' projects which generally align with institutional priorities, participants in 'outreach' projects have not expressed great affinity to traditional survey techniques or formal archaeological databases, raising questions as to whether it is realistic for 'outreach' projects to develop sustainable 'new audiences' that develop similar interests and commitments to those held by the groups in 'community-led' projects. As Cara Jones notes in correspondence, such assessments of sustainability require evaluation that has not yet been completed. She also notes that we need to consider what sustainability means in relation to these projects carefully, arguing that it may, for example, both relate to groups continuing to pursue elements of the project or how individual participants relate to, and engage with, heritage in the future.

Sustainability emerges as a dominant theme in Archaeology Scotland's reflections on the Adopt-a-Monument scheme. Their report on the 2011-2017 phase claims that other heritage organisations 'recognise the scheme as a sustainable method of harnessing the enthusiasm of a local community to take a lead [sic] role in conserving and promoting local heritage assets' and claim 'there are good signs that a sustainable model has been developed' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 119, 120), yet doubts about the sustainability of the scheme itself remain. The report goes on to note 'the risk is that we struggle to find ways to sustainably continue our successful projects and activities and need to find other ways to support our communities and preserve their heritage' and that 'having the chance to plan and develop sustainable models is difficult when we rely on funding for specific projects' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 120). It is also unclear what evidence the identified sustainability of individual projects rests on. Clearly, collecting such evidence is challenging given the project-based nature of the funding available. Early in the report it was noted that 'it is *hoped* that the extensive training programme will help support the sustainability of each Adopt-a-Monument project' and that

in order to demonstrate this 'more extensive long-term evaluation would be required' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 10, my emphasis). As discussed in more detail in the next chapter, reported outcomes from projects were often written as hopes and presented without evidence in case study reports. For example, the Newbyres Castle project, which, at the time of compiling the case study reports for the National Lottery Heritage Fund, had consisted of one vegetation clearance day and support for funding applications reports benefits for heritage and people including:

- A sustainable audience has been created who will *hopefully* continue to engage with the monument once the Adopt-a-Monument project ends
- The training of local volunteers to maintain he [sic] site and its surroundings and, creating the sustainable stewardship of a nationally important site
- Supporting the GCFT [Gorebridge Community Development Trust] to create a sustainable audience who will continue to engage with the monument once the Adopt-a-Monument project had ended

(Archaeology Scotland ndc, 83-84, my emphasis)

These claims are made despite noting 'it was necessary to advertise for volunteers outside of the local area because of the small size of the group', with volunteers on the day including students from the University of Edinburgh (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 84). In this case, the hope that training will lead to sustainability is assumed, an assumption even more emphatically stated in other project reports as both an aim: 'to train local volunteers to survey, record and monitor a site and *therefore* creating the sustainable stewardship of a potentially important site' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 62, 91, my emphasis) and as an outcome: 'the training of local volunteers to survey, record and monitor the site and *therefore* creating the sustainable stewardship of a nationally important site' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 57, 97, my emphasis).

One potential route toward more sustainable projects lies in the space between 'community-led' and 'outreach' projects. Adopt-a-Monument's 'outreach' projects target disadvantaged individuals with substantial barriers to participation, while 'community-led' projects are not advertised and are therefore initiated by individuals or groups who already are invested in archaeology and are interested in engaging *other* members of their local communities in caring for heritage places. Significantly, this means that Adopt-a-Monument projects are not designed by, or for, individuals who sit between the target groups for the two types of projects: the majority of the population who are not already invested in caring for heritage places nor among those most structurally disadvantaged. Realistically, this is the potential group who can be most readily mobilised to make efforts to care for heritage more sustainable, yet like the 'target groups' in 'outreach' projects they must be approached on their own terms to initiate projects that align with their own interests. I will explore how doing so requires

reconceptualising expertise and non-participation in the next chapter, but first I turn to my two other case studies to show how similar difficulties and constraints emerge elsewhere.

4.2. Know Your Place

Know Your Place is a publicly accessible digital platform for the Bristol Historic Environment Record that was launched in March 2011 and is maintained by Bristol City Council. Like approximately two-thirds of Historic Environment Records in England, Know Your Place contains georeferenced information about archaeology and the historic environment that is freely available to the public online (Historic England nd). However, unlike other Historic Environment Records, Know Your Place allows users to overlay a range of scanned historic maps and to contribute information. As such, Know Your Place is not only a collaborative mapping project, but one where members of the public can contribute information to a resource managed by Bristol City Council, whereby contributions become material considerations in planning applications (Insole 2017). Members of the public are invited to help identify the constituent parts of Bristol's heritage. Arguably, identifying what is considered to be heritage is the first step of any attempt to care for it. The platform is also intended to serve as a resource for a range of participatory placemaking projects, many of which sit outside the remit of the city council. Nevertheless, the platform itself and the core functionality it offers is designed for, and operates within, the political and policy context of the council, dictated by documents such as the 1990 *Town and Country Planning Act* and subsequent amendments and the National Planning Policy Framework (CLG 2012; HCLG 2019). In this section I describe the ways in which Know Your Place facilitates public participation in caring for heritage through the digital platform itself, the series of collaborative projects with the University of Bristol under the 'Know Your Bristol' umbrella and the neighbourhood character mapping toolkit and initiative 'Our Place'. For each strand, I outline what they aim to achieve, what participating entails and who participates, before turning to questions of sustainability for the suite of projects as a whole.

The Know Your Place platform is accessible through the planning section of information for residents on the Bristol City Council website. Here, users are presented with information about the resource and the option to 'Go to Know Your Place' by clicking a large blue button (Figure 3). This takes users to the main Know Your Place interface, which (in June 2019) displays the 2017 Ordnance Survey map of Bristol split vertically with an 1844-1848 composite Ordnance Survey map, both overlain with green and blue diamond-shaped data markers. The menu on the right allows users to select a variety of maps and a range of different 'information layers', each of which contains a data-set mapped onto Know Your Place, which allows the data markers to be superimposed on all the available maps.

Know Your Place invites users to add information to the 'community layer' of the resource, which is selected by default when entering the site. Users may add information to the site by selecting the pencil-shaped icon to the right of the menu and left-clicking a location on the map, bringing up the

option to 'create a new record here' (Figure 4). Selecting this option takes the user to the 'Adding to New contribution' page, where users are presented with the following information fields: 'Asset title; Asset type; Asset description; Asset risk; Do you consent to your name and contact details being recorded against your contribution?; Submitter's organisation; Local list nominated?' and invited to upload attachments, with a note outlining accepted image and audio file formats (Bristol City Council nda; Figure 5). Guidance documents available on the Know Your Place information page explain that none of the fields on this page are mandatory, but users are asked to provide as much information as possible. Submissions are 'checked and validated before being published to the site' by the Historic Environment Record team at Bristol City Council who 'aim to complete this process within five working days of the information being submitted' (Bristol City Council ndb).
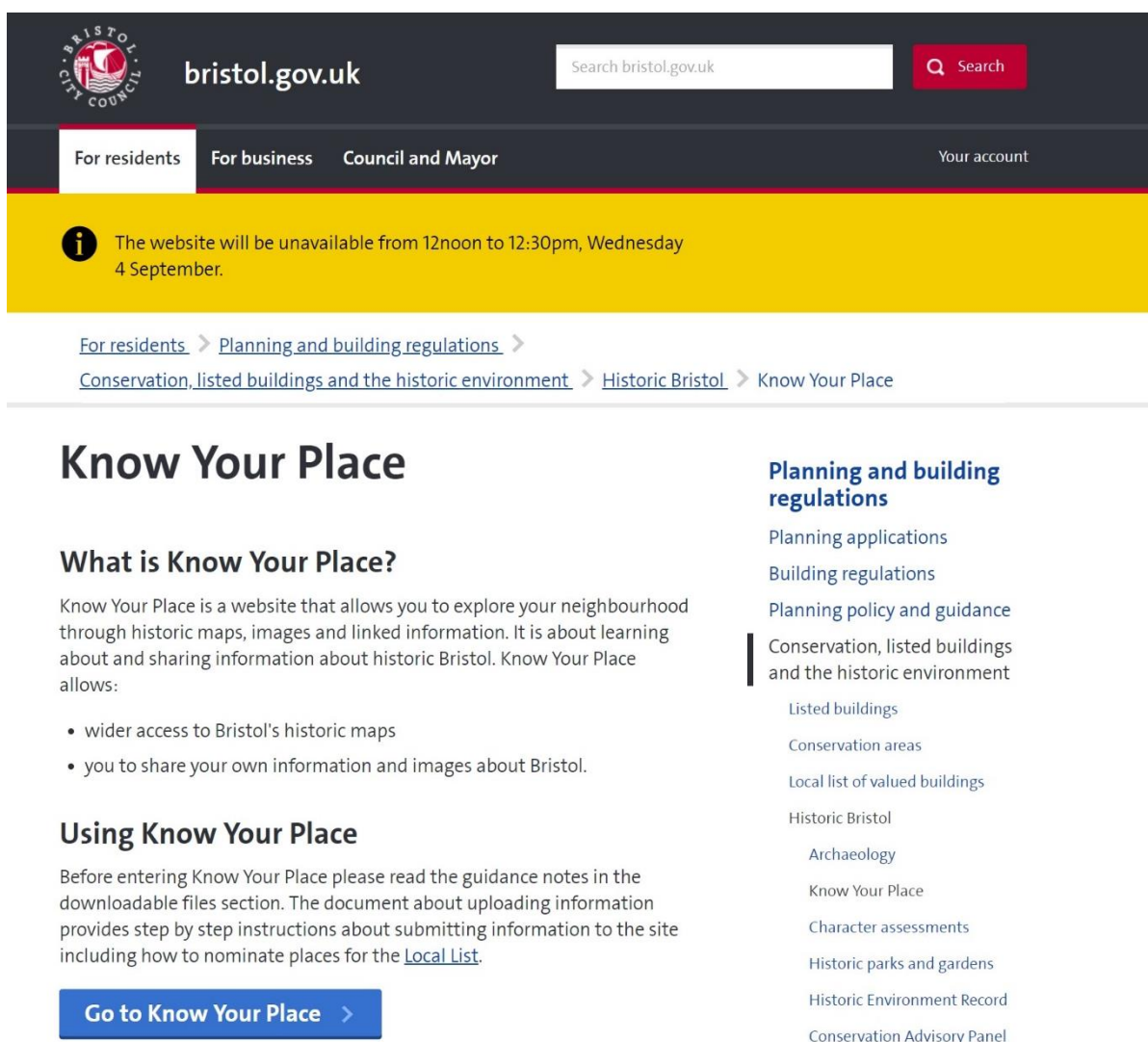
Figure 3 – Entrance page to Know Your Place on Bristol City Council website
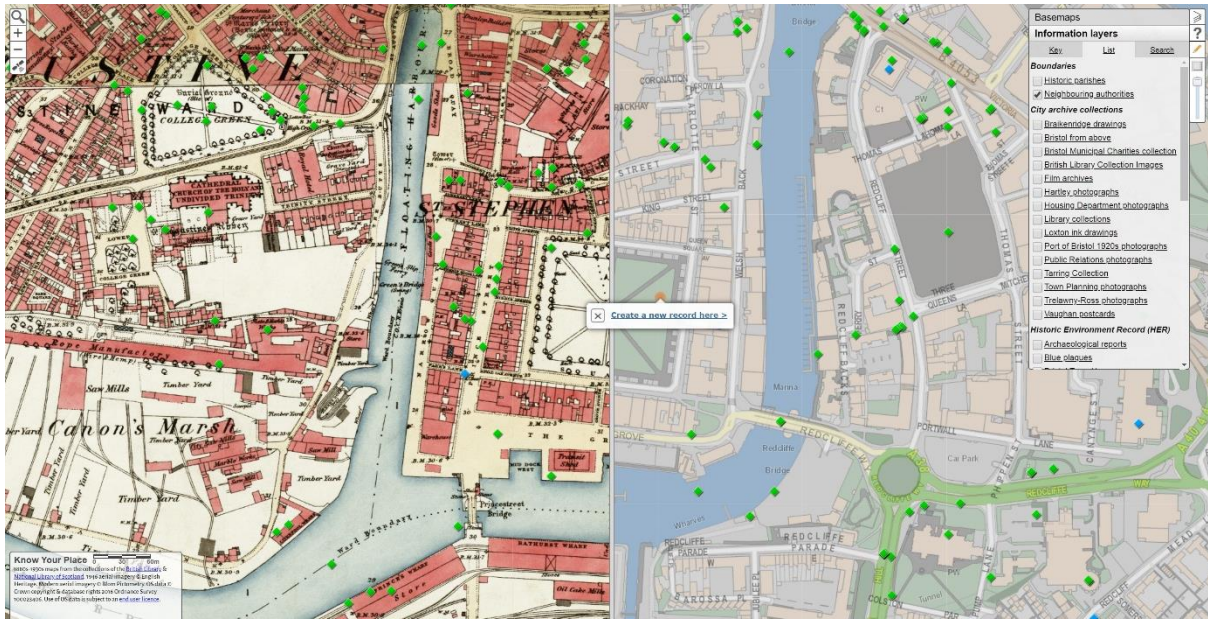
Figure 4 – Landing page on Know Your Place and the main interface.

Figure 5 – Know Your Place Adding to new contributions page.

As of July 2019, a total of 2403 entries have been submitted and approved to the 'community layer' of Know Your Place since its launch in March 2011. This number excludes contributions made through volunteers on projects to digitise institutional collections, such as the Vaughan Postcards project described in the next section. 2079 of these entries are attributed to named individuals or groups, with the number of contributions made by each user varying from one to 750 as shown in Figure 6 below. This distribution of contributions can be described as having a 'long tail' and illustrates what is known as the '90-9-1 rule', where one percent of users typically perform the majority of the work, nine percent make infrequent contributions and most users interact with the content without

contributing any data (cf. Ridge 2014; Haklay 2016). Muki Haklay explains that for large citizen science initiatives such as Wikipedia and OpenStreetMap, the majority of data is contributed by far less than one percent. While we do not know these ratios for Know Your Place as the site does not offer users the opportunity to register, the ratio between 'frequent' and 'infrequent' contributors according to the definition Haklay offers is 1:6 on Know Your Place, compared to the 1:9 ratio of the '90-9-1 rule', suggesting that Know Your Place may, in fact, be less dependent on so-called 'super-users' than many other crowdsourcing initiatives. Despite this, the median number of contributions to Know Your Place by identifiable users is one, as is the number of months contributions are spread over. As a result, the average contributor to Know Your Place uploads a single piece of information relating to a place in Bristol only once.
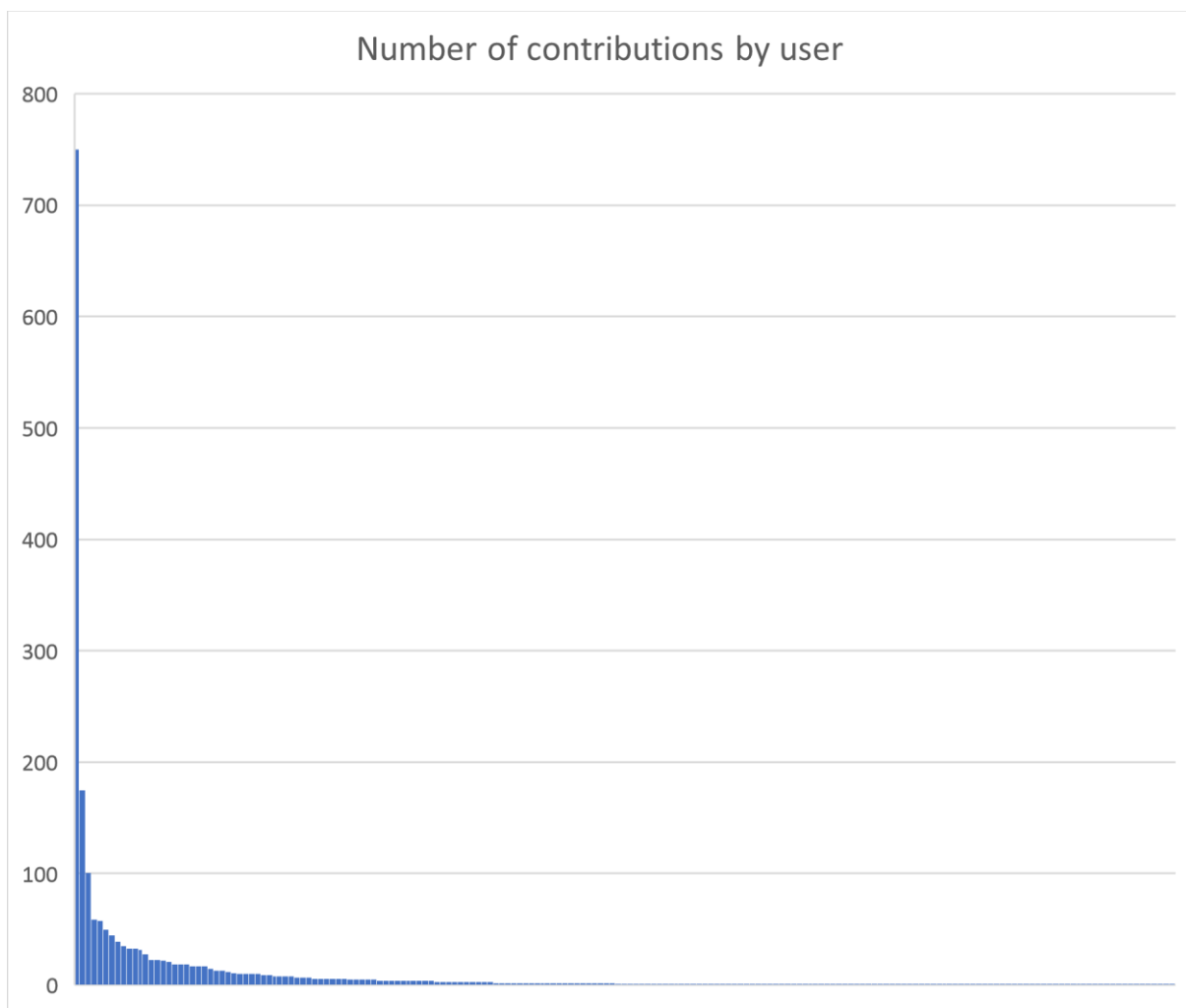
Figure 6 – Overview of the number of contributions made to the community layer of Know Your Place made by all users, illustrating the 'long tail' distribution. Participants who made only one contribution make up more than half of the distribution.

There is no clear pattern to the times of year when most contributions are made to Know Your Place, as demonstrated by Figure 7, though activity appears to have increased in 2019. The spikes in contributions are predominantly caused by periods of increased activity by individual participants or

groups rather than an increase in the number of contributors. Two of the eight months in which over 50 contributions were made to the community layer coincided with specific events: the September 2012 spike was largely caused by contributions made during the Know Your King's Weston event in June 2012 and the increase in contributions during October 2016 was caused by the Meadows to Meaders Local Learning event on the 7th of October 2016. The other spikes are predominantly caused by individual users. For example, 202 of the 250 contributions made in May, June and July 2019 were made by a single individual.
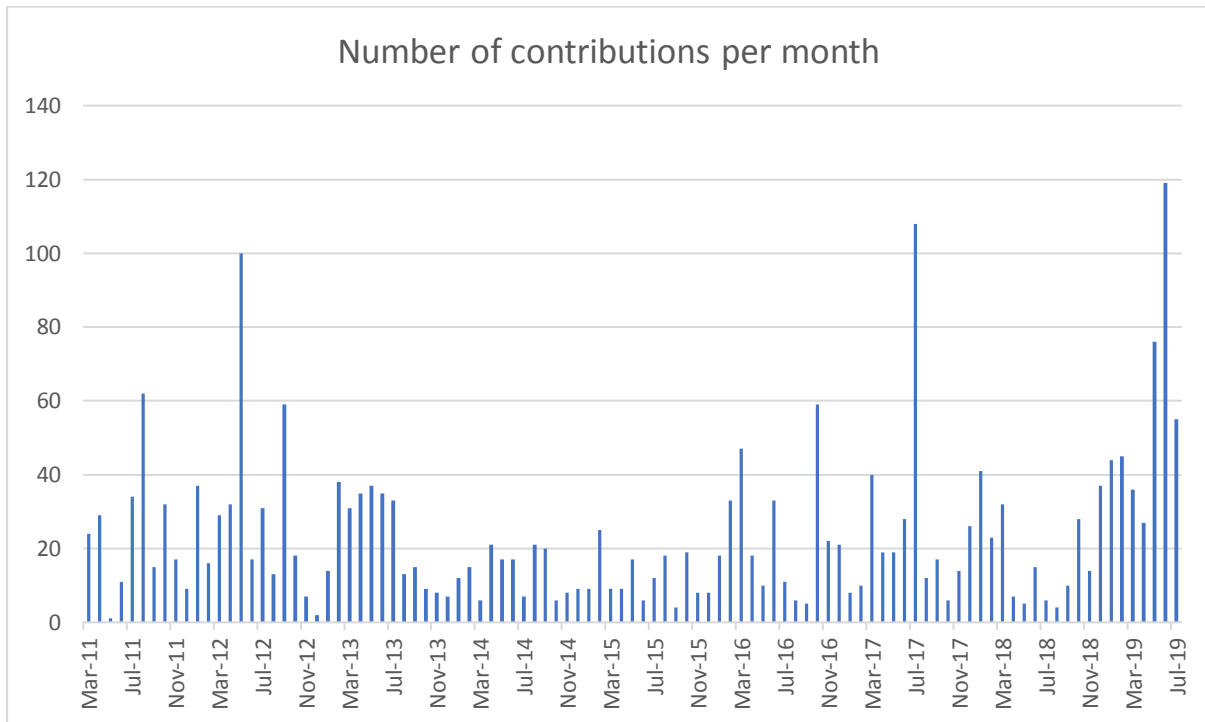
Figure 7 – Overview of the number of contributions made to the community layer of Know Your Place each month.

All the contributions made to the 'community layer' of Know Your Place include a title, 98 percent have a description and 96 percent include an image. The other fields on the contribution form are used much less frequently and there is little consistency in the type of information provided in them. The descriptions provided with entries are factual, providing information about the drawing, painting or photograph itself or what it depicts, illustrated by the examples reproduced below:

> Designed and erected in 1930's by J Stride and sons along with many other houses in this and adjoining roads. Photo 2016

> The Berkely Hunt returning to the Kings Weston stables courtesy of Mr P Napier Miles and reported in the Western Daily Press of Feb 7 1926

> 22 Oct 1930. The photographer's notes state: `St Peter's Church, from the top of Little Peter Street, from N.E.' Photographer: P E W Street. Hiostoric [sic] England Archive AA78/06678

> View from the back garden of 4 Haydon Gardens c.1949 before the land behind was built on

Painting of the colliery and brick works by William Hensey. The brick works closed in the 1960s. Presented for use on Know Your Place at an event at Ashton Vale Primary School, June 8th, 2016.

Built in 1882 in gothic style with two porches, a spire and a stair tower. Some orignal [sic] glass survives in the smaller windows. Interior much altered as used for storage. Outside is an ornate iron urinal made by Walter MacFarlane & Co. Glasgow.

I have been unable to find descriptions that include any mention of personal attachments to place, interpretations of their meaning or significance or views on future use or adaption. Through correspondence with Peter Insole, Principal Historic Environment Officer at Bristol City Council, I have come to understand that due to the political and policy context Know Your Place operates within, such contributions are purposefully not encouraged as they do not satisfy the legal requirements of the current policy context necessary to be upheld in a planning appeal.

Elsewhere, Insole notes that 'soon after the launch of Know Your Place, gaps in data coverage in terms of community contributions began to emerge' (2017, 64). This refers to parts of the city that were notably absent in contributions to Know Your Place. As a result, the University of Bristol and Bristol City Council initiated joint projects to increase and diversify engagement with the Know Your Place platform. I describe these projects below as extensions of Know Your Place and include them in my analysis of public participation in Know Your Place in the following chapters.

Know Your Bristol

In 2012, the University of Bristol and Bristol City Council launched the first of what would become a series of projects 'to enable people to explore, research and co-create Bristol history, heritage and culture using digital tools' (Know Your Bristol nda). The focal point for these projects was the newly established Know Your Place resource, and in particular the 'community-layer'. Aware of the emerging patterns of presences and absences in the Know Your Place database, these projects constituted a concerted effort to begin 'to address these data gaps by taking Know Your Place to the silent communities' (Insole 2017, 64). The first of these projects was a collaboration between Angela Piccini and Peter Insole to deliver a series of workshops in seven different parts of the city 'to draw more personal archive material in to the website' (Insole and Piccini 2013, 35). Participants were invited to bring family photographs and objects to the workshops to have them scanned and photographed, and to have oral histories recorded. Many of these were then added to the 'community layer' of Know Your Place. One of the workshops also explored home movies and slide-shows as potential information sources about the historic environment and as archaeological artefacts themselves, but due to practical constraints these were not recorded and added to Know Your Place.

Know Your Bristol on the Move followed in October 2013, again connected with the Know Your Place resource, and characterised by the intention to 'achieve wider "impact": to connect with more Bristol residents, but especially those whose stories tended to be absent from official histories and

maps of the city' (Map Your Bristol nd). While this also was the expressed intention of the initial Know Your Bristol project, the project had not been entirely successful in this regard (Know Your Bristol ndb). As a result, the project launched with 'a bus fully equipped with the latest audio-visual archiving technologies. The bus will travel around the city offering a mobile space for people to come together to share and digitise artefacts, recount and record stories and access and update the Know Your Place map' (Know Your Bristol nda). While Know Your Bristol on the Move still set out to work with Bristol City Council and Know Your Place, it also established Map Your Bristol (www.mapyourbristol.org.uk/), an alternative community mapping resource that 'aims to be simpler to modify and is not centrally moderated' (Map Your Bristol nd). Unlike Know Your Place, which adds all contributions from members of the public to a single 'community layer', Map Your Bristol allows users to create separate community layers for their content. The Map Your Bristol resource holds 'layers' for the initial Know Your Bristol on the Move projects as well as a range of further layers that have been subsequently added.

'Augmenting' Know Your Place was one of the main parts of Know Your Bristol on the Move, and one that was addressed directly by the work package concerned with the Vaughan Collection of postcards held by the Bristol Records Office (now Bristol Archives). This part of the project came to be known as 'Enhancing Know Your Place' and set out to create a new 'layer' of georeferenced historical images from the Vaughan Collection catalogue through a local 'crowdsourcing' initiative. Volunteers were solicited through University of Bristol news pages, the Bristol Records Office website and newsletter, the Bristol Museums website and through the *Bristol Post*, a regional daily newspaper. Volunteers were asked to attend an induction meeting, but were then emailed a batch of postcards and 'a step-by-step "How-To" document' as well as information on how to check copyright status and a spreadsheet with information on the postcards from the Bristol Records Office catalogue (Nourse *et al*. 2017, 157). Volunteers were asked to address two questions for each postcard: 'can you place the postcard image at a specific point on the map [Know Your Place]; and is there an interesting story about Bristol in this image' (Nourse *et al*. 2017, 156). When volunteers had researched their postcards, they pinned and uploaded the postcard images to Know Your Place and were asked to update the spreadsheet they had been sent with any new information about the postcard for the Bristol Records Office database. This second step was only completed by one of the volunteers (Nourse *et al*. 2017, 158), and while a series of 'postcard of the month' stories were published in the *Bristol Post* and there is a blog post with an example of the kind of information a volunteer could find out about individual postcards on the Know Your Bristol website (Miller 2014), the lasting contribution of the project is the thousands of postcard images that were georeferenced on the 'Vaughan postcards' layer of Know Your Place.

During the project, a Tuesday morning 'surgery' session was facilitated at the Bristol Records Office every week, during which inductions were also given to any new volunteers (Nourse 2013; Nourse *et*

al. 2017, 157). Apart from this, the project was set up for volunteers to work remotely and receive support on-line. Many of the volunteers who did not attend an in-person induction never contributed to the project and those who contributed the most self-organised and spent time researching together in the Bristol Record Office 'Searchroom' (Nourse *et al*. 2017, 160). The project recruited 47 volunteers, 12 of whom did not submit any results. More than half the volunteers completed less than 10 postcards, and only five completed 50 postcards or more. Despite this, the latest reported figure is that over 3600 postcards were uploaded to Know Your Place, with 1725 (or 65% of volunteer submissions) being completed by a single volunteer (Nourse *et al*. 2017, 159). This 'long tail' distribution of participation or '90-9-1 rule' is characteristic of crowdsourcing projects, as discussed above (cf. Ridge 2014; Haklay 2016). As a result, while the project is described as a local crowdsourcing project, the vast majority of the work was completed by a small group of volunteers who met regularly at the Bristol Record Office to work together in a more traditional heritage volunteering environment.

Mapping LGBT+ Bristol was funded as a follow-on project to Know Your Bristol on the Move and initiated as a result of LGBT+ history group OutStories Bristol contacting the Know Your Bristol on the Move team to enquire about the possibility of creating a collaborative mapping project (University of Bristol 2015; UKRI nd). The project created an interactive mapping tool hosted by OutStories that is connected to a bespoke layer on Know Your Place. As such, contributions made through the Mapping LGBT+ Bristol project are moderated and curated by the OutStories community, yet are also integrated in Know Your Place. Through correspondence, Insole has explained that in this way, the 'LGBT life' layer on Know Your Place comes the closest to fulfilling their aspiration of collecting 'stories' about Bristol.

Our Place

Alongside the Know Your Bristol projects organised in collaboration with the University of Bristol, Bristol City Council developed the Our Place project, which tested and applied a toolkit for use in a series of four community mapping workshops to encourage public participation in neighbourhood planning and to address some of the data distribution imbalances on Know Your Place. The toolkit was first trialled at an event in 2012 at Lockleaze, a large post-war housing estate in the north of Bristol that had been identified as a priority regeneration area. Based on learning from early work with the Know Your Bristol project, a community event was planned at a local venue, consisting of 'a small exhibition of exciting historical material and [the opportunity to] share their stories of the local area' (Insole and Guise 2014, 14). With support from the university staff on the Know Your Bristol project, oral histories were recorded and personal archive material digitised and added to the community layer of Know Your Place. The follow-up event at the same venue is described in this way:

> The event began with a context mapping activity where members of the community were divided into four small groups and each given a corner of the square to map. Each group had a base map of part of the square, a simple notation key, clip board, coloured pens and a CDG [City Design Group] facilitator.
>
> (Insole and Guise 2014, 14)

Forty minutes were spent mapping the area, followed by a 'rapid design workshop' the same afternoon to produce materials for a public consultation exercise. Funding for 11 members of staff to deliver Our Place Lockleaze was secured through the university and the council regeneration budget.

Following Our Place Lockleaze, the Our Place project delivered a further four sets of events in different parts of Bristol: St Paul's, Westbury-on-Trym, Whitehall and Oldbury Court. In the St Paul's, Whitehall and Oldbury Court cases, Our Place initially engaged with Year 5 classes at local schools, facilitating a slightly simplified character mapping activity and putting on an exhibition of student work for the local community. This was then followed by a community workshop, with the intention to 'reach the local community through the local primary school' (Insole and Guise 2014, 26). While the interactions with all the local schools were very positive, the follow-up workshops had mixed success. At St Paul's the follow-up event was on a cold and overcast day in March, resulting in a poor turnout and limited opportunity to be outdoors; the Whitehall event was similarly unsuccessful. At Oldbury Court, the follow-up event was successful and did produce character maps, a draft Our Place document and subsequently provided a case study presentation at the Our Place evaluation day.

By contrast, the Westbury-on-Trym project engaged with an existing amenity group, the Westbury-on-Trym Society, who had already begun to create a Community Design Statement and contacted the City Design Group for support. A community mapping activity day was organised collaboratively, with the local Society inviting participants and City Design Group providing Our Place resources and facilitators. Twenty participants took part and the Society subsequently self-organised to fill any gaps in the character maps produced and immediately began using the documentation to engage with planning applications and to work toward amending the local conservation area boundaries. The success of this project has since led to other local societies utilising the Our Place toolkit. While the council no longer has the capacity to organise workshops advertising the Our Place toolkit, the toolkit is still promoted as a means for local groups to collect baseline evidence for Conservation Area Character Appraisals and other planning documentation, ensuring 'that the information is captured and returned to the council in an appropriate format' (City Design Group 2015a, 45).

In order to evaluate and further promote the Our Place project, City Design Group held an event at Bristol City Hall for members of local amenity groups. The morning involved a mapping activity of the area surrounding City Hall in order to demonstrate the Our Place approach and toolkit. This was followed by a panel discussion in the afternoon with participants from the Westbury-on-Trym and

Oldbury Court case studies. Both panellists received questions about recruiting participants: 'How easy is it to engage with the local community?' and 'What are the best ways to engage with your local community?' (Insole and Guise 2014, 40, 42). The foregrounding of these questions, and particularly the response to the former that is reproduced below, reaffirm that projects which might be considered 'community-led' are often characterised by a small number of individuals attempting to mobilise the 'community':

> One of the biggest hurdles with such a project is attracting volunteers in the first place, and maintaining their engagement. Various techniques have been used such as posting information leaflets for local residents, and leaving them in public meeting places such as libraries, inviting residents to meetings and also utilising social media on the internet such as Facebook and Twitter. It is also possible to do the work with local schools, and by involving children it is hoped that their parents also become interested. However in reality there is often only a small group of people doing the majority of the work.
>
> <div align="right">(Insole and Guise 2014, 40)</div>

Sustainability in Know Your Place

Know Your Place sits at the core of Bristol City Council's framework for Bristol's historic environment. In providing a central repository for place-based information about Bristol's past it is positioned as a resource for all heritage projects in Bristol to both use and feed back into (City Design Group 2015a, 44). The digital platform is promoted as a direct venue for public participation by adding contributions to the 'community' and 'heritage at risk' layers of Know Your Place and indirectly through intermediary projects such as the various iterations of Know Your Bristol, and it is positioned to capture information from mapping activities using the Our Place toolkit. It will also continue to serve as a focal point for research collaborations with regional universities and other local organisations in the future. Over 90 % of major planning applications now use content from Know Your Place and the embedded 'nominate for local list' feature offers members of the public a direct route to identifying places in the city that are important to them and deserving of extra consideration in future planning decisions (Insole 2017, 59). However, despite the expressed intention to collect 'stories' and build a 'shared understanding' of Bristol's heritage, the 'adding to new contributions' form does not invite such content and this is reflected in the submissions made, which are largely restricted to historic photographs with factual, often short, contextualising descriptions, contributed by a small group of core users, many of whom are connected to established amenity groups.

Like Archaeology Scotland, City Design Group and the University of Bristol have made deliberate efforts to engage with communities and individuals who would not otherwise have interacted with Know Your Place. These have undoubtedly been meaningful for participants, but have been delivered on a project basis and have not made a significant lasting impression on the spread of contributors to

Know Your Place or participants in Our Place activities. These limitations are, understandably, bound up in budget pressures and the project-based nature of grant funding. In Know Your Place, the City Design Group have successfully designed a resource that is sufficiently embedded in the core functions of the council to be sustained over the longer-term. Yet this has come at the cost of flexibility with regard to functionality and purpose, which made Know Your Bristol on the Move see fit to develop a parallel mapping resource in Map Your Bristol that could be more fully community-led. Furthermore, this embeddedness has tied Know Your Place firmly to national legislatory structures such as the National Planning Policy Framework, which, as I argue in the next two chapters, place significant restrictions on how heritage is conceptualised – and thereby the forms of public participation in caring for heritage Know Your Place can facilitate.

4.3. Adopting Archaeology

As outlined in Chapter 1, Adopting Archaeology was the title of the two PhD projects, jointly conceived and supervised by the Department of Archaeology at the University of York and the Council for British Archaeology. It was under this umbrella that I promoted and delivered my project to co-design digital resources for community groups involved in caring for heritage places in 2016. I have outlined my rationale for the initial approach I adopted in an account written in early 2016, prior to the start of the co-design project (Fredheim 2016a). In this section, I offer a critical account of this project, focusing on what I asked of, and offered to, participants. I use this detailed description as an opportunity to illustrate how practical constraints and implicit perceptions of both heritage and publics constrain the forms participatory heritage projects take, thereby reproducing incumbent dynamics despite critical intentions. I use this case study throughout my thesis to contextualise my critique of Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place, as the experience of attempting to facilitate a participatory project has had a profound impact on my reflections around the challenges of increasing and sustaining public agency in caring for heritage. Due to my role within the project, my account of it is markedly different to those of Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place above. Nevertheless, it raises a number of themes that resonate and provides a more in-depth analysis of the individual choices that shape the roles and responsibilities assigned to participants in participatory heritage projects.

Inviting participation

Invitations to participate in my co-design project were distributed via the Council for British Archaeology website, newsletter and social media channels, by email through British archaeology and heritage mailing lists such as BRITARCH and HERITAGE-YORKSHIRE, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, the Yorkshire and Humber Association of Civic Societies and with help from other Yorkshire-based heritage professionals working with community groups in the region. Distributed on the 11th of May 2016, the call for participants had the subject heading 'participate in developing digital tools to support your stewardship efforts' and invited heritage groups in Yorkshire

to participate in a pilot phase that would help shape the form of a subsequent larger, national, project. The opening paragraph concluded with a note that 'computer skills are desirable, but not required' and contained the information below, which was slightly re-structured for the Council for British Archaeology website:

> We will be co-creating a digital tool for recording and synthesising personal interpretations of local heritage. We need you to identify what you consider your local heritage to be. We will then create a digital tool that can capture and communicate your views and integrate them with others in your community. Once created, this tool can be used by your group to clearly rationalise your stewardship goals for use in strategic planning and management. In professional jargon, this could be called community-sourcing statements of significance. By participating, you will hold power in the co-creative process – you can make sure we create something you want.

> We are currently designing and developing a prototype of this tool and are looking for collaborators from Yorkshire who are able to take part at short notice. Participation is on a voluntary basis, but you may apply for up to £1,000 from the CBA Mick Aston Archaeology Fund to cover expenses incurred whilst arranging the key project event including;

> - hosting two local evening meetings, or a half-day weekend meeting, in June with PhD researcher Harald Fredheim
> - participating in a one-day design event in York in early July
> - hosting at least one further local evening meeting in July with Harald Fredheim
> - participating in a one-day showcase and evaluation event in York in late July

> Please contact Harald Fredheim (lhf506@york.ac.uk) or Mike Heyworth (mikeheyworth@archaeologyuk.org) as soon as possible to express your interest, or for more information.

> There will be a range of other opportunities to participate over the next few years including:

> - Answering questionnaires to help us understand who you are and how the CBA can support you.
> - Taking part in a knowledge exchange event on 'expertise' to discuss what professionals and volunteers can and should be responsible for doing to take care of heritage.
> - Further co-creation of the digital hub featuring tools to support your projects and a network for sharing expertise and resources between volunteer groups.

> (Council for British Archaeology 2016b)

The call for participants produced responses from five groups in Yorkshire. Three of these were Civic Societies, one an archaeological society and one a newly formed Friends Group. I followed these up with a series of phone calls and emails. My notes from the first of these calls only contained three sentences:

> Highlighted concern that while a number of heritage-related groups exist, there is a very small number of active members. *This must be central sustainability concern. This suggests that diversity and engaging new members should not be a tangential concern, but at the core of your methodology.*
>
> <div align="right">(Emphasis in original highlighting my reflections at the time)</div>

This concern, and sense that it is difficult to engage and get other people interested in heritage was repeated in subsequent planning meetings with my partner groups (which were never with more than three people). In addition to corroborating the participation patterns in Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place described in the sections above, this note highlights that the groups I was working with were motivated to address the issue, also expressing an interest to 'break out from doing the same things every year'. Similarly, following my initial planning meeting with one of the other groups, I tweeted that I wished all groups were as pragmatic and future focused. I was excited about working with these groups and that was important to me because I wanted to use my project to get more (and a wider range of people) involved in heritage but had felt I had to work with existing groups due to time-constraints.

I organised to meet with contacts from three of these groups in person. I felt these meetings were tough – I had to sell myself and my project – but they went well and ultimately these three groups (two civic societies and one friends group) agreed to take the project forward as project partners with a revised schedule that involved pushing everything back approximately one month. Despite this, only one of the three groups was able to schedule two local meetings before our joint design session in York at the beginning of July. The first of the two meetings were intended to cover the topic of 'Understanding Heritage' and the second 'Thinking Digitally', with the intention of laying a common foundation from which we could begin co-designing together. With two of the groups, these two sessions were combined into one; one of the groups was only able to schedule a single one hour session (one quarter of the time I had asked for), which doubled as the first meeting of their new group. At the time, this was very stressful because the meetings were intended to introduce myself, the project, the thinking behind the project, have ample time for workshopping and discussion as well as include feedback elements in order to evaluate the 'transformative' impact of the co-design process. Clearly time-constraints were a large factor in shaping our initial interactions and continued to impact our collaboration as it proceeded. I reflect on this in more detail toward the end of this chapter.

Negotiating co-design in practice

The introductory local meetings with each partner group were followed by a joint meeting in York on the first Sunday afternoon in July, attended by two or three core members of each partner group. The first hour or so was spent eating lunch and getting to know each other before we shifted into a more structured brainstorming session to deliver a preliminary design brief. After discussing our respective expectations and hopes (highlighting design needs, wants and limitations), I briefly outlined what co-design is and our plan for the afternoon. During the next hour and a half, we discussed what we were designing, why and began prioritising goals. This was followed by activities around drafting user personas in response to the question of who we are designing for, prioritising functionality and features and introducing the idea of use cases. I had invited several university colleagues who have experience with web-design to join us at the end of the session to answer questions and provide feedback on our initial ideas, but only one was able to attend on the day. Meghan Dennis, a colleague from the Department of Archaeology who was writing her PhD on digital archaeological ethics, joined us at this point and we presented our ideas and received feedback from her before wrapping up and planning a way forward.

Both my partners' and my own reflections on this session were largely positive. There were certainly times when we got off-track, particularly when attempting to craft personas (Appendix D), yet there was an overriding sense of accomplishment. We had achieved something in the time we spent together and our respective ideas seemed to be coalescing. Everyone responded really well to Meghan and how she formulated our emerging design brief back to us. I have copied in my notes from our interaction with Meghan that illustrate the way in which the room came to life in the subsequent discussion in Appendix E. In my notes that I circulated following the meeting in July and later posted on my blog, I wrote:

> Bringing Meghan in was very useful, initially because it forced us to pull all the ideas we had brought up together so we had something to present. There seemed to be a general consensus that what I (assisted by the group) presented to Meghan was a fair reflection of our discussions. Gratifyingly, it seemed our presentation was clear – when Meghan delivered a summary of what she understood our wants to be, the response was overwhelmingly positive; it felt as though Meghan had described what we wanted better than we had been able to ourselves. Especially the expression emotional response struck a chord – this is what we want people to express: their emotional responses to places and use this as a way to identify heritage. This led to the idea that what our platform will do is add colour to black and white descriptions of heritage, and about moving forward, about how we want something to be and how we want to use something.

(Fredheim 2016b)

I wrote up our design requirements and shared them with Gareth Beale and Mike Heyworth in order to move the design of an actual product forward (Appendix F). Arguably this meeting, which was the first time members from each group had met together, and should have been just the beginning of a longer partnership, would become the high-point of the project. Only one of the groups was able to host a local follow-up meeting to share our efforts from the joint meeting with each respective group and this meeting failed to attract many local members who had not participated in the central meeting in York. Our next joint meeting was repeatedly rescheduled, both due to extensive scheduling conflicts over the summer and delays in being put in touch with a designer to work on our draft brief due to university contacts also being away. I distributed the next progress update in the second half of August via email, proposing a new way forward:

> Thank you again for your patience while I navigate the practicalities of having something built for us.
>
> I met with Mike Heyworth from the CBA and Gareth Beale from the new Digital Creativity Labs this morning. We spent some time discussing the progress we have made and the document I shared with you that summarised our requirements from our meeting in July. Once they understood how what we want differs from what exists already, they were quite excited at the prospect of our project, but they did have some suggestions as to how we could most effectively go about achieving our aims.
>
> Gareth suggested that I work with a researcher from the computer science department at the university to come up with technical solutions and write a technical design brief. Mike agreed that the CBA will pay for this consultancy work. At this point I should say that I am wary of balancing efficiency and inclusivity. I think having all of us work with a consultant would be inefficient, and the CBA is budgeting for 3-4 days of work and I recognise that this project is only a full-time job for myself. That said, I do think it would be beneficial to schedule a check to make sure that we adhere to your wishes and that you remain involved in the process.
>
> What I would like to do is to arrange our next meeting in York to be a working meeting rather than a celebration (I do realise that sounds less exciting) to go over the technical solutions the consultant has come up with for us, giving you another chance to make suggestions. I would then like to schedule local meetings with each of your groups to create sample data-sets, so that when we finally have our platform built, we can provide technical specifications and sample data to ensure we end up with what we want. These local meetings could perhaps be opened up to other people in your local communities as a chance to discuss what you consider your local heritage to be – like our first meeting when I asked you to write down things on post-it notes, but on a grander, more exciting scale? After this, I hope we can meet again in

York to write a grant application together, for funding to have the platform built and maintained.

I have been informed that the initial consultancy work with the computer science department at the university is unlikely to happen before October. Before that, I would like to have local meetings with each of your groups to make sure we stay in touch and on the same page and to discuss other ideas for what else we can design together and strategies for getting more people involved. I have tried to make a tentative schedule below. I know September is not convenient for all of you, but I would like to arrange to meet with each of your groups locally to avoid there being too long between each time we meet and to let us communicate in person.

12-21st September – a local meeting w/Harald for each group to update each other on our activities and plan our future work together

October – a weekday morning or afternoon in York to comment on the work I have done with a consultant from the computer science department

October/November – Local meetings w/Harald for each group to create sample data sets (examples of the information you would like to contribute to our platform about your local heritage)

November – a meeting in York to collaborate on a grant application for the building of our platform and ongoing project of maintenance and updating.

Jo Pugh, who had recently completed a PhD in the Department of Computer Science at the University of York, was appointed to work with me in response to Gareth's advert and we first met in mid-September. As outlined in the email update above, instead of designing a prototype for us, he impressed on me that we should take the design further ourselves and introduced me to paper prototyping. Paper prototyping is an approach to design where you create rough mockups of a design on paper (cf. Snyder 2003). I used the software package Balsamiq, but it can also be done by hand. A series of mockups on paper can simulate proposed design and functionality at a glance. I return to my collaboration with Jo in the next chapter, but from my partners' perspective, no meetings were held in September and our next joint meeting scheduled for mid-October was re-scheduled for early November at short notice due to a car accident.

At our November meeting, we caught up over lunch before I presented the work I had done with Jo on fleshing out personas and use cases. Personas are detailed descriptions of hypothetical individuals that designers create and often display representations of on the walls of their workspaces in order to ensure that solutions are designed to work for believable individuals. Use cases are hypothetical scenarios describing how a persona uses the designed product to meet their needs. I began to introduce Liz the booster, Michael the bigwig, Laura the decision-maker, Caroline the tourist, Boris

the left-behind local, Paulette the teacher and Chris the armchair explorer, their goals, frustrations and interactions with our design (Appendix G). At this point one of my partners quite forcefully interjected, asking whether we didn't have anything to show them – pointing out that they had been led to believe they would be able to see and test something. This was the first overt sign that some of my partners were frustrated with the apparent lack of progress. As a result, I shifted focus to the paper prototypes I had prepared and we talked through the emerging design (Figure 8, Appendix H). The prototypes were generally well received and provided a really useful centre-point for discussions around how expectations were, or were not being met. In this way, partners could provide quite concrete and specific feedback about the features and functionality they liked and what they would like to see changed. During the meeting, questions were raised about the sample content used in the prototypes I had designed and we discussed how it was becoming apparent that while some of the personas we were designing for were represented among us (e.g. Liz the booster and Michael the bigwig), others were not (e.g. Paulette the teacher). In a follow-up email I explained that I would look to do some more work on the prototypes and summarised that we had set two initial goals at the meeting: to create sample data sets and to conduct user research. I suggested we try to hold local meetings with each group to follow up on these points before the end of the year. We were able to arrange one joint local meeting for the two groups that were based closer together, and an equivalent meeting with the third group tentatively scheduled for January.
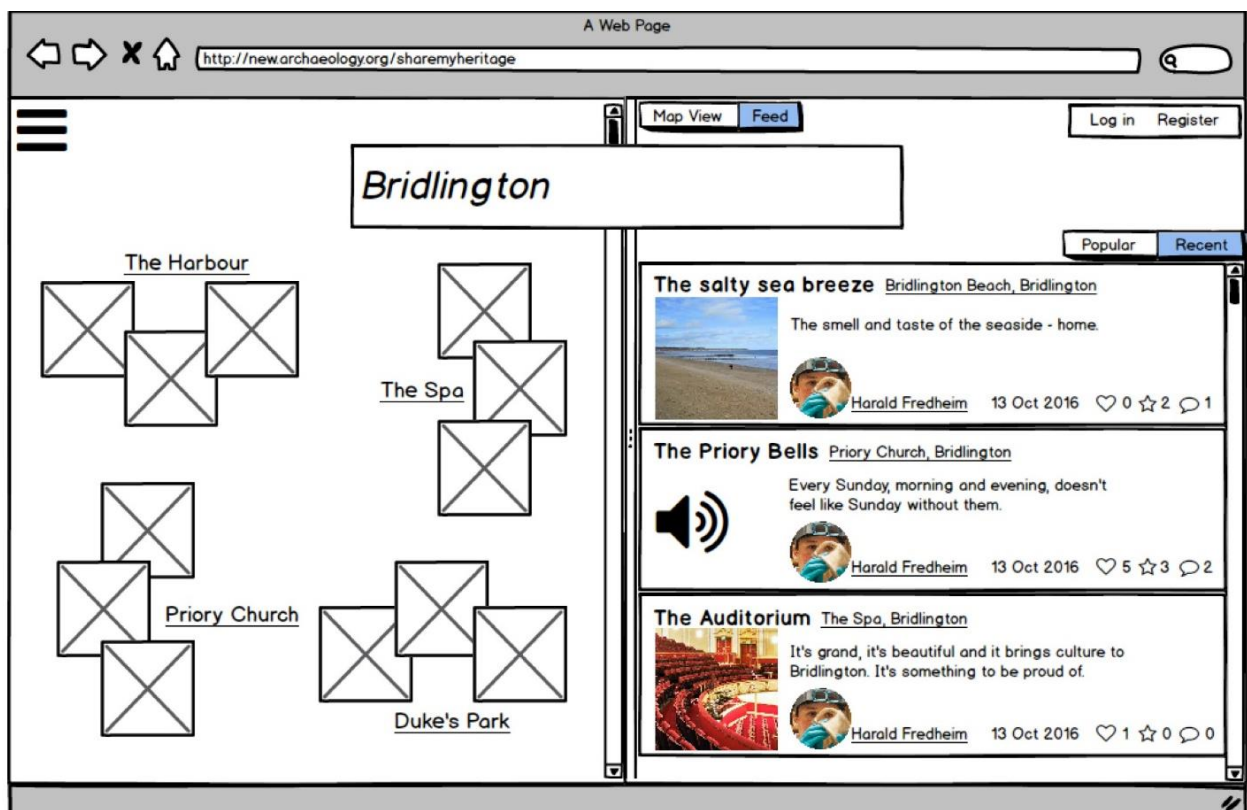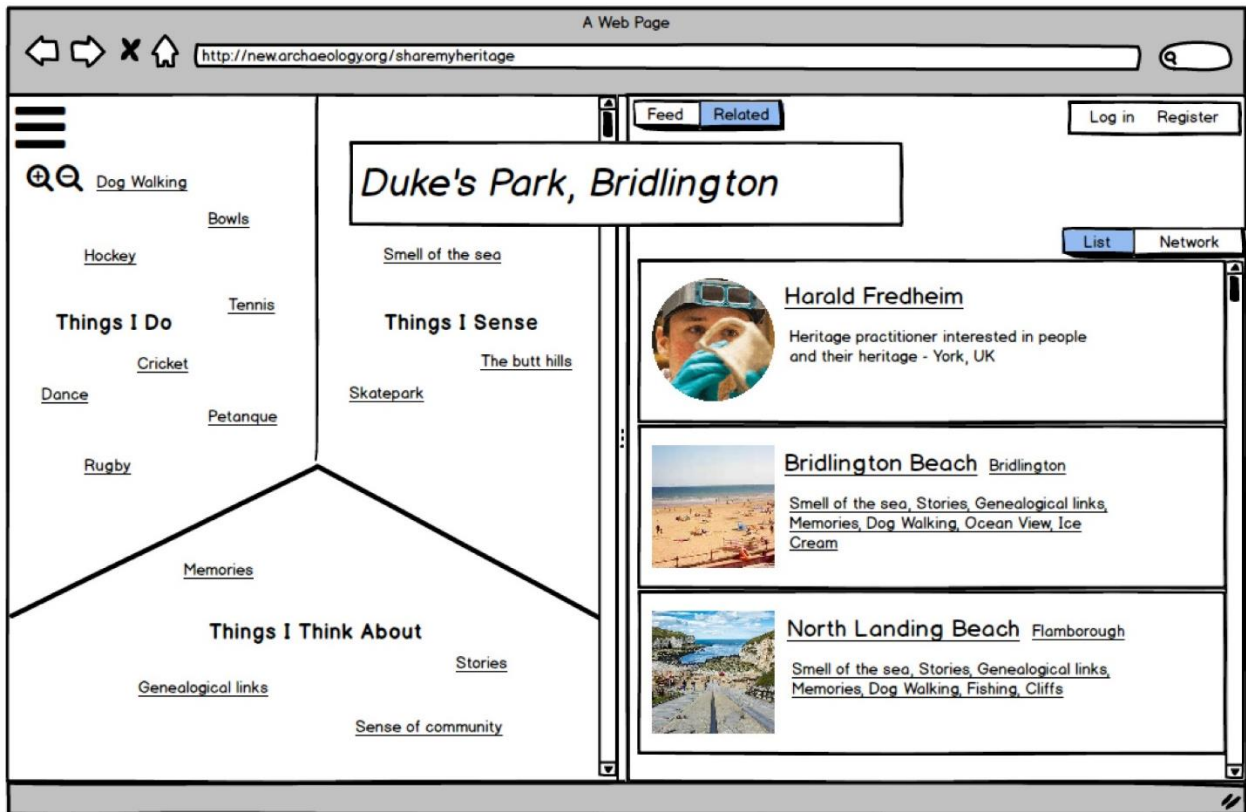
Figure 8 – Paper prototype mock-ups used in co-design workshop illustrating how users may drill down into the content on the site. Individual posts are searchable, grouped by location and contain user-generated tags.

Reflecting on co-design

The joint local meeting in December proved to be a frustrating experience for everyone involved and ultimately became the final meeting of the project. The original idea for the local meetings had been that they would be an opportunity to engage with a larger number of members from each group and feed back results from the joint meetings in York, which were only attended by the two or three most active members from each. However, the two groups who met at this joint local meeting in December had not held local meetings for our project since our very first meetings in June. As a result, while my partners who organised the meeting proactively invited members from their local groups to attend our meeting, I had not anticipated the impact of including people who knew nothing about our project at this stage. Instead of building on our joint meeting in York and planning how we could gather sample data and pursue the user research we had discussed, the meeting turned into a discussion of whether this was really necessary – and could we not just use visitor data from the local museum as our user research? This was not a discussion I had come prepared for and I found myself unable to respond effectively in the moment. Ultimately, we ended the meeting frustrated, without having made much progress or having agreed on a plan for how to progress.

In January, I made efforts to contact the remaining group to schedule our meeting and contacted all the core partners in response to information that had been shared with us about engaging school

groups with heritage resources by one of the attendees at the local meeting in December. This email also contained updated ideas about how to move things forward. I also shared two blog posts with reflections on our joint meeting in November and local meeting in December described above. These posts did produce responses from the remaining group that highlighted concerns about the progress made toward a digital solution and it was ultimately felt that there was not enough local support to move things forward. Despite a series of attempts to breathe life back into the project in various ways over the next half year or so, the work never substantively progressed further. Ultimately, the project had an unsatisfactory end and while I am able to reflect critically on the project to share my learning from it, this still leaves a bitter aftertaste, perhaps especially for some of my partners. While writing up this thesis I came across a note I made following one of the initial planning meetings in which I was pitching my project to one of the groups who would later become a partner: 'Wanted to be part of something that would continue and that they could use, rather than just being participants in my research (finite process that they just feed into)'. Interestingly, the group that shared their first meeting with me and who perhaps were the least invested in the digital product ended up being the most satisfied with our project. Instead of applying for a grant to just work with me, they used the opportunity to apply for funds from the Council for British Archaeology to meet their own needs that were separate from our collaborative project. While I attended one of their public events in 2017, I do not feel I did that much to support their work. Nevertheless, in August 2019, I received a message letting me know the work of the group is still progressing and thanking me for my 'invaluable' help with getting them their grant.

At this point, with the project having ended without producing a usable product, I am determined to use and share learning to help shape how heritage professionals and researchers approach collaborations with community groups in the future. In drawing this section toward a close, I would like to draw on reflections I made that January as the co-design project was petering out:

> I was increasingly concerned that this co-design project was not achieving what I had hoped. I had hoped we would be designing together, but recently it had felt that my partners were simply a sounding board – consultants rather than partners – for my research project. I was concerned that I was using them to push my agenda and that this project was turning into the kind of participatory project I am critical of. As a result, I felt it was important to mention that if my partners did not think this was a worthwhile project and that we should be designing something else together, we could scrap all these ideas and work on something they thought was more worthwhile. This idea that we would throw away all the work we had already done was met with dismay. It was also mentioned that 'this is your project' (my PhD). I really can't blame anyone from reacting in this way, but it did add to my concerns. I set out to sustain community heritage groups through co-design. That was what my partners signed up to be part of. I am committed to seeing this co-design project through and I still think we can come

up with a really useful product, but I had hoped we would end up truly designing together. This may have been unrealistic. These kinds of expectations should obviously be discussed at the beginning of a project, but back then I don't think any of us thought we would be making mock-ups like these ourselves. Now it has taken me back to considering roles and responsibilities. I think it's great that we can take more control over the design process, but it is time-consuming, especially in the beginning. It raises new requirements and introduces expectations we had not discussed. Ultimately, it brings me back to considering what I should expect of my partners and what they should expect of me. Which kinds of participation are useful, reasonable and realistic – and in which contexts?

(Fredheim 2017a)

I believe Gareth and Jo were right to advise us to work further on the design ourselves, but doing so fundamentally changed the nature of our collaborative project and destroyed any pretence that we were still working to our original schedule. I was convinced this was the best way forward, but it was not what my partners had initially signed up for and the decision to proceed in this way was one I made together with my colleagues at the university. We were effectively stuck, working on a design idea I had introduced to test a method, not willing to let it go and not able to take it forward in the way we wanted. There were many problems with this project, some of which I explore in more detail in the next chapter, but the way in which it ended tells us a lot about how a more successful co-design project must begin:

In relation to whether this is my or our design project, I wonder whether this was already decided when I pitched my idea. My intention was that this would be a pilot and that we would spend the majority of our time working on ideas my partners came up with. I underestimated how long everything would take – so the pilot has become the project. As I mentioned, I decided I should be prepared to scrap this project so we could focus on our work instead of my work, but we have now come too far and become too invested. It does make me wonder though, whether no matter how open I am to incorporate my participants' ideas and change mine, this project is doomed to remain mine simply because I pitched the initial idea. Maybe the only way a project can truly become ours, and have the collaborative dynamic I have been seeking, is by it beginning as yours. If I was participating as a citizen in my spare time it might be different, but if I am participating professionally and you are not – for a project to be ours, maybe it first must be yours?

(Fredheim 2017b)

Working on this project has also taught me a lot about the challenges of attempting to facilitate sustainability in a truly empowering way that can sincerely deny the charge of incumbent democracy. It must begin with responding to who people are and what they want and need instead of how I think

they should change. I thought I had learned this lesson earlier on, but in re-visiting my reflective writing I found a mention of uncomfortably being reminded of this in September 2016 while working with Jo Pugh.

> While I hope the digital tools we design together will be useful and facilitate sustainability, I'm primarily interested in the process of collaborative design and how everyone participating is changed through the process – changed in ways that facilitate sustainability. Jo then pointed out that he is uncomfortable with the idea that sustainability comes from changing people, which sent me back to thinking about the incumbent and critical democracies.
>
> (Fredheim 2016c)

This should perhaps be obvious, but efforts to empower, build capacity, resilience or sustainability are almost always about changing others. I explore this in more detail in the next chapter, but in a nutshell, I believe what my failed co-design project has impressed on me is that it is far easier to change the design than the people you are designing for – which of course is the rationale for co-design. Yet as my experience of co-design has demonstrated, co-design processes can also reproduce dynamics where those involved in the design process set out to design for and change others. In my case, both I and my co-designers were attempting to design for and change others. My preliminary analysis of Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument in this chapter suggests that this is common in participatory heritage projects. It may, in fact be the necessary result of heritage organisations attempting to increase and sustain public participation in caring for heritage; changing others' behaviour is precisely what such projects set out to achieve. As I argue throughout this thesis, co-design suggests that maybe we are asking the wrong questions and that we should begin by implementing change closer to home.

Sustainability in Adopting Archaeology

When reflecting on my co-design project outlined in this chapter, three characteristics that came to shape my project are immediately apparent already in my initial call for participants and how it was distributed. The proposed process was rushed and put unreasonable time-pressures on both my partners and myself; the call for participants targeted existing heritage groups through established archaeological and heritage networks; the pilot phase focused on an idea that had emerged from my own academic research on heritage values and significance and centred expertise I perceived potential participants to lack. I explore each of these characteristics and their implications for the sustainability of my project below.

The timeframe outlined in the call for participants was the result of constraints I perceived myself to be under. I was informed that a case-study chapter, or other 'proof of concept' was required for the PhD confirmation panel that my funder expected to take place in September 2016. This would require implementing my methodology and writing up results. However, because my methodology involved

working with people, this would require ethics approval. Applying for ethics approval involved clearly outlining what participants would be asked to do, even though I was attempting to apply elements of participatory action research where participants have a role in shaping the form the project would take. I also understood that I could not contact participants before I was granted ethics approval, which I received during the final week of April 2016. Taken together, these constraints led me to believe that I would need to complete a pilot project between May and July. In hindsight, I see a number of ways I could have worked around these constraints, for example by establishing connections with potential groups before asking them to participate in my research and doing more to determine how fixed the September 2016 deadline for a 'proof of concept' actually was. However, in attempting to understand why participatory projects take the form they do, I contend that how constraints are perceived is significant independent of their reality.

Due to these time constraints, I did not believe it was possible for me to create new groups as part of the co-design process. I was eager to ensure that a diverse range of individuals were leaders in the process in order to ensure that we designed something that appealed across demographic divides and did not reproduce the dynamic of online spaces that claim to be open and inclusive, but privilege white male voices and create environments that are unwelcoming and rife with harassment of women and minorities. As a result, while I wanted to embed diversity within the core of my project, this was not a central element of the brief for my PhD and due to my perceived time-constraints I did not feel it was something I was able to prioritise. I was hopeful that I could embed diversity in the project by encouraging my partner groups to use working with me as an opportunity to attract new members. While I mentioned this repeatedly to my partners and expressed my commitment to supporting these efforts, I left it to them to initiate inclusion efforts and, in hindsight, if this was as important to me as I claimed it was, I should have taken on more responsibility for this work myself. Finally, I did not appreciate the extent to which the reputation of my partner groups and of archaeology itself might be off-putting to these 'diverse' individuals I was hoping to engage with. I discuss this in more detail in Chapters 5 and 7. My project was not successful in attracting new members to my partner groups and on reflection, as essential as understanding potential users would have been for the success of any digital product we designed, arguably it was equally important to understand whether potential participants were interested in designing digital resources to increase the sustainability of community groups involved in caring for heritage. As it turned out, this was something my partners and I struggled to generate interest for and, as a result, the co-design project itself proved unsustainable.

In May 2016, around the time I was meeting with the groups that would become my partners in the co-design project for the first time, I sent the five groups that had expressed an interest in participating a long email with more information about the project. One of the paragraphs clearly communicates the extent to which the co-design project centred my own expertise:

The CBA would like to create a platform with tools to support local community groups in taking care of their heritage. For this first stage of the project, I have chosen what we will work on, though I am very open to adapting my ideas to match what you want. I have chosen to jump-start the co-design process because I need to run through the process once this summer in order to demonstrate my methodology to my supervisors and be given permission to continue with my research. For the main phases of co-design that will constitute the remainder of my research, we will be co-designing tools that participating groups have identified a need for.

I set us up to 'co-design' my own project and as much as I at times pushed back against the centring of myself and my expertise, I also promoted it as the shared foundation upon which were to begin co-designing and therefore set up the initial local meetings for me to teach my partners how to think about heritage and using digital tools.

While I regarded these meetings as the starting point of our co-design process, my two civic society partner groups billed me as a visiting speaker. Initially, I was uncomfortable with this characterisation but I ended up partially buying into it by preparing PowerPoint presentations, despite my intention to deliver something closer to a workshop. On the one hand, I could have done more to subvert the invited speaker format, yet on the other, treating the initial meetings as part of the co-design process created problems in that this required me to begin the first meeting by distributing information leaflets, consent forms and my lead-in survey. At the very first meeting I led, this was received poorly by some attendees who had come to hear about the project, not participate. This sentiment carried over into the lead-in survey. In my notes I wrote: 'Also reluctance to do survey – possibly because this came immediately after consent issue – people wanted to hear about the project, not be research subjects.' By contrast, the most successful element of the session was the interactive activity. 'Post-it "what is your local heritage" activity was really effective. Great way to shift the mood, get people engaged, talking, chatting, laughing etc. Feeling like I'll never do a workshop without post-its again.' Despite recognising the impact of the activity at the time, as expressed in my notes from the day reproduced above, it took me too long to learn how to apply this learning to future meetings and I explore how my own perceptions of expertise kept me from doing so in more detail in the next chapter. The post-it note activity centred participants' expertise and agency, while the majority of the rest of my co-design project did not. I believe this had profound implications for the dynamic of our collaboration, where they viewed it as 'my' project, and as a result, for its sustainability.

4.4. From roles and responsibilities to understanding publics and expertise

When I reflect on my own participatory project to co-design web-resources for community groups involved in caring for heritage places with three such groups in Yorkshire, the overwhelming sense is that this project did not go as I hoped. Ultimately, we did not produce any web-resources and we are

no longer actively working together. As in any project that involves groups of people, there are many potential explanations for why things did not go to plan and my intention in outlining our work together in this thesis is not to assign responsibility to anyone other than myself. What I have set out to do is begin to unpack how I could begin with a critical agenda of empowerment and democratisation and end up in a situation where I was attempting to mobilise volunteers to realise my own vision. I aim to continue this unpacking throughout this thesis and use it to highlight how similar goals and good intentions may be subverted in other projects.

All the cases I have described in this chapter raise questions about our use of the word 'community'. It is a term with remarkable flexibility (cf. Waterton and Smith 2010; Waterton 2015). I have showed how in the case of 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects, it has been mobilised to describe a collaboration with the Scottish Forestry Commission and in my own case, one of the groups I contacted at one point was introduced to me by a senior member of staff in the Department of Archaeology who was a member herself. As a result, I could have ended up in a situation where I described working with an academic colleague as collaborating with a 'community group'. Almost without exception, the projects I have described in this chapter are driven by institutions or small groups of individuals who wish to mobilise and assign roles and responsibilities in caring for heritage to others. Institutions have visions for communities and claim to work with communities by proxy of individuals who hold aligning interests and priorities. Yet these individuals are faced with the same challenges as institutions when it comes to encouraging participation. In my application of co-design, which was billed as designing *with* users, it became obvious that my co-design partners were primarily designing for *other* users. Similarly, 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument' projects are often designed with community members for *other* members of their communities. Virtually all the projects described in this chapter are founded on hopes or desired behaviours for other people. This dramatically constrains the forms public participation in caring for heritage can take and significantly reduces public agency. In the next chapter, I draw out the observations I have alluded to in this chapter about how these projects understand non-participating publics and the nature of legitimate heritage expertise to explain how it traps the focus of our attempts to increase public participation on changing non-participants rather than the structures within which participation takes place.

5. Understanding publics and expertise

In this chapter I unpack my argument that understandings of publics and legitimate heritage expertise constrain the forms of participation facilitated in my case studies. I adopt a dual approach to my analysis, identifying how each project understands legitimate heritage expertise and how they characterise its absence. I explore these perceived absences by applying critiques of the 'simple deficit model', developed in the field of Science Communication, to show how my case studies understand participating and non-participating publics. I define the simple deficit model for heritage as one where a lack of support for heritage is viewed as the manifestation of a deficit. That is, because heritage is 'wonderful', anyone who fails to support it therefore does so out of simple ignorance. By inextricably linking knowledge and support, deficits denote an absence of both and thereby can be understood as situated at the opposite extreme of a spectrum to professional expertise. While explicit references to 'deficits' are rare in public archaeology and heritage, I identify perceived deficits through efforts to mitigate them, which are increasingly referred to as 'capacity-building' or 'empowerment'. In doing so, I unpick the perceptions of heritage expertise and public deficits that cause my case studies to manifest as attempts to change publics and trace this causality to underpinning conceptualisations of heritage, which I go on to explore in more detail in the next chapter.

I begin by outlining how expertise and publics are understood within Smith's authorised heritage discourse, which I position as a negative caricature of heritage practice that practitioners invariably wish to distance themselves from. In doing so, I establish a baseline from which to consider the change produced by my case studies. I then outline how these perceptions manifest in each of my case studies, most clearly in the directionality of learning and change they aim to facilitate. This leads me to identify how the characteristics of incumbent democratisation and network governance manifest in each case, which I explain are simultaneously obscured and rationalised by positioning participants as beneficiaries. Finally, I outline how a careful reading of the sociological concept of symbolic violence provides a nuanced understanding of deficits that both recognises how non-participants may be excluded and validates their agency in choosing not to participate. I argue that such a nuanced understanding of participation deficits in fact does not position publics as deficient at all, but instead suggest heritage organisations should shoulder their share of the blame for non-participation.

5.1. Authorised expertise and deficits

In this section I outline how Laurajane Smith identifies the active employment of expertise to constrain and delegitimise critiques of established heritage practices, thereby providing a lens through which to consider the 'change' offered by expanded definitions of heritage in participatory projects. The notion of 'expertise' is central to Smith's identification of an authorised heritage discourse and to her argument that it is a 'self-referential' discourse. She argues that 'discourse not only organizes the way concepts like heritage are understood, but the way we act, the social and technical practices we

act out, and the way knowledge is constructed and reproduced' (Smith 2006, 4). She repeatedly draws connections between conceptions of heritage and notions of expertise, noting how the fact that heritage is understood to consist of the 'innate and immutable cultural values' of certain things requires the necessary expertise to identify, decode and care for these things. In turn, professional disciplines that claim to have this expertise identify heritage as that which their expertise allows them to make knowledge claims about (cf. Smith 2006, 11, 26). In this way, it 'tends to validate the bodies of knowledge and values that contributed to it' (Smith 2018, 3). Drawing on Foucault (1991), she notes that 'discourses are forms of expertise, collected into different disciplines which deal with the construction and representation of knowledge. Discourse not only reflects social meanings, relations and entities, it also constitutes and governs them' (Smith 2006, 14). Expertise, then, is both an integral part of Smith's authorised heritage discourse and what promotes and defends it. Let us now turn to what legitimate expertise within Smith's authorised heritage discourse is, who has it and how her authorised heritage discourse characterises those who do not.

Smith identifies her authorised heritage discourse as 'reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenity societies' (2006, 11). She recognises that 'expert' judgements can be challenged, but only within the logic of her authorised heritage discourse, within which 'the boundaries of any negotiations over heritage values and meanings become very tightly drawn indeed' (2006, 12). These contestations are generally consigned to discussion between 'experts' about 'the past' 'such as archaeologists and historians' (Smith 2006, 29). Furthermore, she explains that because 'the current generation, best represented by "experts", are seen as stewards or caretakers of the past … [heritage] is inevitably saved "for future generations" a rhetoric that undermines the ability of the present … to alter or change the meaning and value of heritage sites and places' (Smith 2006, 29). It follows that:

> The proper care of heritage, and its associated values, lies with the experts, as it is only they who have the abilities, knowledge and understanding to identify the innate value and knowledge contained at and within historically important sites and places. This is an embedded assumption within the discourse that has a legacy in antiquarian understandings of knowledge and material culture. Principally it is architects, historians and archaeologists who act as stewards for the past, so that present and future publics may be properly educated and informed about its significance.
>
> (Smith 2006, 29-30)

Smith does not discuss science communication literature on the 'simple deficit model' for public knowledge of, support for or participation in science, but nevertheless clearly aligns her authorised heritage discourse with similar sentiments toward publics. In her discussion of live interpretation at heritage sites, she notes that 'any sense of active agency on the part of heritage audiences challenges

the assumptions and ideologies that underpin the AHD' (Smith 2006, 69). She expounds on this view of publics in her critique of the 1999 Burra Charter, arguing that:

> Groups and individuals here are relegated to the position of passive audience. They must be given opportunities to 'understand' the cultural significance of a place, that is, they are being required to assimilate expert values. There is simply no sense that such communication may be two-way or that the authority of expertise to make binding judgments about cultural significance is challenged. Inclusion is to occur 'where appropriate' and, as Article 30 states, all work done at places must be undertaken under: 'Competent direction and supervision should be maintained at all stages, and any changes should be implemented by people with appropriate knowledge and skills.'
>
> (Smith 2006, 104-105)

This description of public participation within Smith's authorised heritage discourse, mirrors Merriman's account of the 'simple deficit model' in public archaeology:

> The 'deficit model' of public archaeology sees the public as needing education in the correct way to appreciate archaeology, and the role of public archaeology as building confidence in the professional work of archaeologists. Public participation is encouraged, of course, but only along lines of approved professional practice.
>
> (Merriman, 2004, 6)

In this way, Smith's authorised heritage discourse, like the 'simple deficit model', characterises publics as lacking valid heritage expertise. As a result, 'community groups and individuals become part of the elements to be managed and dealt with in the process of management and conservation' (Smith 2006, 105). While her authorised heritage discourse allows that such community groups may play a part in heritage management and conservation this is generally only to augment professional capacity, or as part of initiatives to educate publics about heritage and heritage management. This is why Smith identifies that 'to acknowledge the legitimacy of oral history is also to concede some of the privilege gained through the power/knowledge claims of expertise' (Smith 2006, 285), because it extends expertise beyond technical experts and complicates the characterisation of publics as deficient. Not only does it suggest that publics may not be deficient, it highlights alternative forms of knowledge that professionals cannot mobilise their expertise to extract from material culture. Arguably this goes some way to explain why oral history often remains marginalised in practice.

It is worth noting that while locating legitimate heritage expertise in disciplinary knowledge about material culture and 'the past' privileges the authority of heritage professionals, it also grants degrees of authority to members of the public relative to their ability to claim proximity to these professions. As in science communication, this does not represent a threat to professional authority because it shares authority with publics relative to their alignment with professional expertise, measured on a

scale that privileges professional knowledge. The simple deficit model stands firm within Smith's authorised heritage discourse not merely because it labels all publics as deficient, but because the measure of deficiency it employs is a simple judgement of publics relative alignment with, and proximity to, professional heritage expertise. This identification of the way in which Smith's authorised heritage discourse characterises publics as deficient is crucial in assessing the ways in which participatory heritage projects do, or do not, move beyond the performance of 'changeless change'. As Smith concludes, 'without recognizing the ideological and political underpinnings of the discourse any attempts at change may be confined to particular events rather than represent a real systematic challenge' (Smith 2006, 299).

5.2. Public deficits and directionality of learning

Identifying the directionality of learning is a foundational step in assessing the extent to which a simple deficit model underpins participatory projects, as it highlights perceived sources and absences of expertise. It is therefore notable that almost all the projects represented by my three case studies begin by heritage professionals attempting to educate publics. In my own project, I saw it necessary to signal my academic expertise by including phrases such as this in emails to my partner groups:

> When created, this tool can be used by your group to clearly rationalise your stewardship goals for use in strategic planning and management. In professional jargon, this could be called community-sourcing statements of significance.

My sense that my partners were lacking in the necessary expertise to collaborate effectively was reinforced by my insistence that they first host two local meetings with me, which I began by introducing a before and after survey that would evidence what I had taught them, followed by a PowerPoint presentation that included references to Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage* and assertion that 'there is no such thing as "heritage"' (2006, 13), Janet Stephenson's 'cultural values model' and my own theorising of value typologies (Stephenson 2008; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016). Similarly, 'Our Place' projects in Bristol begin by teaching participants the professional language of planning and urban design before they are allowed to take part in mapping their own local area, while 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects are facilitated by the 'Tool-Kit' that teaches groups how to care for their local heritage and frames the support they can request from Archaeology Scotland.

The 2011-2017 iteration of Adopt-a-Monument 'revolves around supporting and equipping people with the necessary expertise to take care of and tell others about heritage that it is important to them' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 7). Furthermore, 'the overall aims of this phase of the scheme were;

- To *enable communities* to become more involved, learn about and care for their heritage & develop new skills.

- To *increase community participation* in Scotland's historic environment, with an emphasis on raising awareness and providing support to non-traditional audiences.
- To *provide training, resource materials, learning opportunities and expert advice* to increase access to Scotland's historic environment.
- To *promote and assist in the delivery of best practice* in heritage research, recording and conservation.
- To promote placemaking as a means of improving knowledge of Scotland's historic environment.

(Archaeology Scotland ndc, 7, my emphasis)

In outlining these aims for the scheme, Archaeology Scotland clearly positions itself as a centre of expertise, while casting community groups in Scotland as lacking expertise and thereby in need of empowerment and capacity-building. It is worth noting, however, that these aims clearly align with the National Lottery Heritage Fund's 'outcomes' of 'a wider range of people will be involved in heritage', 'people will have developed skills' and 'people will have learned about heritage, leading to change in ideas and actions' (nd). Furthermore, while these aims are evidence of a deficit model of sorts, the simple deficit model is more specific. The most recent phase of Adopt-a-Monument was funded based on evidence provided that there were groups in need of the support on offer. Archaeology Scotland's claim that over 100 projects are on a waiting list, despite not having advertised the scheme, further underpins the assertion that groups themselves recognise Archaeology Scotland as a source of expertise that they benefit from engaging with - and may indeed be dependent on. Illustratively, one of the participant quotes from the Hall Aitken report on the 2011-2017 phase claims that 'it is only with their [Archaeology Scotland's] support that I can see it continuing. Without the project the site and information will be forgotten, eventually to destruction' (Hall Aitken 2017, 3). While I do engage critically with some of the scheme's stated aims later in this chapter, I want to emphasise that identifying expertise differentials is not equivalent to adopting the simple deficit model. The simple deficit model does not merely define publics as lacking expertise, but identifies simple ignorance and the wrong cultural values as the reasons for publics' lack of support for archaeology and heritage. While both Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place identify participating groups as in need of capacity-building, it is non-participating publics who are indirectly identified as ignorant and having the wrong cultural values.

The presence of a simple deficit model at the core of these projects is most clear in how they frame the 'general' public in relation to publics that choose to participate and align themselves with professional values and expertise. The Bristol Heritage Framework for 2015-2018 recognises that 'there is considerable interest, activity, skills and expertise related to the historic environment amongst community groups and other stakeholder organisations within the city' (City Design Group 2015a, 62). This observation is the underpinning rationale for the Know Your Place platform which

provides the 'facility to source data from the general public' to gather information 'from all relevant sources' (Insole 2017, 61). In this context, Insole echoes Schofield's argument, rhetorically asking 'who understands a place better than the people who live there?' (Insole 2017, 61; cf. Schofield 2014). While projects related to Know Your Place have made concerted efforts to encourage participation from groups and individuals who otherwise would not take part in the council's heritage practice, formal council documents such as the Bristol Heritage Framework foreground more traditional stakeholders the council are used to working with in their identification of groups holding legitimate heritage expertise. These are the Civic Society and local amenity groups, such as the Victorian Society, the Gregorian Group and the Architecture Centre as well as Historic England (City Design Group 2015a, 65). As noted above, Smith locates these amenity groups as situated firmly within her authorised heritage discourse. They draw their legitimacy from their proximity to professional heritage expertise and identifying these community groups as those which have 'interest, activity, skills and expertise related to the historic environment' betrays the underpinning logic of a simple deficit model for heritage.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 6, Know Your Place situates heritage firmly in the past. This dictates that legitimate knowledge about heritage is restricted to legitimate knowledge of the past. Hence the identification of the Civic Society, Victorian Society, Gregorian Group and the Architecture Centre, which all mobilise the formal historical, archaeological and architectural knowledge of retired professionals and amateur enthusiasts. These groups not only represent who the council recognises as having legitimate heritage expertise, but also constitute 'key stakeholders' who could be encouraged to among other things 'promote the value of heritage', 'share knowledge and best practice' and 'build community capacity and encourage public participation in heritage' (City Design Group 2015a, 62). As such, capacity is identified as residing within institutions committed to Smith's authorised heritage discourse and deficits, or those in need of capacity-building, as outside these institutions. The Know Your Place platform sits at the centre of this vision.

This framing of participating groups or individuals as situated between professionals and the public at large in terms of relative expertise and deficiency also rings true for 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects. While groups may have varying levels of technical expertise when they first initiate a project, the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' and workshops guide groups through the process of mobilising professional approaches and expertise to reveal the meaning of heritage, care for it and present it to 'the public' appropriately. Significantly, the 'Tool-Kit' also gives advice on how to 'keep the public as informed and engaged as possible' and 'keep public interest alive' (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 42). Thereby, in addition to adopting professional archaeological recording and research methods (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 28-30), groups are invited to differentiate themselves from 'the public' and take on the detached relationship professionals adopt, which then requires knowledge of how to 'engage with the public' (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 48). Fundamentally, these

engagements are initiatives to address public ignorance and attitudes toward archaeology and heritage:

> Put simply, interpreting your monument should involve telling its story so that people leave with a better understanding of its value and a desire to find out more about it. If you can convince people of the value of your monument this will encourage them to want to conserve it.
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 37)

In this quote, Adopt-a-Monument mobilises the logic of the 'Heritage Cycle', coined by former English Heritage CEO, Simon Thurley (2005; cf. May 2020). Thurley explained that 'our strategy is to create a cycle of understanding, valuing, caring and enjoying', which would in turn lead to 'a thirst to understand'. As outlined in Chapter 2, critics of the simple deficit model have debunked similar assumed causality between understanding, valuing and supporting science and Sarah May has recently identified that the Heritage Cycle 'is, in essence, a deficit model suggesting that if people do not participate sufficiently in heritage it is because they do not have enough concern for its vulnerability' (2020). It is therefore noteworthy that the same logic is called on repeatedly in Adopt-a-Monument project reports as evidence of delivered 'benefits for heritage':

> Reengagement with the monument by the local community *will* create a greater local understanding of the importance of the monument and aid with its future stewardship.
>
> The increased knowledge of the sites *will* help to provide a greater stewardship of the sites in the future.
>
> Reengagement of the community with the site *will* contribute towards a greater understanding and resultant sense of stewardship of the site.
>
> Raising awareness of Leith's heritage and increasing public interest *will* help to protect it.
>
> Engagement with the archaeological features by the local community *will* create a greater local understanding of the importance of the site and aid with its future stewardship.
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 56, 63, 87, 89, 97, my emphasis)

Many community heritage groups already distance themselves from 'the public' in the way the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' invites them to, as I suggested above with regard to the Civic Society, Victorian Society, Gregorian Group and Architecture Centre in Bristol. In the previous chapter, I described how the groups I collaborated with billed me as a visiting expert speaker. This identification of my status as a PhD researcher was in line with structures of expertise within their groups, and by extension to their local communities. In my own project, this was highlighted through repeated references to 'apathy' among other group members (and particularly the wider community) with regard to heritage issues and the constant frustration at the difficulty of mobilising people and

encouraging participation, also described by leaders of the successful 'Our Place' projects in Bristol. The two individuals driving one of my partner groups' participation in the co-design project were concerned with safekeeping and passing on the knowledge of aging local historians, and particularly in engaging non-participating members of the local town with this information and garnering their support. As one of them put it: 'I want to be part of the project because I feel the digital tool has the potential to engage more people in thinking about their heritage, especially young people.'

As I reflected at the end of the previous chapter, any attempts to shift perceptions of expertise within our collaborative project would have had to be initiated by myself at the very beginning. Yet doing so would also have required addressing perceptions of expertise and deficits within my partner groups themselves, as their own internal hierarchies were similarly aligned with professional expertise. This was particularly evident in one of the groups that was led by members of a local historical society, who repeatedly expressed concerns about 'wrong information' being shared on the platform we were designing and expressed negative sentiments toward 'vox pop'. While these perceptions of expertise varied considerably between the different groups I collaborated with, to the extent that the leader of one group at one point raised concerns about the compatibility of their goals, I want to emphasise that perceptions of experts and deficit models do not only emanate from professionals in participatory projects. In this context, I think it is fair to say that although the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' stresses that 'AaM [Adopt-a-Monument] takes a flexible and dynamic approach' and that 'we are facilitators not leaders; this is your project to protect what you value' (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 2), it reinforces perceptions of expertise, non-participating publics and what it means to care for heritage appropriately that already exist within many archaeological societies and community heritage groups. This is significant both in that it constrains the forms public participation in caring or heritage can take as outlined in the previous chapter and that it is most likely to appeal to groups who already are invested in similar conceptions of expertise and what it means to care for heritage. This alignment is further highlighted by references to participating groups mobilising their affiliation with Archaeology Scotland to gain legitimacy and thereby aid their efforts in securing funding and attracting volunteers (Hall-Aitken 2017, 6). In this way, participating groups situate themselves between professionals and 'the public' on a relative scale from professional expertise to deficient public.

5.3. Governance Networks and Incumbent Democracies

In this section, I build on the identification of the directionality of learning in my case studies discussed above to argue that all three of my case studies exhibit the characteristics of incumbent democratisation and governance networks, introduced in Chapter 2. These characteristics are evident both at the core of the rationale for each of the three initiatives and in the forms of participation facilitated in each case. I show that even where elements of critical democratisation also are evident, these activities generally take place at the periphery of projects and argue that while critical intentions are present in each, practical constraints and underpinning ideas of publics and heritage override their

application. It is worth noting that the intention to mobilise publics to meet one's own ends does not preclude viewing publics as deficient. It positions them as a deficient resource, but a resource to be mobilised nonetheless. In the next section, I then go on to show how positioning participants as beneficiaries both justifies and obscures the incumbent nature of the participation facilitated by these initiatives, while simultaneously eliding the agency of non-participants.

I have argued elsewhere that 'a critique of public participation in heritage through the lens of network governance and incumbent democratisation is uncomfortable for heritage, given the educational role often assigned to [or claimed by] heritage organisations and professionals' (Fredheim 2018, 627). Like Smith (2006, 11), I would extend this assessment to many community heritage groups, who operationalise professional conceptions of expertise and, as I have argued above, are equally invested in educating and mobilising 'the public' for appropriate interactions with heritage. My own PhD research was funded to investigate the sustainability of community heritage groups 'as responsibility and care of archaeological assets devolves *de facto* to the voluntary sector' in the UK during austerity. I expressed an affinity for elements of critical democratisation within the first few months of my PhD by identifying that 'I feel it is neither correct, nor desirable, to expect voluntary engagement to replace professional roles, in the sense of maintaining professional priorities' and that 'the *de facto* transfer of agency [should involve] a transfer of power as well as of responsibility' in correspondence with my supervisors. Yet the intervention I subsequently proposed was to co-design a suite of resources that would help build capacity and sustainability in community groups engaged in caring for local heritage places – an initiative that set out to mobilise the unpaid work of community heritage groups to design resources that would help them perform functions that aligned with professional concerns. Significantly, these resources would be hosted by the Council for British Archaeology and could potentially provide a compelling case for the CBA's 'impact' on, and value to, the sector. While the rationale for, and implementation of, my research could be framed as an attempt to engineer incumbent democracy and facilitate a network governance approach to caring for heritage during austerity, the aspect of my project these critical lenses are the most applicable to is arguably located in the way in which I mediated the co-design process itself.

As I described in the previous chapter, the pilot phase, which later became the project itself, ended up taking the form of a co-design project to further develop and implement a vision for a digital resource to capture and present public perceptions of heritage for use in engagement and heritage management. Initiating my co-design project by pitching my own design idea undeniably did shape the nature of the collaboration with my partner groups, yet I pitched it as an open idea. I had attempted to develop something similar during my MSc research as part of a placement at the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, but had found that people were not interested in using it. I was determined to use co-design to ensure I did not repeat the mistake of designing something no one wanted. Following my

initial meetings with individuals who had contacted me about getting their groups involved I sent an email that included the paragraph below:

> I would like us to make a tool that can pull together individual interpretations of heritage, organising and synthesising them. In practice, this means creating something that would make it possible for users to provide a series of statements about what they consider their heritage to be and that would organise and group these statements to give an overview of what a group, as a whole, thinks about their local heritage. As people's views change, users could contribute new statements. In this way an up-to-date database of opinions would be available that could inform heritage decision-making processes. This analytical tool is what I would like us to create. I think it could be useful to you, in that it would let your members share their views and be part of making decisions about their heritage. It would also help you put together documents like conservation plans, which you need to write if you are applying for large amounts of money from funders like the HLF. I do, however, recognise that you might rather want a platform that would let you showcase and promote your heritage. I think it is perfectly achievable to do both. *Part of the reason I want to co-design with you, is that I want us to create something you would actually use*. If you are more interested in a visually appealing and informative front-end than the analytical back-end, I think would be useful for informed decision-making, by collaborating, we will hopefully be able to design something really appealing and really useful that can be used in a variety of ways depending on your needs.
>
> (My emphasis)

What this email suggests, is that while I was eager to collaborate with potential users to design something they would be interested in using, I had relatively fixed ideas about what I wanted this 'analytical tool' to be – and in particular the 'analytical back-end' derived from my previous academic research (Fredheim 2016a; cf. Fredheim and Khalaf 2016; Cutajar *et al*. 2016). While I did not anticipate that my plans for the 'analytical back-end' would constrain my partners' hopes or wishes, the ease with which I was prepared to filter out ideas that did not match my vision became evident when I began working with Jo Pugh in September 2016. During one of our first meetings together, I shared the outline design brief my partners and I had come up with that July as well as some more detail about what each of the groups wanted and who they envisioned as users. He quickly remarked that he was quite shocked that while one of the few things all three groups had expressed a clear interest in was engaging children, the outline design brief only had one general mention of 'attracting younger (broadly defined) people'. During our co-design meeting, I had been uncomfortable with the inclusion of children as a target user group because it did not align with my ideas about who should primarily be involved in informing decisions about heritage, as well as practical concerns around consent and online content contributed by minors. As a result, I had written children out of the outline

design brief – and done so in a way that was not apparent to my partners and perhaps not even to myself. It was only Jo's assertion that he was alarmed I had written out children that alerted me to what I had done. By encouraging some contributions and side-lining others, I mediated the co-design process in a way that marginalised and wrote out a central concern for my co-designers. Although we subsequently wrote children back into the design and identified teachers and school groups as subjects of necessary user research, the experience of having been called out on manipulating the co-design process to favour ideas that enhanced my own vision, while writing out those that did not align, stands out sharply in my mind. It is a prime example of the subtle ways in which facilitators with power over collaborative processes can steer democratising initiatives with critical intentions toward manifesting as incumbent interventions.

I do not have the same depth of access to the inner workings of the various Know Your Place or Adopt-a-Monument projects and cannot show how participatory projects are shaped through the analysis of individual interactions or judgements. However, the documentation I do have access to allows for similar analyses on a more general level. What I am concerned with here are the subtle cues that give participants (and potential participants) a sense of whether or not their contribution would be welcome. For example, as I suggested in the previous chapter, while Know Your Place is presented as accepting 'stories' about place with the encouraging note that 'heritage refers to anything that relates to the history of a place, so any information about that history would be appropriate to add to the site' (Bristol City Council ndc), the vast majority of the contributed content is historic images with factual descriptions. Entry fields such as 'asset type' and 'asset description' do not invite personal stories or views on the significance of places. Instead they implicitly signal that entries should be made by people versed in professional jargon that hold expertise recognised by corresponding professions. This marginalisation of personal everyday perceptions of place is further reinforced by the placement of such content within the platform. Where oral histories do feature, they are located on a separate 'layer' and, unlike historic photographs, are never referenced in planning applications. Furthermore, the user-generated content most frequently celebrated is a georeferenced historic photo of limekilns there was no other known record of (cf. Insole and Piccini 2013, 35; City Design Group 2015b, 9; Insole 2017, 59) – a feature of traditional archaeological interest. Despite interventions such as Know Your Bristol on the Move and the 'Know Your Bus', which were temporary projects, the platform itself reinforces established perceptions of expertise and mobilises members of the public who hold elements of such expertise and share in professional values. In doing so, the platform does not signal that it is the place for exploring the contested nature of heritage or that it is a space welcoming of dissent. As I describe in more detail later in this chapter, it thereby appears to encourage contributions from their identified 'key stakeholders' while discouraging contributions from others.

While the 'Enhancing Know Your Place' project with the Vaughan postcards at the Bristol Records Office is described by the historian facilitating the project as an example of 'heavyweight peer-

production' with 'few pro- or prescriptive requirements to the research our volunteers were asked to conduct' (Nourse *et al.* 2017, 156), the core element of the work – to identify the location of historic images and upload them to Know Your Place – was in fact entirely prescriptive. Unlike many crowdsourcing projects that are entirely embedded in digital interfaces that mediate and streamline the participant experience, the workflow of Enhancing Know Your Place involved receiving compressed image files by email and being asked to enter information into spreadsheets as well as uploading images to Know Your Place. As I discuss in Chapter 7, this lack of attention to the participant experience presumably had a significant impact on exacerbating the 'long-tail' distribution of participation, by reducing enjoyability and precluding casual involvement. Other elements of Bristol on the Move, and in particular Know Your Bus, clearly were motivated by a commitment to removing barriers to participation and engaging people who would otherwise not participate. Nevertheless, once again, work directly connected to the Know Your Place interface was structured around inviting participation within closely controlled parameters that align with institutional priorities that are dictated by the political and policy context City Design Group operates within. Arguably, Know Your Place is not an open invitation to engage in planning, but rather a call to perform specific actions that provide certain kinds of information for professional assessments. Of course, Know Your Place is not only a resource for the planning process, but also intended to facilitate various other placemaking projects. However, the priorities and constraints of the planning process are what control the types of contributions participants are invited to make to the platform.

The way in which Know Your Place can most clearly be seen as having come to function as a mechanism for incumbent democratisation and network governance is in the proposed development of the Bristol Heritage Forum in partnership with Bristol Civic Society, outlined in the 2015-2018 Bristol Heritage Framework. The council and Know Your Place are positioned as welcoming the idea of devolving responsibilities to increase public participation in caring for heritage to likeminded individuals and groups:

> The Know Your Place project has provided one means for community and volunteer participation to take place. The result is a ground breaking city resource. If co-ordinated and focused around shared objectives further voluntary effort could compliment the activity of the City Council to the greater benefit of the city's heritage.
>
> A focused group of key stakeholders, co-ordinated by a significant community stakeholder group, could:
>
> - Promote the value of heritage to the economic, social and environmental well-being of the city
> - Enable the co-ordination of heritage related initiatives and facilitate collaboration and partnership working

- Share knowledge and best practice
- Build community capacity and encourage public participation in heritage
- Create an annual opportunity for wider stakeholders to meet together

To compliment [sic] the work undertaken by the city council within the Heritage Framework such a group could focus on the work streams outlined below:

A. Heritage Review
- Commenting on listed building applications, project work or planning policy proposals where there is a potential impact on heritage assets

B. Heritage advocacy
- The promotion of the value of heritage, best practice heritage projects and heritage training opportunities including the Local List and Heritage at Risk

C. Heritage participation
- Exploring opportunities for building community capacity and co-ordinating funding bid support in accordance with heritage priorities

Each of these three work streams would produce actions for the group to take forward.

(City Design Group 2015a, 62-63

Here, Know Your Place is positioned at the heart of an initiative to 'co-ordinate' and 'focus' 'key stakeholders' around 'shared objectives' to perform 'work streams' that align with the council and civic society's priorities. Significantly, tasks such as commenting on planning proposals are viewed as best handled by this focused group of key stakeholders and not something Know Your Place should be designed to involve all residents in.

Documentation surrounding Adopt-a-Monument is less direct in mobilising volunteer labour to meet Archaeology Scotland's priorities and arguably places far greater emphasis on inviting participants to identify what they are interested in being involved in through 'community-led' projects and striving to build flexibility into 'outreach' projects, allowing participants to shape them according to their interests. Nevertheless, the participation Adopt-a-Monument facilitates is clearly centred around Archaeology Scotland's core mission and the priorities of its funders. It is perhaps in the context of funding priorities, particularly as the scheme continues without financial support from the National Lottery Heritage Fund, that the vision of Adopt-a-Monument as a form of network governance and force for incumbent democratisation shines through most clearly. In their independent evaluation, consultants Hall-Aitken report that other heritage organisations particularly recognise the value of Adopt-a-Monument in the context of austerity.

> There is a strong sense the statutory agencies do not have the resources to protect and maintain these sites. There are 8000 scheduled monuments and around 300,000 records so HES [Historic Environment Scotland] and other agencies cannot look after them all.
>
> (Hall-Aitken 2017, 17)

This lack of capacity, foregrounds other heritage organisations' expressed view that Archaeology Scotland could do more to influence which sites are 'adopted' and how:

> However there has been a suggestion that local groups (and perhaps AaM) could be better at prioritising sites: 'a lot of churchyards are cleared of vegetation'. And there was a comment that AaM should be more ambitious in the projects it takes on to encompass more complex work such as masonry, whereas the emphasis seems to be on low skill stewardship and control of vegetation. Although prioritising its support would counter the stretched resources of AaM, such a policy would move away from the community-led ethos the programme was created with.
>
> (Hall-Aitken 2017, 17)

Furthermore, other heritage organisations, who Adopt-a-Monument rely on for a significant part of their funding, focused exclusively on the contribution the scheme makes to protecting sites:

> None of the stakeholders we spoke to mentioned the social value of projects – all seemed to be focused firmly on their role delivering heritage outcomes.
>
> (Hall-Aitken 2017, 17)

This suggests that, when compared to other organisations that are attempting to increase and sustain public participation in caring for heritage places in Scotland, Adopt-a-Monument is arguably leading the way in terms of foregrounding participants and their interests. Despite this, several characteristics of network governance and incumbent democracy feature within the scheme.

Firstly, it is worth noting that the focus and the scope of the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit', which provides a framework for the types of activities groups participating in the programme will be supported to perform, mirrors Archaeology Scotland's own institutional mission as 'a leading educational charity working to inspire people to discover, explore, care for and enjoy Scotland's archaeological heritage' (Archaeology Scotland ndd). It is not surprising that an organisation's flagship programme aligns with its own core mission. However, as most 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects are led by a handful of individuals attempting to attract funding and volunteers, the scheme effectively sets out to mobilise other groups and individuals, whose goals and interests align, to fulfil their own mission. This model corresponds very closely with the theory of network governance outlined in Chapter 2. It is worth noting here that while the 'community-led' moniker of the Adopt-a-Monument scheme gives the impression that Archaeology Scotland are simply seeking to

help local groups care for what they identify as local heritage, the focus and scope of the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' implicitly draws clear parameters around what heritage is understood to be and what it means to care for it. I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 6. Within these parameters, communities lead projects by identifying which 'monument' they would like to 'adopt' and which parts of the 'Tool-Kit' they would like to apply, whether documentation, stabilisation and/or interpretation. However, the parameters themselves remain fixed and taken for granted.

While most archaeologists may feel the parameters for 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects are flexible and self-evident, this perception is precisely what Smith disputes in her identification of a authorised heritage discourse. As outlined in the next chapter, the 'Tool-Kit' identifies heritage as tangible archaeological remains that should be recorded, preserved and presented to the public, thereby aligning itself with Smith's authorised heritage discourse and identifying professional archaeological expertise as necessary to care for heritage appropriately. On this foundation, the expressed aims of Adopt-a-Monument are 'to enable communities to become more involved' and 'increase community participation' by 'providing training, resource materials, learning opportunities and expert advice' in order to 'promote and assist in the delivery of best practice' in caring for heritage (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 7). As I mentioned above, these aims are clearly aligned with the outcomes required of projects funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund and my critique should therefore be read with this context in mind. The aim of the scheme, then, is not merely to support community groups in caring for and using their heritage in the way they see fit, but to educate publics in 'best practice'. This 'best practice' is outlined in the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit', which explains how groups can adopt archaeological expertise in order to differentiate themselves from and educate 'the public'. The 'Participant Agreement Form' included within the 'Tool-Kit' also clearly states that Archaeology Scotland may withdraw support from projects that deviate from agreed plans (Archaeology Scotland ndb). While it is not unreasonable for Archaeology Scotland to request a get-out clause, it further highlights how support for community-groups is selective. As I explore in more detail in Chapter 7, this selectivity may not always be performed by Archaeology Scotland themselves. Through the content of the 'Tool-Kit', Archaeology Scotland sends a message to potential participants about the kind of initiatives they support, and groups subsequently self-select to apply to be part of the scheme. I experienced first-hand how the inclusion of 'archaeology' in my project title created doubts as to whether non-archaeologists could participate in my project. Archaeology Scotland is in a similar position, especially because the scheme is not advertised, and their support of community 'heritage' projects will be implicitly read as 'archaeological heritage' projects. The content of the 'Tool-Kit' only reinforces such impressions and thereby both implicitly and explicitly constrains the forms participation can take. I return to this in more detail in my discussion of branding in Chapter 7.

Adopt-a-Monument's 'outreach' projects and the various initiatives specifically designed to engage structurally disadvantaged groups with Know Your Place are the parts of my case studies that least obviously manifest as incumbent democratisation and governance networks. Nevertheless, even in these projects Archaeology Scotland and the City Design Group set out to impress certain values, attitudes and behaviours on participants. Archaeology Scotland defines 'outreach' projects as attempts to develop 'new heritage audiences', while Insole explicitly states that 'taking Know Your Place to the silent communities … has the added benefit that these people may continue to contribute to the database now that the concept has been introduced and their data have been deemed of value by an independent party' (2017, 64). These are also the parts of each initiative that most explicitly frame participants as beneficiaries. Arguably, such responses are the result of pressure from organisations such as the National Lottery Heritage Fund to demonstrate that 'if your project is a success, then the range of people *benefiting* from heritage will be more diverse than before you started' (nd, my emphasis). However, these benefits to participants are largely assumed and rarely evidenced. The most jarring example of this is the academic book chapter on the Enhancing Know Your Place postcards project. The first part of the title of the chapter is 'Having a lovely time', yet the text provides no mention of participants having had 'a lovely time' (cf. Nourse *et al*. 2017). Instead, it describes a project in which no attempt was made to find out why participants left the project without making many contributions. In this chapter, my primary concern is not so much that participatory projects may not be as beneficial to participants as they are presented to be, but that positioning participants as beneficiaries serves to justify the practices I characterise as incumbent democratisation and network governance above. I unpack this in more detail below.

5.4. Participants as beneficiaries

Perceiving participants as the main beneficiaries of participatory projects lies at the core of the simple deficit model, which, when applied to heritage, argues that disadvantaged publics do not participate in and value heritage because they simply are unaware of how 'wonderful' it is (cf. Dawson 2019, 23). It follows that any efforts to introduce publics to heritage is of benefit to them. This is especially true of participatory heritage projects, because they not only introduce publics to heritage, but also provide them with the opportunity to volunteer. As I have argued elsewhere, volunteering has its own positive sheen to it (Fredheim 2018). Heritage volunteering, the manifestation of the two brought together, is thereby often presented as being inherently beneficial to participants. In this section I argue that this underpinning belief that participating in caring for heritage is beneficial to participants keeps heritage professionals from critically reflecting on the ways in which participatory initiatives reproduce characteristics of incumbent democratisation and network governance. I show how professionals position participants as beneficiaries in each of my three case studies and demonstrate that even in cases where professionals acknowledge the role of structural discrimination as a cause of non-participation, this does not unsettle perceptions that participation is inherently beneficial. In the next

section, I then unpack the concept of symbolic violence to argue that positioning participants as beneficiaries denies non-participants agency in choosing not to participate, misrepresents reasons for non-participation and thereby leads heritage organisations to deliver projects that fail to sustain engagement with 'hard to reach' audiences.

During the first year of my PhD, while I was promoting my co-design project, I felt acutely aware that as a PhD *student*, I might be perceived to lack legitimacy and the necessary clout to successfully deliver the project I was seeking participants for. As a result, I was keen to stress the potential benefits for participating groups in my call for participants, as described in Chapter 4. Despite this, once I had identified my partner groups, I emphasised to them that part of my research was about developing new modes of collaboration and that the only way the project would work was if we all felt it was mutually beneficial. As part of these early conversations, I made it clear that we should only collaborate for as long as it felt worthwhile and that if we reached a point where partnering was no longer beneficial, my partners should feel free to stop collaborating with me. Ultimately, while we were disappointed to reach this point sooner than we had anticipated, I feel we parted ways on amicable terms. In this case, while I was keen to stress that potential partners could benefit by participating, I was certainly aware that there were many reasons why groups might not want to take part – reasons that had nothing to do with them 'having the wrong values and attitudes' or that indicated they were deficient in any way. However, once groups had decided to partner with me, there certainly are ways in which I positioned them as the primary beneficiaries of our collaboration despite myself being the one extracting data from the collaboration for my own PhD. Again, this is not to say that I was completely oblivious to the costs of participating. I arranged for grants to cover partner groups' expenses and provided lunches and refreshments at our joint meetings. Yet, from the very beginning, I was attempting to evidence how the process of collaborating with me was increasing *their* sustainability.

Early on in my PhD, I became aware of some of the many ways in which the internet exacerbates inequalities. While I saw the digital platform I was hoping to co-design for the Council for British Archaeology as a democratising force, I was aware that the Internet is not inherently democratic. Shortly before circulating my call for co-design participants, I gave a conference presentation outlining the ways in which 'democratising' initiatives such as Wikipedia struggle with gendered and racist discrimination among editors, arguing that diversity must be explicitly designed into systems in order to overcome existing systemic inequality. Nevertheless, due to perceived time constraints, I felt I had to work with existing groups instead of reaching out to disabled and minority ethnic communities in Yorkshire to form new partner groups. Again, when I contemplated creating new, more diverse groups to partner with, I did not view these potential partners merely as beneficiaries, but once I was already working with my three established partner groups and I encouraged them to use working with me as a means to encourage participation from non-participating communities, this

certainly became a factor. I thought that because my project was different and involved technology, it would be appealing to a younger and more diverse demographic. As I told one of my partner groups in an email, 'I am hoping the groups I work with will use our collaboration as an opportunity to attract new members.' In Chapter 4, I described how it became clear that my partners were primarily designing for *other* users and while I came to argue that this called for user research on groups that were not represented among our co-designers, I certainly never challenged the view that non-participating publics would benefit from joining my partner groups or from engaging with the digital platform we were designing. During our collaboration, I think it is fair to say that we shared the view that people would participate if only they knew how 'wonderful' it was and that the general public's lack of engagement with caring for heritage represented attitudes we should seek to change.

Archaeology Scotland similarly positions participants as beneficiaries by situating Adopt-a-Monument as a programme that is mutually beneficial to heritage sites and participating community groups:

> Archaeology Scotland works hard to make Scotland's past accessible and enjoyable for everyone, this includes helping communities to care for the heritage that belongs to us all. Many archaeological sites and monuments across Scotland are in need of care and maintenance but few have owners with the resources to make this happen. Equally, there are people who wish to step in to do something to help protect these monuments for the future and to increase our understanding of them. Adopt-a-Monument (AaM) provides the means by which monuments and communities are brought together for the benefit of both, helping groups across Scotland to deliver creative and sustainable conservation projects.
>
> A little-known piece of local heritage is a treasure trove of potential benefits; the chance to get active and rediscover the past, to learn new skills and to transform a disused space.
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 2)

In this description of Adopt-a-Monument, Archaeology Scotland is positioned as a neutral mediator, with benefits accruing to participating community groups and to heritage itself. Yet these benefits for participants are largely assumed and rarely evidenced. Several of the case study reports submitted to the Heritage Lottery Fund (now National Lottery Heritage Fund) at the end of the funding period evidence 'benefits for people' with a mention of how many volunteers took part, followed by minor variations of three platitudes:

- 8 volunteers were actively involved in the project.
- Opportunity for participants to be actively involved in a heritage project.
- Opportunity for participants to learn more about their local historic environment.

- Opportunity for participants to learn new skills and take part in up to three workshops.

(Archaeology Scotland ndc, 82; cf. 23; 27-28; 31-32; 45; 49; 57; 62-63; 103-104; 108; 115)

The quote above is the full extent of identified 'benefits for people' provided for a 'community-led' project and is reproduced throughout the report as indicated by my citation above. No evidence for benefits to people is provided in these cases, instead it is assumed that participating in a heritage project is inherently beneficial. Notably, the mandatory National Heritage Lottery Fund outcome that requires projects to increase 'the range of people benefitting from heritage' does not require proving benefits, merely proving broader and more diverse engagement (nd), thereby encouraging such reporting. In other cases, benefits for people are explicitly reported in future tense:

- Will allow for a greater understanding of the context of the original monument and the reasons for its location.
- Will engage with the local community to allow them to assess and value the monument in a practical and aesthetic sense.
- Will allow people to continue to benefit from the setting of the monument and its use as a flowerbed, and focal point within Balgay Park.
- Opportunity for people from the local area to learn more about their local historic environment.

(Archaeology Scotland ndc, 30; 49; cf. 103)

While I had initially assumed the use of the future tense reflected that some of the projects included in the report were ongoing, the project referenced in the quote above was conducted in 2011. In conversation with Adopt-a-Monument staff it was later mentioned that these 'benefits for heritage' and 'benefits for people' were often written together with the community groups involved at the planning stage *before* projects began and later reproduced in the 'Summary Report' for the Heritage Lottery Fund. Significantly, this suggests there was no formal internal evaluation of Adopt-a-Monument projects during the 2011-2017 phase and that the presumption that the projects would provide benefits such as those outlined above was shared by project staff and participating groups. This reinforces the impression that both Archaeology Scotland and many of the groups participating in the scheme view heritage volunteering as inherently beneficial to participants – that is, they identify volunteers as the primary beneficiaries of volunteering.

By identifying participants as beneficiaries, even the most mundane volunteering tasks can be positioned as opportunities. This explains how other 'benefits for people' described in project reports can include points such as: 'the project provided active engagement opportunities through vegetation clearance activity days' and 'through participating in vegetation clearance volunteers were able to

take part in healthy, active, outdoor activity' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 25; 68), despite appearing to contradict other project reports that recognise vegetation clearance as a burden:

> Adopt-a-Monument also helped negotiate a new land management strategy for the monument with LifeScan (who manage maintenance of that area of the park) who have agreed to help maintain vegetation onsite with hand strimmers (as opposed to a 'ride on' mower), negating a need for the local community or school to conduct vegetation management.
>
> <div align="right">(Archaeology Scotland ndc, 48)</div>

While it is clear that the same activity may be an opportunity in one case and a burden in another, depending on the case and the individuals involved, my concern here is not so much whether or not participating in Adopt-a-Monument is beneficial to participants. Rather, my argument in this section is that Adopt-a-Monument assumes participation to be inherently beneficial and, as a result, frames participants as beneficiaries, no matter the activity involved. The fact that lists of 'benefits to people' include points such as 'inform groups about heritage issues and provide training in relevant skills and learning opportunities' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 49, 57, 84, 98), highlights that unmaking public deficits by educating and correcting previously non-participating publics' 'wrong values and attitudes' (Levitas 2004, 49; cf. Dawson 2018, 774) is understood as benefiting participants. This explains how the characteristics of incumbent democratisation and network governance identified in the previous section go unchallenged in participatory heritage projects; participating in the governance network is understood as beneficial to participants by both heritage professionals and heritage funders.

Positioning participants as beneficiaries also shapes how projects view non-participants, by identifying them as deficient according to the terms of the simple deficit model and thereby denying their agency in *choosing* not to participate. While Adopt-a-Monument 'outreach' projects recognise that there are reasons beyond having the 'wrong values and attitudes' for non-participants not to participate, these are limited to discussions of structural inequality, which positions participating in heritage as a benefit marginalised groups are prevented from accessing:

> One of the main aims of the Adopt-a-Monument scheme is to break down some of the barriers that prevent individuals and groups getting involved with archaeology and local history. In addition to our more traditional community projects, we have also created a series of outreach projects – with the aim of introducing archaeology to non-traditional heritage audiences. Working in partnership with charities and local organisations, Adopt-a-Monument can offer encouragement, help, support and advice for groups wishing to explore their local cultural heritage.
>
> <div align="right">(Archaeology Scotland ndc, 106)</div>

This description of 'Outreach' projects is expounded upon in several conference presentations:

> 'We have also been doing what we've called outreach projects, and that's where we are trying to develop new heritage audiences throughout Scotland. So we're trying to provide projects for participants who have perhaps never had a chance to get involved in archaeology before; they have never had the opportunity.
>
> (Richardson and Jones 2016)

> The main idea is to focus on the impact that archaeology has on people and the impact that people can have on archaeology. In particular the non-traditional groups, which we don't normally, or don't easily work with.
>
> (Jones and Richardson 2014)

This recognition of structural inequalities is shared by Know Your Place. It is exemplified by the description of the Know Your Bus initiative, which explicitly states that 'playing with digital maps isn't everyone's cup of tea' and recognises that some people do not identify participatory heritage projects as 'their space' (Know Your Bristol ndb). Peter Insole similarly argues that removing barriers to contributing to Know Your Place empowers disadvantaged publics to participate in mapping Bristol:

> Know Your Place doesn't try to tell the story of place from a single perspective, but instead encourages its users to participate in a multivocal story. Know Your Place hopes to facilitate or at least contribute to the development of a shared understanding of place. The imperative 'know your place' instructing a particular demographic to recognise and accept their low social status is overridden by the alternative interpretation offered by Know Your Place. Mapmakers have always understood the political power of a map, supported by relevant policies Know Your Place provides the community with the opportunity to make their own geographic mark, giving that power to the people.
>
> (Insole 2017, 66).

Insole notes that Historic Environment Record data is skewed toward affluent parts of the city and that there has been a lack of formal recognition of the significance of heritage relating to working class, non-white, non-Christian and disabled demographics and their intersections (Insole 2017, 63-64; cf. English Heritage 2012). He also acknowledges that 'to tackle these issues it is not enough to create an online tool and expect people to begin submitting their information' (Insole 2017, 64), but then limits his analysis of reasons why to digital access and technical ability:

> There remain many barriers, digital exclusion being one, but also issues regarding ability to orientate with map based sites like Know Your Place, where only a potentially small group

arguably have the capability of locating features and annotating them on an online map. These types of barriers may explain the fact that soon after the launch of Know Your place, gaps in data coverage in terms of the community contributions began to emerge.

<div align="right">(Insole 2017, 64)</div>

As a result, physical access and capacity building are the proposed solutions to the observed deficit. He concludes his discussion of an outreach project to a post-war housing estate by noting that 'in this way what is actually being crowdsourced is informed community advocates for the historic environment that will contribute to better care for heritage in the future' (Insole 2017, 65). While structural inequalities undeniably shape participation in heritage projects, limiting analyses to barriers that prevent non-participating publics from participating reinforces the simple deficit model by positioning non-participants as beneficiaries of any attempts at inclusion. This does nothing to shift the perception that publics who do not engage with these inclusion efforts have 'the wrong values and attitudes' (Levitas 2004, 49; cf. Dawson 2018, 774). Inclusion initiatives that aim to overcome structural barriers do not automatically undermine the simple deficit model, instead, as identified by Bernadette Lynch and Bryony Onciul with reference to such efforts in museums (Onciul 2015; Lynch 2017), they may operate within a deficit model that positions participants as beneficiaries and thereby elide any personal costs to those who participate. By doing so, they overlook the importance of understanding participant experiences and deny non-participants agency by rejecting the possibility that some publics may have good reasons to choose not to participate. In the next section I argue for the necessity of non-participation research by highlighting what some of these reasons may be and call for a reconceptualisation of heritage which foregrounds difference and dissonance, which I go on to explore in the next chapter.

5.5. Reconfiguring deficits and non-participation

At the core of Ziman's original critique of the simple deficit model in science communication was the realisation that members of the public had perfectly valid reasons for not unconditionally supporting science:

> The fact is, however, that a simple "deficit" model, which tries to interpret the situation solely in terms of public ignorance or scientific illiteracy, does not provide an adequate analytical framework for many of the results of our research.'

<div align="right">(Ziman 1991, 101)</div>

Similar research is lacking in the heritage sector. The reality is that we simply do not know why people choose not to get involved in caring for heritage. Yet it is worth considering that some people, like Rosol's urban gardeners in Berlin, may reject their positioning as beneficiaries and not be 'willing to take on the role of providing unpaid labour for what they still see as municipal tasks' or to 'accept their prescribed role as stop-gap' (Rosol 2016, 90). Others may simply not share the belief

<div align="right">122</div>

that archaeological remains must be protected. While this is an attitude heritage organisations and amenity groups might view as rooted in simple ignorance, other archaeologists have disputed the notion of the 'Heritage Cycle', which hypothesises that increased knowledge about heritage will (and should) automatically result in a desire to protect it (May 2020; cf. Thurley 2005; Fairclough 2009). These contrasting views are based in conflicting definitions of heritage. I explore how definitions of heritage give rise to the perceptions of heritage expertise and public deficits evident in my three case studies in the next chapter. But before I do so, I wish to dwell on the concept of symbolic violence in order to begin to flesh out a more nuanced understanding of public deficits for public participation in caring for heritage.

While Bernadette Lynch and Bryony Onciul's work has shed some light on the potential for negative participatory experiences in museums, non-participation research is largely non-existent in the heritage sector. Emily Dawson's research reveals why some members of five minority-ethnic working class communities in London do not visit science museums, yet she notes that such research is unusual also in her field:

> Research on everyday science learning has been constrained by an inward focus on those who do participate at the expense of those who do not. As a result, comparatively few studies have explored the attitudes and experiences of people who are not willing and/or able to participate in everyday science learning. Data on the views of excluded or non-participating groups about why they are not more involved in everyday science learning is particularly scarce.
>
> (Dawson 2019, 89)

However, the little research that has been done with minority ethnic groups on reasons for non-participation in museums suggests a prevalent sense that museums are 'not for someone like me' (Doran and Landles 2017; cf. Dawson 2018; 2019). This resonates with Peter Insole's reflection on engaging with participants in outreach projects for Know Your Place:

> The biggest barrier to building a shared understanding with the help of local communities is in the fact that most people don't believe that their memories or their personal archives, family photos, etc., have any value or that anyone would be interested in what they have to say. Time and again members of the community express surprise that someone from the heritage profession might be interested in what they have to say.
>
> (Insole 2017, 62)

This internalised belief that one does not have a valid contribution to make can be understood as a form of symbolic violence. Yet, despite making this observation, Insole does not probe why 'most people' might feel this way, or appear to consider the possibility that the practices of the city council, the amenity groups the council is keen to assign roles in managing public participation to or the Know Your Place platform itself may have contributed to these feelings. By contrast, Schofield argues

'many people feel their stories do not matter' precisely because of perceptions of what does and does not count as 'heritage' (Schofield 2015, 208). I return to this heritage 'brand' in Chapter 7.

As outlined in Chapter 2, symbolic violence denotes a misattribution of agency, a situation in which the excluded are made to feel they are to blame for their own exclusion. I therefore want to be very careful in how I use the concept to highlight non-participants' agency in choosing not to participate in the projects described in this thesis. What I would like to argue is that while denying the prevalence of symbolic violence mistakenly assigns marginalised communities agency in their own exclusion by labelling them deficient, it simultaneously denies their agency in choosing not to participate in opportunities they identify as inequitable. Or as Dawson puts it:

> I focused on participants' experiences and expectations of science museums as an example of a field of everyday science learning they both felt excluded from and, in turn, rejected. … I have argued that practices of racialised, classed and gendered discrimination worked to exclude participants from everyday science learning, producing a visceral, embodied sense of alienation for participants. Such practices led participants to reject everyday science learning in taken for granted and explicit ways, even at the same time as they were excluded.
>
> (Dawson 2019, 104)

Among my case studies, Adopt-a-Monument's outreach project with Tarbert and Skipness Community Trust stands out as the best example of recognising barriers to participation and pursuing non-participation research in order to understand exclusion, with the intention of implementing more inclusive practices. This project identifies heritage sites and professionals as potentially deficient and recognises non-participants' agency and expertise. Yet it also clearly intended to convince people with disabilities that they should want to visit local heritage sites and did not explore reasons for non-participation beyond accessibility. As a result, while the project addressed the perception that people with disabilities are to blame for their own exclusion, it did not explore other reasons why people with disabilities might *choose* not to participate. Such reasons may be more acute in cases of race and class differences and it is therefore particularly noteworthy that Know Your Place, based in one of the historic centres of the English transatlantic slave trade, where articles on the contested nature of the city's heritage regularly feature in the local and national press (cf. Saner 2017; BBC 2017; Cork 2018a; 2018b; 2018c), hardly makes any mention of these tensions. As I explore in the next chapter, silencing the contested nature of heritage implicitly communicates that 'this is not the place' for conflict and that potentially controversial contributions will be deemed inappropriate. Due to minorities' awareness, as expressed in the non-participation research referenced in this section that heritage is perceived to be a predominantly 'White' space, any interventions that hope to attract their contributions must explicitly signal that they are welcome. I return to this argument in Chapter 7.

5.6. From understanding publics and expertise to definitions of heritage

In this chapter I have argued that my case studies, which I believe, despite their faults, are leading the way in foregrounding public agency in caring for heritage, remain constrained by narrow conceptions of expertise and publics. These perceptions are not limited to heritage professionals, but are passed down through sector policies and funders' reporting requirements. They continue to identify legitimate expertise as that which is held by professional archaeologists, architects and art historians and identify publics' expertise as relative to their proximity to professional skills and values. Efforts to increase public participation in caring for heritage construct quite rigid boundaries around the forms of participation that are facilitated and are carefully aligned with institutional goals and priorities. While professionals may give participants some agency in setting the parameters for projects, the projects that are offered support are those that align with professional interests. In this way, initiatives to build capacity and sustainability in participating groups exhibit the characteristics of incumbent democratisation and network governance. Too often, non-participation is regarded as the manifestation of 'having the wrong values and attitudes' and even where structural exclusion is recognised, potential participants continue to be positioned as beneficiaries. This positioning of participants as beneficiaries, and non-participants as missing out because they fail to recognise how 'wonderful' participating is, precludes any recognition of the costs involved in participating and the potential for non-participants to have valid reasons for not wanting to participate. Furthermore, I would contend that groups and individuals whose priorities do not align with institutional interests quickly recognise this misalignment despite any rhetoric of inclusion and consequently choose not to participate. As such, despite their best intentions, I believe in many ways all my case studies fall foul of the critique of 'changeless change' by constraining public agency in writing their own roles and responsibilities in caring for heritage.

In this chapter I have tied my critique to the concept of the 'simple deficit model' and in light of this, I echo Dawson's call for a more nuanced understanding of participation deficits that recognises the value of equitable participation in heritage without overlooking the potential costs of participation. It foregrounds the importance of rigorous evaluation and the need for non-participation research, both of which are sorely lacking in my case studies and in the wider sector (cf. Ellenberger and Richardson 2018; Perry 2019). Such a reappraisal of deficits must also honestly face the question of who participation deficits primarily are a problem for. As in wider debates around inclusion in the cultural sector, institutions may be more eager to include non-participants than non-participants are to be included. What I am arguing therefore, is that a nuanced deficit model should identify participatory projects that are unable to offer equitable participation as deficient. As a result, I believe heritage organisations are better served in turning their critique inwards, asking how we can work differently in order to provide opportunities that appeal to as wide a range of participants as possible, rather than how we can change publics to share our values and attitudes.

In the next chapter I show how the understandings of publics and expertise outlined above are founded in particular conceptualisations of heritage. Connecting conceptualisation of heritage and understandings of expertise in this way is not novel and lies at the heart of Smith's authorised heritage discourse. It is developed further in the connection Schofield draws between expanding definitions of heritage and legitimate heritage expertise, by claiming that the growing focus on subaltern, local and everyday heritage justifies the claim that 'we are all heritage experts' (2014, 2):

> I was concerned that heritage practice – traditionally framed around the iconic, the special, the outstanding – appeared to ignore the simple fact that what most people value is the everyday, the ordinary, the commonplace. Heritage experts are good at dealing with the former, while it is local communities who are often expert in the places they care about the most.

> (Schofield 2014, xv)

Herdis Hølleland and Joar Skrede further similarly mobilise this narrative of how the expanding definition of heritage is expanding the range of valid forms of heritage expertise in their critique of Schofield's argument (2019, 826).

While I argue that this connection between definitions of heritage and understandings of publics and expertise is not novel, it is one that has not been addressed in my case studies. I have shown that understandings of publics and expertise constrain the roles and responsibilities written for publics in participatory projects to those described in Chapter 4. I now turn to my argument that these understandings are in turn constrained by underpinning conceptualisations of heritage and its significance. In doing so, I provide the final piece of my argument for how public agency in caring for heritage is constrained through participatory projects. I argue against the trope of 'expanding' definitions of heritage and expertise, asserting that these must be truly reconceptualised for participatory projects to foreground public agency. Taken together, these three chapters provide the foundation for Chapter 7, in which I introduce the concept of participant experience design as a framework for centring participatory projects firmly around the needs, skills and interests of participants.

6. Mobilising definitions of heritage

Conceptualisations of what heritage is, why it is important and the resulting ideas of what it means, or looks like, to care for heritage inevitably shape the forms of public participation that are facilitated by participatory projects. In this section I lay the foundation for arguing that different definitions of heritage drive different forms of public participation. As in the previous chapter, I begin by positioning Smith's authorised heritage discourse as a baseline against which I consider the change offered by my case studies. I then demonstrate how expansions of the heritage concept operate on the periphery, leaving the core of what heritage is understood to be unchanged. I highlight this phenomenon in both of my main case studies, showing how the core of Smith's authorised heritage discourse is reproduced at the centre of how Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place understand heritage and its significance and how heritage sites and features that fall within the expanded areas of their definitions of heritage are marginalised in practice. These observations provide the foundation for my argument that the emerging body of critical heritage research that frames itself as an expansion of the heritage concept can better be understood to constitute a reconceptualisation. Here I briefly reflect on trying to expand the heritage concept within my own co-design project, falling short of explicit reconceptualisation. I then highlight a series of emerging ideas that undermine the core of established definitions of heritage and show how a reconceptualised definition of heritage, paired with the more nuanced understanding of public deficits and expertise developed in the previous chapter, casts new roles for publics in participatory projects that foreground their agency.

6.1. Authorised Heritage Discourse

Before considering how scholarship has expanded and reconceptualised heritage, the ubiquitous professed distancing from Smith's authorised heritage discourse in participatory heritage practice warrants explicitly outlining its scope. She describes *Uses of Heritage* as a book that 'explores the idea of heritage not so much as a "thing", but as a cultural and social process, which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present' (Smith 2006, 2). It is with this idea of heritage as process in mind that she introduces her authorised heritage discourse by 'advisedly' claiming that 'there is, really, no such thing as heritage' (Smith 2006, 11).

> The argument advanced in this chapter is that there is a hegemonic 'authorized heritage discourse', which is reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenity societies. This discourse takes its cue from the grand narratives of nation and class on the one hand, and technical expertise and aesthetic judgement on the other. The 'authorized heritage discourse' privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building. It is a self-referential discourse, which has a particular set of consequences.

Smith proceeds to note that the boundaries drawn to construct this discourse include one between heritage and the present, consigning heritage to the past, and one between experts and the public. These boundaries are founded on the belief in the 'innate value of heritage' and the methods by which it can be identified and communicated (2006, 12). She also notes that the discourse gives rise to the professional roles of heritage practitioners: 'The discourse also constructs two important sets of heritage practices, those focused on management and conservation of heritage sites, places and objects, and those tied to the visitation of sites and institutions within tourism and leisure activities' (2006, 12). Like Smith, in this chapter I argue that the forms these practices, and by extension those assigned to participants in participatory projects, take are constrained by how heritage itself is understood. Smith provides a summary of how her authorised heritage discourse defines and understands heritage in her entry on *Uses of Heritage* for the *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*:

> The AHD defines heritage as 'fragile, finite, and nonrenewable' and as something that must be preserved for future generations. Under the AHD, heritage tends to be defined as aesthetically pleasing and nationally significant material objects, sites, places, or landscapes that represent all that is 'good' or worthy of celebration from the past. The value of material culture is assumed to be innate rather than associative or attributed. As something fragile and finite, those possessing appropriate expertise are privileged within this discourse over other stakeholders (such as economic interests, local or other communities, or social or political interest groups), and experts are defined as the 'stewards for the past,' who have a professional 'duty' to safeguard heritage and to communicate the value of heritage to nonexperts.

> The AHD also stresses the idea of inheritance; heritage, under the guidance of experts, must be passed onto the future, if not untouched, at least unchanged. Thus, people in the present are dissuaded from actively rewriting the meaning of the past or reconsidering its role in the present. These basic tenets derive from European architectural conservation debates, particularly John Ruskin and William Morris' idea of 'conserve as found.' Heritage is thus defined as something that is 'found' rather than made or conceptualized, and its fabric is understood as inherently meaningful and historically and culturally valuable. The idea that the meaning and value of heritage sites may change, that it may be disputed both over time and within particular contexts, and that ultimately a site is simply a collection of bits and pieces that someone or various groups have attached meaning and value to becomes an uncomfortable perception.

(Smith 2018)

Smith's authorised heritage discourse, then, conceptualises heritage as tangible things from the past that are under threat due to their fragile, finite and non-renewable nature, whose significance is inherent to their material fabric and thereby knowable primarily to technical experts. Furthermore, Smith argues that while heritage is defined as significant things from the past, it is also conflated with 'the past' itself and that both 'the past' and 'the cultural significance' of heritage are understood to be 'both singular and concrete' (Smith 2006, 29; 105).

6.2. Definitions of heritage in Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument

In this section, I map how heritage is conceptualised within my two main case studies against the key components of Smith's authorised heritage discourse outlined above. Firstly, I show that texts emanating from both Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place identify heritage as tangible, finite, non-renewable and thereby threatened or at risk. I then demonstrate how they understand the significance of heritage to be inherent in the material fabric of tangible heritage features, before highlighting that both view significance and the past as singular and objective. Subsequently, I show how both projects attempt to expand the definition of heritage characterised by Smith's authorised heritage discourse, before arguing that these expansions of the heritage concept fail to challenge the established understandings of expertise outlined in the previous chapter. This is because instead of being positioned against definitions of heritage characterised by Smith's authorised heritage discourse, they are employed alongside and attached to the periphery of it.

Know Your Place

As described in Chapter 4, Know Your Place is an interactive digital platform for Bristol's Historic Environment Record (HER). The 2012 edition of the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), which is the version referenced in Know Your Place documentation, mandates that local authorities 'should have up-to-date evidence about the historic environment in their area and use it to assess the significance of heritage assets' and that as such they 'should either maintain or have access to a historic environment record' (CLG 2012, 41). It is therefore not surprising that the definition of heritage found within documents relating to Know Your Place draws heavily on how heritage is defined within the National Planning Policy Framework. In fact, the NPPF definitions for 'historic environment' and 'heritage asset' are provided on the first page of the introduction to the 2015-2018 Bristol Heritage Framework (City Design Group 2015a, 4). While Know Your Place does attempt to expand the definition for heritage offered by the National Planning Policy Framework, as I show later in this chapter, the core characteristics of heritage as irreplaceable, primarily tangible and thereby threatened or at risk remain.

The National Planning Policy Framework refers to heritage with the phrase 'heritage asset', which is defined as 'a building, monument, site, place, area or landscape identified as having a degree of significance meriting consideration in planning decisions, because of its heritage interest' (CLG 2012,

52). While site, place area or landscape are all terms that allow for the inclusion of intangible elements, as most convincingly demonstrated by Janet Stephenson's 'cultural values model' for landscapes (2008), the term 'heritage interest', which the NPPF equates with 'significance' and identifies as the defining feature of a 'heritage asset', 'may [only] be archaeological, architectural, artistic or historic' (CLG 2015, 56). The National Planning Policy Framework, further notes that 'significance derives not only from a heritage asset's physical presence, but also from its setting', which is defined as 'the surroundings in which a heritage asset is experienced (CLG 2012, 56). While it might be possible to argue that the intangible 'practices' and 'relationships' from Stephenson's cultural values model could be said to constitute the 'setting' which contributes to significance alongside 'a heritage asset's physical presence', this is not how these definitions were intended nor how they are implemented. This is underscored by limiting 'significance' and 'heritage interest' to 'archaeological, architectural, artistic and historic' values, which give primacy to physical features and the professional expertise of archaeologists, architects, art historians and historians, as well as members of 'the public' who can claim proximity to such expertise, as outlined in the previous chapter.

The National Planning Policy Framework identifies heritage assets as 'an irreplaceable resource' and notes that 'significance can be harmed or lost through alteration or destruction of the heritage asset or development within its setting' (CLG 2012, 30, 31). This language is reproduced in Know Your Place documentation, which insists heritage is a 'finite' and 'irreplaceable' resource that is under threat from change (Bristol City Council 2014, 64, 67; City Design Group 2015a, 5, 14). Heritage is understood to be 'finite' and 'irreplaceable' because its significance is inherent to material fabric. The corresponding understanding of damage as bound to physical change shapes how heritage is documented and protected:

> 'GIS [geographic information systems] enables robust academic information to link directly to an accurate spatial entity. This allows us to be precise about the extent of a heritage asset, but at the same time permits us to justify why this asset is of historic or archaeological importance. The use of GIS is especially important for archaeology to link into future planning for places. It allows an immediate understanding of what the potential heritage impacts of a proposal might be simply by drawing a plan of a proposal on the digital map and querying what archaeological features it intersects.

> (Insole 2017, 56)

In this quote, we see how the understanding of heritage as bound to material fabric allows pinpointing heritage on a map and drawing 'precise' boundaries around it, providing 'an immediate understanding' of which developments could alter or destroy it, or impact its setting. Furthermore, 'robust academic information' is identified as the source for justifications of 'historic or

archaeological' importance. Understood in this way, it is understandable that the documentation compiled to facilitate heritage protection through the Historic Environment Record predominantly takes the form of georeferenced historic photographs. Such photographs allow archaeological, architectural, artistic and historic experts to assess the significance of 'heritage assets' and advise on the impact of proposed developments.

The notion of objectivity is not explicit in Know Your Place documentation, but was confirmed through interview and email correspondence with Peter Insole, and is implicit in how contributions to the 'community layer' are discussed and solicited. Despite mentioning 'stories' in a 'How To' video blog (Calling The Shots 2015), what the platform most actively solicits is historic photographs and this reflects the content on the site, which predominantly consists of historic images with factual descriptions, as demonstrated in Chapter 4. Where stories are included, they almost exclusively appear on the 'LGBT life', 'Oral histories' and 'Stories and Walks' layers, which are generally not referenced in planning applications. The Know Your Place website asks users 'to share your own information and images about Bristol' (Bristol City Council ndd) and the linked guidance notes emphasise that 'heritage refers to anything that relates to the history of a place, so any information about that history would be appropriate to add to the site' (BCC nde). However, further guidance illustrates what is meant by 'information' through detailing that the content on the site consists of historic maps, historic images and the Bristol Historic Environment Record (BCC ndc). Illustratively, the published Know Your Place brochure states that 'in addition to the city council's existing data the concept was to enhance this information through crowdsourcing personal *archives* and *images* from members of the public to create a community layer' (City Design Group 2015b, 5, my emphasis). As described in Chapter 4, the 'Adding to New contribution' tool in the interface brings up a form with short text fields and the option to add attachments, which affords uploading images with short pieces of descriptive text. The entry fields 'Asset title', 'Asset type', 'Asset description' and 'Asset risk' further underpin the sense that the contribution facility of Know Your Place has been designed within the understanding of heritage and significance espoused by the National Planning Policy Framework that values supposed objective expert assessments of physical 'assets' and their 'setting'.

This preference for supposed objectivity is not surprising given the foundation of Know Your Place in the Historic Environment Record with its origins in Ordinance Survey maps and function within the planning process. While Know Your Place claims to be the home for community stories, attachments, memories and perceptions of significance, the understanding of and role written for heritage in the planning process marginalises the space for this in practice. One of the most celebrated aspects of Know Your Place is the role it plays in the planning process. As an extension of the Historic Environment Record, entries to Know Your Place become material considerations in planning. It is worth considering, however, given that entries to Know Your Place predominantly consist of historic photographs, which role these entries, and by extension heritage, play in decision-making processes.

While the Know Your Place 'community layer' does not exclusively contain images with factual descriptions, historic images are the element of Know Your Place used by developers in planning proposals. As such, contributions made to Know Your Place serve the function of providing data for expert assessments of the 'archaeological, architectural, artistic, and historic' values of past and present physical forms of heritage assets and their settings (cf. CLG 2012, 56). It is also worth considering how basing assessments of significance on visual records and factual historical information alone limits the extent to which 'managing change' can move beyond limiting change or accepting change as a necessary evil weighed against development pressures.

Insole notes that 'issues remain particularly when assessing the importance or heritage value of an asset, what current legislation and guidance refers to as "significance"'. However, the solution he proposes is to 'develop a shared understanding of heritage and encourage residents of these places to participate in the conversation' (2017, 56). This idea of a shared 'understanding' or vision of heritage and its significance is also drawn from the National Planning Policy Framework (CLG 2012, 17; 43; cf. English Heritage 2008, 22). A 'shared understanding' of the heritage of a place and its significance is identified as the first step in the four-stage framework for heritage promoted by City Design Group (City Design Group 2015a, 34-36; 2015b, 5) and is referenced throughout other documentation emanating from the Know Your Place programme (cf. Insole and Piccini 2013, 42; City Design Group 2015b, 3; Insole 2017, 56; 59; 61; 66). While Insole appears to recognise that there is a difference between the historical and archaeological information pinpointed on the Historic Environment Record and the question of 'assessing the importance or heritage value of an asset' referenced above, it is precisely this information about the past that is identified as building the 'shared understanding' necessary for assessing significance later in the same document and elsewhere.

> The community contribution facility allows Know Your Place to crowdsource heritage information and *is building* a *shared understanding* of the city's heritage enriching our knowledge without compromising council resources. One of the best examples of this data enhancement occurred within the first few days of the site's launch; a local resident uploaded a colour photograph of five late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century lime kilns. This surviving evidence of an industrial activity associated with quarrying the local limestone is not recorded on any maps or any previous images we know of. The kilns are only visible from privately owned land so it is highly possible that without Know Your Place and its facility to source data from the general public, this valuable and unique insight would not have been made.
>
> (Insole 2017, 59, my emphasis)

It is through sourcing contributions such as the historic photograph referenced above that 'Know Your Place hopes to facilitate or at least contribute to the development of a *shared understanding* of place'

(Insole 2017, 66, my emphasis). This perspective is reinforced in the Know Your Place brochure, which provides the following text under the heading 'towards an understanding of significance:

> Being able to overlay historic maps enables a rapid understanding of the development of a neighbourhood, street or individual building. Additional information such as historic images add details to this historic overview. Layers from the Historic Environment Record (HER) include archaeological reports and monument descriptions and provide signposts to further reference collections to enable expanded and more detailed research.
>
> (City Design Group 2015b)

These quotes demonstrate that while 'issues remain particularly when assessing the importance or heritage value of an asset' based on the available academic records, further historic and archaeological documentation is what is positioned as resolving these issues. The 'conversation' 'residents of these places [are 'encouraged' to participate] in' then, appears not to be one of assessing significance, but of providing personal archives and photos for professionals to assess the significance of historic fabric. The identification of significance as constrained to archaeological, architectural, artistic and historic value inherent in material fabric, and the conflation of that material fabric with 'the past' it is seen to represent, provides no room for contemporary attachments and relationships to place in the decision-making process.

Closely related to the idea of a 'shared understanding' promoted by Know Your Place is that of a 'shared story'. Programme documentation notes that 'a robust understanding of place cannot be achieved without an understanding of the story that has gone before it' and that 'the historic environment is the story of place told through the changes that have shaped the local landscape' (City Design Group 2015a, 4; 9). The 'story of "the place by the bridge"' that follows these statements is illustrative of the problems with the expectation that heritage can be encapsulated in a single 'shared understanding' or 'shared story' in that it downplays the inherently contested nature of heritage.

> After a period of modest growth of the city up to 1700, the eighteenth century saw great urban expansion and urban renewal largely as a result of the increased income from *the transatlantic trade* and the emergence of new industries like brass, sugar and tobacco. This eighteenth century wealth resulted in many of the city's most iconic buildings and palaces such as Queen's Square, Portland Square and the terraces of Clifton.
>
> (City Design Group 2015a, 12, my emphasis)

While this description of the birth of modern Bristol may be considered factually accurate, it is clearly only one of many stories that could be told about how legacies of Bristol's profits from the transatlantic slave trade and slave-based plantation industries are clear for all to see in the parts of the city with the most formally designated built heritage. In correspondence, Insole notes that Black and Minority Ethnic communities in Bristol appear more interested in heritage relating to Windrush, the

Bristol Bus Boycott, the St Paul's riots, and pirate radio, all of which now feature on the 'Oral histories' layer of Know Your Place, than in the legacy of the transatlantic slave trade. Such observations are significant and it is important to let people speak for themselves in identifying which elements of the past continue to hold significance for them in the present. Nevertheless, heritage professionals should be wary of the ease with which we sanitise and erase the contested nature of the heritage we wish to celebrate. Downplaying the contested nature of heritage also downplays the perceived significance of non-participation and self-selection bias (cf. Tourle 2017), by implying that while demographic deficits may produce gaps in the record, they will not fundamentally question the integrity of the shared 'story' or 'understanding' itself. While it is noted that patterns of concentrated presences and absences on the Know Your Place map may be the result of structural inequalities (Insole 2017, 64), this merely amounts to the realisation that there may be heritage assets missing from the map, not that there may be disagreements as to what identified heritage assets should be understood to mean, which stories they tell or how they should be used and cared for.

In the case of Know Your Place then, we can see how underpinning definitions of heritage shape the perceptions of publics and legitimate heritage expertise, which in turn give rise to the forms of participation described in the previous chapters. By identifying heritage as tangible remains from the past that are deemed valuable by professional expert judgement, the role cast for the public is to provide additional material for expert assessments, by contributing new or digitising and georeferencing previously collected historic photographs. Unlike other heritage crowdsourcing projects, Know Your Place does invite members of the public to *identify* heritage, not just contribute information about heritage that has already been judged significant by professionals. This is an important distinction. However, the impact of this agency is restricted by the forms of information solicited. While Insole claims that Know Your Place 'encourages its users to participate in a multivocal story' (Insole 2017, 66), here multivocality appears to be understood to mean a shared and consensual story that is contributed to by multiple people, not the capacity of the story to accommodate potentially conflicting narratives and perspectives. As a result, public knowledge and participation appear to rest along a simple scale from having or not having knowledge and in participating or not participating, giving rise to the manifestation of the simple deficit model described in the previous chapter, which may recognise factors that prevent people from participating but denies non-participating publics agency in choosing not to participate. Crucially, recognising heritage as 'ubiquitous' gives rise to the aim of collecting and presenting 'as much information about the city's historic environment as possible' City Design Group 2015b, 4; cf. Insole and Piccini 2013, 33). However, without also recognising the inherently contested nature of heritage, this imperative to collect as much as possible, downplays the impact of participation deficits and self-selection bias on the integrity of the resulting 'shared understanding' and 'shared story', representing a real risk that these 'shared' narratives are dominated by what Tourle describes as 'white noise' (2017).

Adopt-a-Monument

Unlike Know Your Place, Adopt-a-Monument is not structured around the statutory requirements placed on local authorities. This gives Archaeology Scotland more freedom in defining heritage. Like in Know Your Place, a deliberate effort is made to expand the heritage concept. I explore this expansion in the next section. However, in structuring the Adopt-a-Monument scheme around the term 'monument' and identifying projects that 'improve the condition and understanding of archaeological sites' as its focus (Archaeology Scotland nda), Archaeology Scotland indicate that the heritage the scheme is concerned with is primarily old, tangible and similar to the types of places identified as significant by technical experts, even though the majority of 'adopted' monuments are not formally designated. The distinction made between the sites that are cared for by professionals and those that are appropriate for the Adopt-a-Monument scheme on their website is not based on the type of site or who it is significant to, but how well known it is:

> Scotland's Cultural Heritage is exceptionally rich and diverse - from prehistoric standing stones, to medieval townships; graveyards and memorials to post medieval industrial buildings and to WW2 defence features. The *best known of these sites* are protected and cared for by organisations such as Historic Scotland, National Trust for Scotland, Forestry Commission Scotland, Local Authority's and land owners, but this stewardship only extend to a small percentage of Scotland's Cultural Heritage. Many other sites need urgent care and attention to ensure that they survive for future generations to enjoy.
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 6; nde, my emphasis)

In attempting to demonstrate its diversity, the characterisation of 'Scotland's Cultural Heritage' outlined above firmly identifies heritage as tangible and old. This is reflected in the case study reports provided by Archaeology Scotland in their own evaluation of the scheme. Two thirds of the sites involved in the 'community-led' case studies are cairns, brochs, abandoned townships/villages or graveyards and almost all the adopted monuments predate the 19th century. The primacy of physical fabric is further underscored by the absence of any mention of cultural significance or heritage values in the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' (Archaeology Scotland ndb). While the 'Tool-Kit' includes whole sections on 'researching your monument', 'archaeological recording', 'conservation', 'interpretation' and 'promotion' no mention is made of how to assess the significance of a site. While the content on the website and in the Tool-Kit may be almost a decade old, it continues to constitute a significant part of the public face of the scheme and guidance provided to participants.

The 'researching your monument' section begins by noting that 'whatever your project involves, conducting background research will put your monument and your project in context' (Archaeology Scotland ndb 13):

> At a minimum you should get to grips with basic questions about the type of the site, its age, rarity and the history of investigation (e.g. has it been excavated in the past?). Those who live nearby often know a lot about a monument and approaching landowners or residents may reveal important information about your site (e.g. has it been repaired or altered?).
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndb 13)

While the 'Tool-Kit' recognises that local people may have relevant knowledge of the site, the knowledge in question again relates to the material fabric of the site and its past. The core knowledge required for an Adopt-a-Monument project thereby appears to be located within the material fabric of the site itself and in the technical records of previous investigations.

The other section on documenting the chosen monument before performing any interventions is 'archaeological recording'. As the title suggests, the guidance provided relates to documenting the physical features of the site:

> Whatever your project involves, you should make a simple record of your monument before you get started. This will help you decide what intervention, if any, is required and will ensure that you have a record of what the site looked like when you adopted it. Recording should also be used to monitor change; when returning to your site you can observe any deterioration over time by comparing with your initial record. A simple appraisal should comprise three elements; a drawn record, a photographic record and a descriptive written record.
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 29)

In order to produce the descriptive written record, groups are asked to use the Adopt-a-Monument 'site recording form'. This form, which is included as an appendix to the 'Tool-Kit' begins by asking for the 'Monument name(s)', 'Location including', 'NGR and Canmore number' and 'SMR/HER number'. The second section of the form is an 'archaeological description (including dimensions, type of site and period)'. The accompanying guidance notes explain that in addition to the type and date, groups should:

> Describe the shape and size of your monument and the features of which it is comprised. When taking measurements, describe the length, width and height about ground level of the whole site and of individual features and indicate their orient-ation [sic]. Be consistent with units of measure-ment [sic], and use metres if you can. Try and identify the materials that make up any structures. Write as much as you want (continuing on separate sheets) and don't be afraid to suggest interpretations of the relationships between features (for example, it might be clear that a wall overlies a ditch, which makes the wall a later addition). Also be sure to relate your monument to its surrounding landscape. If there are other archaeological sites nearby, you should make a note (and sketch) of them.
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndb)

This exclusive focus on the physical features of the site continues in the third and final section of the form on 'Monument condition and threats'. The guidance notes to this section take groups back to the 'conservation' section of the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' before providing a bullet-point list of potential threats covering the structural integrity of the monument itself as well as potential forms of damage performed by the weather, humans, vegetation and animals. The 'researching your monument' and 'archaeological recording' sections, which also incorporate the 'site recording form' and accompanying guidance, outlined above constitute the information the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' identifies as the most important to guide interventions such as conservation, interpretation and promotion.

The 'conservation' section of the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' begins by stating that 'any work you carry out to conserve or improve access should protect your monument without compromising the ability of future generations to appreciate and understand it'. It then proceeds to note that 'the key is to strike a balance between the effect of visitors upon a site, and the methods needed to encourage and accommodate diverse audiences' (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 32). Herein lies the rationale for conservation then, to protect the physical fabric of the monument and its setting, while providing public access and mitigating the threats that access represents for the monument and its setting. The remainder of the 'conservation' section identifies the 'site appraisal', described above, as 'a useful starting point for assessing the conservation and management needs of your site' (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 33). It then proceeds to list a series of threats: 'structural instability', 'human impact', 'vegetation', 'animals' and 'natural impacts' and how they can be mitigated. This, alongside links to more information, constitutes the extent of the conservation section. As such, the 'Tool-Kit' presents conservation as a wholly technical process that is concerned with limiting the physical change of a site in response to a range of threats. This approach to conservation is the natural result of identifying heritage and its significance as inherent to tangible remains of the past and positions heritage as inherently at risk.

The understanding of heritage as inherent to the physical features of a site is further reinforced in the following section on 'interpretation':

> Interpreting your monument should involve telling its story so that people leave with a better understanding of its value and a desire to find out more about it. If you can convince people of the value of your monument this will encourage them to want to conserve it.

> (Archaeology Scotland ndb, 37)

This section also provides no information about how to identify the 'value' of the site that community groups are tasked with impressing on others in the quote above. Instead, the quote suggests that the value of the monument is inherent to its story, providing a good example of Smith's claim that heritage, when understood as the tangible remains of the past, is often conflated with 'the past' itself.

Significantly, this past is identified through the application of formal archaeological and historical expertise introduced in the 'researching your monument' and 'archaeological recording' sections that subsequently must be communicated to and impressed upon deficient publics.

The absence of any mention of significance assessments or the role of social value is especially striking given the emphasis placed on the 'community-led' nature of Adopt-a-Monument projects. While documentation around the scheme repeatedly refers to empowering communities to care for 'their' heritage (cf. Archaeology Scotland nde; ndc, 7, 67, 68, 86, 88, 102, 105, 113, 114, 120), 'their' appears to generally be mobilised to create a sense of ownership and responsibility in order to motivate local publics to care for archaeological sites, as opposed to denoting that local people's attachments to place should have any role in informing the nature of conservation and management interventions. In writing social value out of heritage and its significance, the scheme overlooks the most obvious way in which local people could bring expertise to caring for heritage that is not reliant on their proximity to, and alignment with, professional expertise.

As in the case of Know Your Place above, the definition of heritage mobilised by texts emanating from the Adopt-a-Monument scheme constrains the forms of public participation facilitated. By insisting that the value of 'monuments' is inherent to their physical fabric and setting, the scheme appears to dictate that valid knowledge can only be found through formal archaeological and historical research, that the monument must be protected from use and change and that the only appropriate uses of 'monuments' are research and presenting the resulting knowledge to 'the public'. Everyday attachments to 'monuments' are given no place in their management and as such, any participants can only hold legitimate expertise insofar as they are able to accrue professional knowledge through participating in workshops. In community-led projects, this places participants in a position where they are responsible for the project, but must work according to professional priorities, as these will either already be internalised or be presented as *the* way to care for a 'monument' appropriately. This is not to say that the Adopt-a-Monument scheme is deliberately set up to exert cultural imperialism and subvert public agency through incumbent democratisation. Instead, it demonstrates the ways in which the forms of participation facilitated through Adopt-a-Monument are constrained by underpinning definitions of heritage that are regarded as self-evident. These definitions dictate that publics without formal knowledge of archaeology are deficient and must be educated before they can care for 'their heritage'.

Expanding definitions of heritage

Texts emanating from Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument then, define heritage as irreplaceable tangible things from the past that are significant due to the inherent value of their physical fabric that is knowable to experts by virtue of their archaeological and historical expertise. Despite sharing these core characteristics with Smith's authorised heritage discourse, both initiatives

make concerted efforts to expand the definitions of heritage that underpin their work. Archaeology Scotland do this with regard to 'community-led' projects by stressing that 'monuments of any age from anywhere in Scotland can be proposed (no matter how unusual)' (Archaeology Scotland nde), where the inclusion of 'no matter how unusual' suggests that the Adopt-a-Monument team are open-minded and willing to support less traditional projects. This impression is reinforced by the nature of 'outreach' projects, which have involved documenting oral histories, searching for a historic football ground and surveying graffiti. However, limiting these less traditional projects to 'outreach' projects, which are explicitly 'audience rather than heritage led' suggests that these activities may not necessarily represent a new understanding of heritage. One example of this is the Dighty Connect 'outreach' project to record sites along the Dighty Burn in Dundee:

> By recording graffiti on [a] Category B listed viaduct, the participants not only learnt how to systematically record heritage features, they will be able to engage with a heritage which was familiar and relevant to their everyday lives. The pupils remained engaged throughout the entire two outdoor workshops, and feedback from the teachers included the surprising engagement of the pupils who usually step back from class activities.
>
> (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 44)

While the case study report mentions that '21 new sites were recorded along the Dighty, enhancing not only the local sites and monument record, but also to Canmore' and 'further research was also carried out on 69 previously recorded sites along the Dighty, enhancing the record for a number of them' (Archaeology Scotland ndc, 44), it is not clear whether the graffiti recording performed by the pupils is included in this. During a search of the Canmore interface in July 2019, I was unable to find any record of graffiti along the Dighty Burn, despite other entries of graffiti in Dundee, recorded as part of Historic Environment Scotland's more recent 'Recording Scotland's Graffiti' project. As a result, while suggesting that graffiti might be considered heritage represents an expansion of the heritage concept (graffiti is identified as damage in the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit'), the fact that the results of the graffiti recording were not shared on Canmore suggests that the heritage accommodated within this expansion may be considered less important and secondary to more traditional heritage sites and features. It is, of course, also worth noting that while the 'Recording Scotland's Graffiti' project was conducted by professionals, the Adopt-a-Monument graffiti recording was completed by school children learning how to use the techniques and equipment involved, which may also have had a bearing on which content is included on Canmore.

Know Your Place similarly sets out to expand the definition of heritage borrowed from the National Planning Policy Framework by validating oral histories and recognising the validity of contemporary archaeology and the everyday:

> Heritage is ubiquitous. Everything in our daily lives has a connection to the past; most of our houses are the homes of other families before, our local community centres or cafes may be in buildings which were once places of worship, our parks are green oases that have often been enjoyed since they were first protected from Victorian urban sprawl. These assets are all part of the archaeological resource that cannot be separated from the present.
>
> (Insole 2017, 56)

This perspective is also central to the Bristol Heritage Framework, which identifies heritage as 'intrinsic to all aspects of the city from streets to buildings to parks' (City Design Group 2015a, 5). It is therefore not surprising that the Framework adopts a 'broad' and 'holistic' definition of heritage:

> The term heritage is broad, but in terms of this document the definition is a holistic one that encompasses the tangible and intangible 'historic environment', 'heritage assets' (listed buildings, conservation areas, scheduled monuments etc.) and 'non-designated heritage assets' as defined by UNESCO's list of 'types' of cultural heritage and the definitions within the National Planning Policy Framework.
>
> (City Design Group 2015a, 4)

In this paragraph, two explicit attempts are made to expand the working definition of heritage beyond that of the National Planning Policy Framework. The first is in including both 'the tangible and intangible "historic environment"'. While the NPPF definition of 'historic environment' highlights 'all surviving *physical* remains of past human activity, whether visible, buried or submerged, and landscaped and planted or managed flora' (CLG 2012, 52, my emphasis), here the Bristol Heritage Framework specifically mentions the '*intangible* "historic environment"'. Secondly, the Bristol Heritage Framework includes '"non-designated heritage assets" as defined by UNESCO's list of "types" of cultural heritage'. This list of types of heritage is no longer accessible on UNESCO's webpages, but is reproduced elsewhere (cf. Harrison nd). It includes 'handicrafts', 'languages', 'festive events', 'rites and beliefs', 'music and song', 'the performing arts', 'culinary traditions' and 'traditional sports and games' among its 'types' of cultural heritage, yet none of these 'types' of heritage are obviously accommodated by the Know Your Place platform. In this sense, Know Your Place is a good example of the assumption that expanding definitions of heritage within established processes is relatively straightforward. Know Your Place is a digital Historic Environment Record, designed to hold information about archaeological sites and listed buildings. While the Bristol Heritage Framework introduces an expanded definition of heritage that professes to welcome 'stories' and other forms of intangible heritage, the digital platform has not been designed accordingly and instead continues to ask contributors for 'Name of object', 'Asset type', 'Description' and 'Condition of object', fields which are clearly designed to capture 'heritage assets' as more narrowly defined by the National Planning Policy Framework.

In both cases, efforts to expand underpinning definitions of heritage fail to move the core of what is understood to constitute heritage away from Smith's authorised heritage discourse. The result is that 'assets' or 'monuments' that fall within these expanded areas remain at the periphery and core practices unchanged. Despite inviting community groups to propose unusual monuments for adoption and including graffiti and oral histories in 'outreach' projects, the vast majority of sites adopted are traditional archaeological sites and less traditional features such as graffiti and oral histories are excluded from formal records, deliberatively or otherwise. Similarly, content on the 'LGBT life' and 'Oral histories' layers, and in particular contributions that most closely resemble 'stories', are generally not referenced in planning applications. Significantly, as I have demonstrated in this chapter, despite professing broad definitions of heritage, the texts surrounding both initiatives communicate their core purpose clearly: to get members of the public involved in protecting the physical features of archaeological sites and to encourage them to provide georeferenced historical images. While I have analysed documents from each initiative in detail to come to this conclusion, it should be clear that this is also immediately apparent to anyone who actually attempts to participate. Participants attempting to protect the physical features of archaeological sites in Scotland or to provide georeferenced historical images of Bristol will find themselves well supported by Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place and may be impressed by the broad definitions of heritage claimed by each. Yet potential participants interested in operating within these expanded areas of heritage will quickly realise that this is not what these initiatives were designed to support. I explore this in more detail through the concept of anticipated participation in the next chapter.

Expanding definitions of heritage was at the forefront of my own co-design project. As I described in Chapter 4, this was the topic of the first of the two sessions I had planned for each of my partner groups before we began designing together. Furthermore, Stephenson's tripartite 'cultural values model' of 'forms', 'relationships' and 'practices (or processes)' formed the backbone of the preliminary designs I proposed at our last joint meeting in York. While the cultural values model was well received during our initial meetings and when integrated into our preliminary design mockups, as I outlined in Chapter 4, my insistence on first teaching participants how I wanted them to think about heritage contributed to disrupting the dynamic I was hoping to create for our collaboration. More importantly for this section, like Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument, I decided not to foreground the contested nature of heritage. While I was determined to create a platform that could accommodate conflicting views, this was not something I emphasised when interacting with my partners. Instead, the ideas I introduced from more critical heritage scholarship were very much framed as expanding, and fully compatible with, established definitions of heritage. As such, all my case studies can be framed as sharing 'all too much discursive space' with the core of Smith's authorised heritage discourse (Smith 2006, 35). In the next section, I turn to my argument that facilitating and sustaining public agency in caring for heritage requires moving beyond expansions of

the heritage concept that continue to centre the supposed 'inherent value' of formally protected 'heritage assets', while keeping social value, everyday heritage and everyday interactions at the periphery. I then shift gears to introduce the implications of such a reconceptualised definition of heritage, alongside a more nuanced understanding of participation deficits, which I bring together and explore in more detail through the concept of participant experience design in the next chapter.

6.3. Reconceptualising heritage

Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith have highlighted that calls for inclusion, unaccompanied by new understandings of heritage and its meanings, may be considered mere rhetoric masking a reality of assimilation (Waterton and Smith 2008; Waterton 2010a). The core of Smith's authorised heritage discourse is arguably the identification of the work defining heritage as material remains in need of conservation, preservation and interpretation does in obscuring how these practices conserve and preserve cultural values and meanings. It follows that expanding the range of things that can be treated as heritage or the range of people who are involved does little to undermine Smith's authorised heritage discourse and instead broadens its reach. Nevertheless, re-theorisations of heritage tend to be positioned as expansions. In fact, this is true of Smith's interpretation of her own work:

> The book points to the overprivileging of materiality in dominant discourses and practices and argues that we need to *broaden* our conceptualization of heritage to engage with a *wider range* of experiences of heritage and heritage making than have been traditionally acknowledged and authorized.
>
> (Smith 2018, 4; cf. Smith 2006, 299, my emphasis)

John Schofield moves the discussion beyond expansion in his introduction to *Who needs experts?* by arguing that the concept of heritage is being 'realigned':

> Heritage is changing as heritage has always changed. One might argue that without change heritage would not exist, at least not in any meaningful and socially relevant way. What comprises our 'heritage' changes of course with the passage of time. New things are *added to* old things as the past grows ever deeper. But this book is not so much about how the content of heritage is *changing and expanding*, so much as how the very concept is being *realigned*.
>
> (Schofield 2014, 1, my emphasis)

In this section I argue that emerging critical heritage scholarship is selling itself short by self-identifying as merely broadening, expanding or realigning the heritage concept and that the time has come to fully reconceptualise heritage. Furthermore, I contend that such a reconceptualisation is necessary in order to shift perceptions of expertise and public deficits and thereby facilitate forms of public participation in caring for heritage that truly increase and sustain public agency. I begin by exploring where the notion of 'expanding' definitions of heritage comes from, before highlighting

inconsistencies that demonstrate how the concept is expanding beyond the limits of its elasticity. I then introduce ideas from critical heritage studies that directly contradict the definition of heritage at the core of Smith's authorised heritage discourse, Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument discussed in this chapter and show how they cast new roles for public participation in caring for heritage places that foreground public agency.

Beyond expansions

It is not surprising that the ways in which modern understandings of heritage as a concept have changed is often described as an expansion. First and foremost, in response to the expanding scope of what is recognised as heritage by valorising bodies such as UNESCO: from tangible monuments and masterpieces to whole landscapes, industrial and intangible heritage, to which the European Landscape Convention adds everyday and degraded landscapes (Council of Europe 2000, §2). The Nara Convention on Authenticity expanded the originally stringent and exclusive meaning of authenticity (ICOMOS 1994), while the Burra Charter is often heralded as having democratised 'significance' and conservation by introducing social values and values-based approaches to conservation and management (Australia ICOMOS 2013). In a European context, we might add the Faro Convention and English Heritage' Conservation Principles as landmarks in expanding definitions of heritage and its significance (Council of Europe 2005; English Heritage 2008). These and other developments are often cited as critical and democratising as they expand the range of legitimised interpretations and sources of heritage expertise. I have argued in this vein previously (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016), as has Smith (2006, 299), and I don't want to undermine the extent to which these developments have challenged and changed authorised conceptions of heritage. Nevertheless, I believe it is worth highlighting that they represent expansions, rather than fundamental reconceptualisations of heritage. The most notable exception is the notion in values-based theory that heritage values are mutable social constructs. However, while values-based approaches are increasingly promoted, the implications of recognising the subjective mutability of cultural significance is rarely embraced in heritage practice, as we have seen in the case of Know Your Place, and certainly not beyond the recognition that new values and meanings can be added to objects. As a result, heritage practice continues to frown at deaccessioning objects from collections and removing sites from heritage registers.

Instead, adding *more things* to lists and inventories of heritage has become the established approach to addressing critiques of heritage as exclusive, Western and elitist, thereby sidestepping re-evaluations of previously identified heritage. The measures enacted by UNESCO through the 1994 *Global Strategy for a Representative and Credible World Heritage List* are a case in point, which sought to balance the List by managing new additions (Labadi 2005; Gfeller 2015). Historic England's ongoing 'Another England' project is a more 'innovative' manifestation of this approach. It invites members of the public to identify Asian and Black British heritage, which is underrepresented in the National

Heritage List for England (Historic England 2017b). Expanded conceptions of heritage lend themselves to such approaches by allowing for *more things* to be identified as heritage. It is worth noting that most of values-based theory is entirely compatible with Smith's authorised heritage discourse and is often explicitly identified as such. 'Value has always been the reason underlying heritage conservation. It is self-evident that no society makes an effort to conserve what it does not value' (de la Torre 2002, 3). This compatibility with established practice is often highlighted in order to make values-based approaches more palatable and feasible within established structures. However, its critical core of casting cultural significance as mutable is generally only applied to evaluations of 'social' or 'community' values, entrenching their lowly positions in observed hierarchies of heritage values and limiting their ability to challenge or renegotiate established interpretations of heritage sites imbued with expert 'archaeological', 'architectural', 'historic' or 'aesthetic' values (cf. Byrne *et al.* 2003; Smith 2006; Waterton *et al.* 2006; Graves-Brown and Schofield 2016, 1637; Jones and Leech 2015; Jones 2017).

Today, Smith's authorised heritage discourse is almost exclusively framed in a negative light. As a result, the ways in which conceptions of heritage differ from her authorised heritage discourse tend to be highlighted. The extent to which authorised elements are retained is less often noted. Two of the most widely recognised characteristics of Smith's authorised heritage discourse are the emphasis placed on tangible objects and sites, predominantly monumental architecture and fine art, and the power it allocates to technical experts as a result. Initiatives that undermine one, or both, of these characteristics through expanding definitions of heritage or inviting public participation are therefore readily cast as democratising heritage and undermining Smith's authorised heritage discourse. As I have argued in this chapter, however, both expanding definitions of heritage and inviting public participation can leave established values and practices unchanged. This observation reinforces Taylor and Gibson's recent critique of democratising heritage through digital participation, which highlights that 'it is not the *extent* of interaction, but the *kind* of interaction that is problematic here' (2016, 413, emphasis in original), and Henkel and Stirrat's critique of empowerment as subjection (2001). Similarly, efforts to diversify heritage lists consistently resist recognising the dissonant nature of heritage and avoid reassessing what has already been listed (cf. Hall 2005 [1999]; Littler 2005), instead 'democratising' heritage through calls to add things that have been overlooked through initiatives like 'Another England'. As long as diversity continues to be embraced only on the periphery, expanded definitions of heritage are likely to result in 'changeless change'. Expanded conceptualisations and participatory projects are in danger of functioning in this way because they tend to perpetuate the very core of Smith's authorised heritage discourse: that heritage is a collection of inherently valuable and endangered *things* that are at risk in the face of physical change and loss.

Smith introduced her discussion of authorised heritage discourse with the statement that 'there is, really, no such thing as heritage' (2006, 11), reconceptualising heritage as a social practice. Yet

despite the ubiquitous distancing from the authorised heritage discourse, this reconceptualisation of heritage has gained little traction in heritage practice. Instead, there has been a tendency to deliberately distance initiatives from aspects of Smith's authorised heritage discourse through expanding the range of *things* identified as heritage. However, there is now a growing critical mass of ideas emerging in critical heritage studies that are fundamentally at odds with the core of the authorised heritage discourse and cannot comfortably coexist within an expanded definition of heritage. They include considering heritage as waste management, collective narcissism, an amnesia inducing smoke machine and the paired notions of curated decay and palliative curation. Many of these ideas are connected to the Heritage Futures research programme, which conceptualises heritage as a set of future-making practices (Harrison *et al.* 2016). In the next section I probe and considered these ideas together, highlighting some of the inconsistencies of expanded definitions of heritage and point toward potentials for heritage beyond narratives of endangerment, before suggesting ways in which reconceptualising heritage opens up new opportunities for public agency in caring for heritage.

Blowing up the box

In this section I explore emerging ideas that directly confront and undermine the definition of heritage described by Smith's authorised heritage discourse. I begin with scholarship that undermines the endangerment narrative that defines heritage as tangible things from the past that are under threat due to their fragile, finite and non-renewable nature. I then turn to alternative conceptions of heritage that foreground the contested and dissonant nature of heritage, which firmly removes significance from the tangible properties of material fabric and decouples heritage sites and objects from 'the past' itself. I conclude this section with a consideration of the alternative forms of caring for heritage such reconceptualisations of heritage facilitate, before introducing the concept of participant experience design, which I go on to discuss in the next chapter.

Laurajane Smith and Rodney Harrison both reconceptualise heritage as processes that are rooted in the present rather than a collection of things from the past (Smith 2006, 13; Harrison *et al.* 2016). Siân Jones draws on the work of Miriam Clavir to make a similar argument, asserting that a shift toward process is necessary to truly integrate social values in assessments of significance and subsequent conservation and management practice (Jones 2006; Clavir 2002). This reconceptualisation is significant in defining a more coherent heritage concept and in recognising the agency decisions made in the present have in determining how the past shapes the present and future. While heritage as process remains connected to the objects or sites, tangible or intangible (cf. Taylor 2015), these processes are concerned with, this conceptual distance affords new perspectives on what heritage does. One of the most crucial revelations of approaching heritage as process is the clarity with which it allows unmaking the fallacy that heritage and its significance are confined to the past, contained in material fabric and as a result finite, irreplaceable and at risk. Trinidad Rico and Sarah May's respective ethnographies of post-disaster heritage in Banda Aceh and fell shepherding in the Lake

District both make the case for a more hopeful and future-oriented heritage ontology that is independent 'of its actual or potential destruction' (Rico 2016, 19; cf. May 2020). They both draw on and contribute to a growing body of scholarship that questions the fragility of heritage and its assumed foundational characteristics of 'at risk' and 'endangered' (cf. Holtorf and Ortman 2008; May 2009; Harrison 2013b; 2016; 2017; Rico 2014; 2015; Holtorf 2015; Vidal and Dias 2016; Fredheim 2018; DeSilvey and Harrison 2020). May and Rico's hopeful and future-oriented ontology foregrounds the resilience of both heritage and people in the face of loss and change and invites us to consider more creative ways of caring for heritage (cf. Holtorf 2018).

The idea of heritage as waste management will be familiar to many archaeologists through the sentiment that archaeology is the study of rubbish, formalised through Michael Thompson's *Rubbish Theory* (1979; 2017). Thompson argues that things are 'transient', declining in value until they are deemed 'rubbish', after which they may be valorised through cultural processes and made 'durable'. The notion that 'waste' and 'resource' are subjective, context specific, labels is highlighted in Sarah May's ethnography of fell shepherding in the Lake District, where due to fluctuating wool prices, wool may be considered waste even though it is usually thought of as a resource. Industrial heritage sites and stately homes are obvious examples of heritage as recycling, transforming waste into resources by identifying new uses for derelict infrastructure that represent a financial liability to owners. The growing government and NGO support structure for community asset transfers following the Quirk Review (CLG 2007) and *Localism Act* (2011) may be viewed as a form of institutionalised waste management. While asset transfer is not explicitly defined as a heritage process, it is closely connected to ideas of heritage through being applied to 'assets of community value', many of which are formally identified as being of local heritage significance. Asset transfers have effectively provided an additional mechanism by which heritage is mobilised to recycle waste. Yet Thompson's model misleadingly suggests that heritage is inherently 'durable' and that it cannot also return to being 'rubbish' in the future. While most museums still collect far more objects than they dispose of (Fredheim *et al*. 2018; cf. Merriman 2008), deaccessioning objects from collections is becoming a recognised part of collections development (Morgan and Macdonald 2020; Museums Association 2014), demonstrating that what was considered heritage in the past, may not be deemed worth keeping in the present. The possibility of identifying heritage as a waste management or recycling process is a logical extension of defining heritage values as mutable social constructs, through recognising that perceived values may change over time, and perhaps most interestingly that dissonant perspectives may simultaneously identify something as waste (rubbish) and as a resource (heritage).

Viewing heritage as a socially constructed recycling practice invites the conceptualisation of heritage as being the product of narcissistic choice instead of a passively received inheritance. This positions heritage practices as a range of deliberate decision-making processes that influence how we relate to and mediate the past in the present - and into the future. In her discussion of Space X's launch of

Falcon Heavy, carrying 'Starman' in Elon Musk's red Tesla Roadster, as the latest of many space messages sent from Earth, Sarah May notes:

> But there is always narcissism in heritage – the desire to codify social and cultural value and ensure that it persists beyond our lifetime. That narcissism is only acceptable if it is shared. Wanting people to remember me forever is arrogant, wanting people to remember 'our culture' is acceptable, honourable even. The difference between them is in the practices of selection.

(May 2018)

As highlighted by May, the difference lies in 'the practices of selection', and the recognition of the inherent narcissism of heritage may well be part of the unspoken appeal of more participatory approaches to listing heritage assets, through initiatives such as 'Another England'. What May pinpoints however, is that this narcissism does not only operate in identifying *what* to remember, but *how* pasts are remembered through 'codify[ing] social and cultural value and ensur[ing] it persists beyond our lifetime', discussed by Smith as 'the negotiation and regulation of a range of cultural and social values and meanings' (2006, 12). In her recent book, *Brit(ish)*, Afua Hirsch repeatedly describes Britain's dysfunctional relationship with race as the product of a deliberate 'national amnesia' (2018, 59), whereby Abolition is widely celebrated, while Britain's overtly racist history, including its leading role in the slave trade and the scale at which Britain benefited from slavery even after Abolition, is deliberately silenced and conveniently forgotten (Hirsch 2018, 51, 59, 65-66, 79, 85-86, 125, 156, 316). Sumaya Kassim similarly remarks at the potential for heritage institutions to function as washing machines. '"White-wash": radicalism thrown into the washing machine of institutional state apparatus coming out clean, in universal sizes, uniform, vanilla and magnolia-scented' (Kassim 2019). I have already highlighted what I identify as seemingly innocuous forgetting in this chapter through the 'shared story' of Bristol promoted by Know Your Place. While Harrison has argued that heritage should involve both remembering and forgetting in response to unsustainable rates of accumulation in archives and registers (2013b), what Hirsch, Kassim, May and Smith invite us to consider is that heritage already acts to impose a selective forgetfulness. The identification of a 'national amnesia' highlights the way in which heritage's narcissistic selective memory practices project smoke screens that perpetuate widespread forgetting by regulating cultural and social values and meanings that deliberately silence uncomfortable pasts.

Arguably, the continued accumulation of more heritage cannot be decoupled from this silencing of uncomfortable pasts. Research into contemporary collecting in social history museums has shown that the most common response to the 'profusion' of things that already have been collected is to collect less (Fredheim, Macdonald and Morgan 2018). By embracing aspects of contemporary archaeology while holding onto the definition of heritage in the National Planning Policy Framework, Know Your

Place finds itself in a position of attempting to collate a 'comprehensive' record of Bristol's heritage (Insole 2017, 57), which it also recognises as 'ubiquitous' (Insole 2017, 56), arguing that 'we should see ourselves as being the curators of a living museum' (Insole 2017, 61). While recognising that anything from the present might become culturally significant in the future represents a step toward democratising the heritage concept, we must be careful in choosing how to act on this realisation. Sumaya Kassim's identification that 'galleries are fridges because they are white and cold and they preserve things that are meant to perish' is instructive in this context (2019). Traditionally, heritage has been caught up with commitments to existing lists and collections, expressed in my case studies as consumed with creating a comprehensive database of a ubiquitous resource in Bristol or by protecting all archaeological monuments in Scotland. Such existing commitments to impossible tasks pull focus from addressing the 'national amnesia' integral to existing heritage assemblages. Reporting on the first 'City Conversation' in Bristol in 2018, Tristan Cork explains that ethnic minorities expressed greater interest in the present and future than the past:

> The stated topic of the first City Conversation was the legacy of Bristol's slave trade and the continued presence of the name (and statue) of Edward Colston. Several times John Darvall tried to bring the discussion back to the legacy of the slave trade, but it was abundantly clear people – particularly people in attendance from Bristol's BAME community – wanted to talk about the here and now, and the future.
>
> (Cork 2018a)

Unless new future-oriented approaches to caring for heritage are introduced, any attempt to approach Bristol as 'a living museum' can only serve to limit change and entrench inequalities by asking its residents to live in the fridge.

Toward new modes of caring for heritage

Caitlin DeSilvey's celebrated new book, *Curated Decay* (2017), introduces potential umbrella terms for experimental heritage practices that complement the reconceptualisations of heritage outlined above. Through detailed ethnographic descriptions of sites caught in processes of material change and deterioration, she echoes Jones' question of whether 'some objects [should] be allowed to age and even die' (Jones 2009, 142; cf. 2006), highlighting that the *opposite* of arresting material change may in some cases be the best, and most caring, way to care for heritage. In doing so, she invites the consideration of a whole range of creative and generative alternative approaches to heritage conservation, including 'palliative curation'. While curation and conservation are often considered distinct heritage tasks, DeSilvey takes palliative curation back to its Latin roots in the word *curare*, which means 'to tend' or 'to care' (2017, 161). She notes that, understood in this way, palliative curation becomes a viable overarching concept for a range of potential practices that involve performing care while letting go. While DeSilvey discusses palliative curation in the context of places

undergoing varying degrees of inevitable change and complete material loss, the viability of generative heritage practices in such contexts invites the consideration of approaches to heritage that are less fixated on material preservation also in more traditional heritage contexts.

The potential for generative and creative approaches to caring for heritage beyond the palliative curation of care in cases of inevitable loss, brings us back to Rico and May's hopeful and future-oriented heritage ontology and invites us to consider alternatives to heritage practices that struggle to prevent material degradation 'forever' in the face of inevitable deterioration and, ultimately, defeat. Nigel Walter helpfully notes 'there is at least some danger of allowing *too little* change', arguing that heritage practice lacks 'an adequate account of how heritage is created, and therefore how change can positively enhance' heritage places (2017, 52). Taken together, the ideas outlined in this section go beyond expanding the heritage concept, to reconceptualising it as a range of inherently narcissistic, and potentially amnesia inducing, refrigerating, waste management or recycling practices that need not necessarily involve material preservation. This distances heritage practice from its perceived duty to objectively protect the endangered material remains of the past. Significantly, it facilitates the potential transformation of established understandings of legitimate heritage expertise and recasts roles and responsibilities for heritage professionals and volunteers. It cements heritage as an inherently political social practice, raising a number of implications for appropriate approaches to participant experience design. It should be emphasised that such a critical reconceptualisation of heritage does not preclude the usefulness of technical expertise or the desirability of arresting material change in some circumstances. However, it does go far beyond merely expanding the range of *things* authorised conceptualisations of heritage should consider in need of protection, interpretation and presentation to the public. In doing so it removes the seemingly objective foundation of what Smith terms the authorised heritage discourse and introduces a brave new world for foregrounding public agency in caring for heritage.

6.4. From definitions of heritage to participation design

In this chapter, I have argued that participatory heritage projects promote inclusion by expanding established definitions of heritage, but that these efforts do not change the core of the heritage concept. This has the impact of casting roles for participants that boost professional capacity according to institutional priorities. Even where projects profess to legitimise less traditional forms of, and perspectives on, heritage, these are marginalised by processes that are designed to facilitate what is understood to constitute core tasks and information. I argue that the expansion of the heritage concept has exceeded its elasticity and that critical scholarship should be understood to constitute a fundamental reconceptualisation of heritage, not an expansion. In particular, I contend that Trinidad Rico and Sarah May's hopeful and future-oriented heritage ontology, based in Laurajane Smith and Rodney Harrison's definitions of heritage as a process, provides new opportunities for foregrounding public agency in caring for heritage. Caitlin DeSilvey's concept of palliative curation introduces one

such alternative approach that highlights the potential for creative artistic practice to form part of a new repertoire of generative approaches to caring for heritage that reject endangerment narratives and move beyond preventing loss.

I have attempted to demonstrate that 'expansions', whether of legitimate expertise or of heritage, are only able to challenge Smith's authorised heritage discourse if these additional elements are recognised as *equal* to and having the potential to supersede the established core of what heritage and heritage expertise are thought to be. If instead, these additional elements are only valid when in alignment with authorised heritage, they cannot challenge established power structures and instead are merely appropriated by them. The nuanced understanding of participation deficits and reconceptualisation of heritage both call for the foregrounding of participants' agency. Taken together, reconceptualising heritage and developing more informed understandings of publics call for participatory heritage projects to foreground participants' needs, skills and interests. In the next chapter, I introduce the concept of participant experience design, which provides a framework for doing so.

7. Participant experience design

In the two previous chapters, I have argued that like science, 'which misunderstands both the public and itself' (Irwin and Wynne 1996, 10), participatory heritage projects are founded on misunderstandings of both publics and heritage. In advocating for nuanced understandings of public deficits and reconceptualising heritage, both chapters call for foregrounding public agency in caring for heritage. In this chapter I introduce participant experience design as a framework for designing participatory projects that centre participants' agency. Related concepts such as volunteer experience, service design and visitor experience do exist, but I have chosen to base my discussion on the concept of user experience design from the field of human-computer interaction. In particular, I draw on the assertion that the user experience is subjective to the user and not a direct consequence of the user interface. In tune with the focus of this thesis, on the understandings and conceptualisations that underpin participatory heritage projects, I draw on the underlying principles of the user experience concept, rather than practical approaches to user-experience design and their respective resources, workflows, checkpoints and evaluation frameworks. I apply these principles to participatory heritage initiatives through my two main case studies, to argue that while increasing and sustaining public agency in caring for heritage should begin by rethinking heritage and publics, it must be founded on non-participation research that demonstrates how, and in which circumstances, publics want to be involved. My own co-design project does not feature in this chapter as it represents an incomplete pilot phase, not a fully-fledged publicly accessible product or process.

7.1. From user experience to participant experience design

User experience design, often referred to as UX design, has expanded from its origins within the field of human-computer interaction to refer to the practice of designing intended experiences for users of any object or system. It is often conflated with UI (user interface) design, but proponents of UX stress that theirs is a much broader concept, of which questions relating specifically to the user interface and its usability are but one part. This broader idea of user experience has been popularised and promoted by Don Norman since his time working for Apple in the 1990s. While the concept has been traced back into the 1980s (Hassenzahl and Tractinsky 2006; Araz 2018; cf. Whiteside and Wixon 1987), Norman claims he 'invented the term because I thought human-interface and usability were too narrow. I wanted to cover all aspects of the person's experience with the system' (Norman in Merholz 1998). Since then, he has clarified that '"user experience" encompasses all aspects of the end-user's interaction with the company, its services, and its products' (Norman and Nielsen nd). This definition both firmly distances user experience (UX) design from the narrower concept of user interface (UI) design and demonstrates the relevance of user experience beyond the field of human computer interaction. Crucially, user experience, understood in this way, is identified as subjective. Caglar Araz, UX Designer at LEGO, uses Don Norman's definition of user experience to clarify that user experience, first and foremost, depends on the user:

In order to achieve a desired UX, most UX designers believe this is done through a well designed object (e.g. website, haunted house, app, etc.). But in reality there's more to it. … UX exists in the mind of the user, not in the object (or artifact). Thus, UX is not identified as the object itself; instead, it is the user's experience that occur [sic] as a result of interactions with the object. The basic model of UX can be demonstrated as illustrated below. Here UX is not a result of the design object. It's a result of the user interacting with a design object.
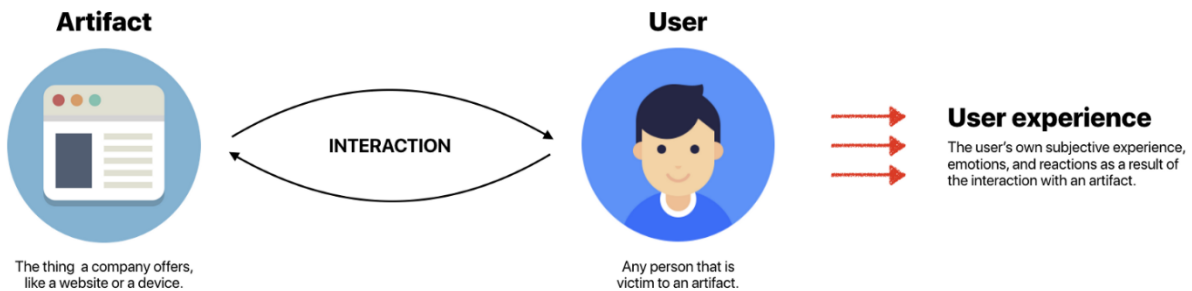
<div align="right">(Araz 2018)</div>

Figure 9 – Illustration of Norman and Nielsen's definition of user experience. Reproduced with permission from Araz 2018.

Araz draws on Hassenzahl and Tractinsky's much cited 'research agenda' for user experience to highlight that while user experience is centred around users' perceptions of interactions with objects or services, these perceptions are also shaped by the broader context interactions take place within:

> One of the often-forgotten factors that are potentially just as important as the user and the object is the context. Context refers to the situation in which the interaction occurs. Time, location, culture, atmosphere, human-presence, among other things in varying degrees contribute to the user's experience.

<div align="right">(Araz 2018; cf. Hassenzahl and Tractinsky 2006)</div>

This understanding of user experience corresponds well with the definition offered by the International Organization for Standardization, which defines user experience as:

> [A] user's perceptions and responses that result from the use and/or anticipated use of a system, product or service … Users' perceptions and responses include the users' emotions, beliefs, preferences, perceptions, comfort, behaviours, and accomplishments that occur before, during and after use. … User experience is a consequence of brand image, presentation, functionality, system performance, interactive behaviour, and assistive capabilities of a system, product or service. It also results from the user's internal and physical state resulting from prior experiences, attitudes, skills, abilities and personality; and from the context of use.

<div align="right">(ISO 2019)</div>

User experience design, understood as an approach to designing interactions that produce desired experiences, centred around understanding users and their contexts, provides a profound framework for developing participatory projects that sustain and enhance public agency in caring for heritage places. In this chapter, I refer to this framework as participant experience design, which incorporates, but also extends beyond, the design of the participant interface to encompass all the points of interaction between participants and a participatory project. This reflects that while my case studies all involve digital products or services that participants interact with as users, the focus of my analysis is on participation in participatory projects, not user experiences of digital services. Adapted to participatory heritage projects than, the participant experience denotes participants' perceptions and responses that result from their participation and/or anticipated participation in a participatory project.

The concept of participant experience, as defined in relation to the definitions of user experience above, provides an overview of the many dimension of participant experience we must consider when designing participatory projects that centre participants. Firstly, it identifies that participant experience refers to both actual and anticipated participation in a participatory project, which opens up the concept of participant experience to include potential participants who for whatever reason have not yet chosen to actively participate. Secondly, it includes the context in which participation takes place. Thirdly, it is influenced by perceptions of the organisation facilitating the participatory project, including brand image and reputation. Fourthly, participant experience denotes participants' perceptions of interactions with a project and is therefore intimately bound up in the design of points of interaction between participants and a participatory project. Finally, and most importantly, participant experience refers to the subjective experience of the participant, and thereby is the product of all the expectations, emotions, beliefs, preferences and past experiences users bring with them to interactions with participatory heritage projects. I explore each of these aspects of user experience in turn below, through the lenses of my three case studies. Crucially, such much-hyped 'design thinking' does not in and of itself reconceptualise heritage or operationalise more nuanced understandings of deficits and expertise. However, centring the participant experience and defining it as subjective to the participant does move us beyond the simple deficit model, which explains non-participation as the result of 'the wrong values and attitudes' (Levitas 2004, 49, cf. Dawson 2018, 774). I attempt to show how each of these dimensions of user experience reinforce the need for reconfiguring, not merely re-packaging, public participation in caring for heritage by connecting them to my discussion in the past three chapters.

7.2 Anticipated participation

In this section I explore the idea of the anticipated participant experience, which I understand as the experience a potential participant of a participatory project has when initially interacting with a project or organisation. This involves everything from hearing about a project to finding out more about it, for example by interacting with printed promotional material, interactive websites or

speaking to someone on the phone – the perception of all interactions leading up to a decision to participate or not participate in a participatory project. I explore some of the interactions that may contribute to anticipated participant experiences for Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place, before probing the Enhancing Know Your Place postcards project in more detail. Finally, I make suggestions for how both initiatives could engage more deliberately with the anticipated participant experience in order to ensure participation in their initiatives is as equitable as possible, thereby boosting their sustainability.

Archaeology Scotland does not advertise the Adopt-a-Monument scheme. As a result, potential participating groups find out about the scheme through referrals from local authority archaeologists and other heritage organisations, or through established interaction with archaeology in Scotland and familiarity with Archaeology Scotland and their work. Adopt-a-Monument also has an active Twitter handle (@AdoptaMonument) and Instagram account (@adoptamonument) that as of August 2019 has made no posts. However, due to the nature of social media, it is likely that individuals who engage with Adopt-a-Monument online already are familiar and engaged in archaeology elsewhere (cf. Mihelj *et al*. 2019). From these initial interaction points, the primary site for information about the Adopt-a-Monument scheme is the Adopt-a-Monument section of the Archaeology Scotland website. As outlined in Chapter 6, the first paragraph on the 'About' page immediately situates the scheme within the endangerment narrative that foregrounds heritage as being tangible, at risk and without adequate protection by heritage professionals due to restricted budgets. The second communicates that Archaeology Scotland will teach participating groups how to care for 'the heritage of their local area' (Archaeology Scotland nde). The waiting list for participation in the scheme demonstrates that this is a narrative that mobilises leaders of groups that are already invested in definitions of heritage that align with Smith's authorised heritage discourse and the simple deficit model for heritage. Unfortunately, the only participant experience data Archaeology Scotland have access to relates to these same individuals, produced informally through interactions with groups participating in the scheme and formally through the external evaluation of the 2011-2017 phase, which engaged with approximately half the leaders of 'community-led' projects. Hall Aitken attempted to distribute a survey to volunteers through individual projects, but it 'elicited a low response' (2017, 12). As a result, Archaeology Scotland have no formal participant experience data on volunteers recruited by leaders of 'community-led' projects or on anticipated participation – that is, groups or individuals who found out about the scheme but decided not to participate in it.

Know Your Place is a central resource for the Bristol City Council's City Design Group, which manages planning and urban design and has been widely promoted through a series of research collaborations with local universities and cultural organisations that have targeted both established heritage groups and 'the silent communities' (Insole 2017, 64). The platform also has its own Twitter handle (@KYPBristol), which averaged over six posts a day in June and July, since being created in

May 2019. The Twitter profile also has a pinned tweet with a link to the Know Your Place interface and annotated screenshots explaining how to contribute information. This illustrated guide is a useful addition as the contribution feature of the interface itself is not easy to identify or intuitive to use. There is also a 'How To' video available on Youtube (Calling The Shots 2015) but neither the illustrated guide or video are available on the council webpages or directly accessible through the Know Your Place interface itself. Like the contribution feature, the help feature is represented by a very small icon on the digital interface and takes users to the information pages of the Know Your Place West of England project (Know Your Place 2019). Depending on their point of entry, casual visitors may therefore not identify the contribution feature or, if they do, may be put off by the information fields, which are designed for historic photographs of, and formal information about, 'heritage assets', as outlined in the previous chapters.

Know Your Place has received nominations and prizes for a number of awards, received positive feedback from teachers and school groups and attracted hundreds of contributions to the 'community layer', all of which are used to promote Know Your Place as an engaging and successful resource (City Design Group 2015b). However, no formal evaluation of the interface itself, the Our Place workshops or Know Your Bristol activities is referenced in any reports or publications. Despite this, claims about enjoyable and rewarding experiences for participants are made, also for projects with poor participant retention in the case of the Enhancing Know Your Place postcards project and the Our Place activities. As described in Chapter 5, both key participants in both Our Place and 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects highlighted the difficulty of attracting volunteers and Our Place workshops that did not engage with established groups, such as civic societies, were less successful in sustaining engagement and producing outputs. In the case of the Know Your Place interface itself, the vast majority of contributions are made by a relatively small number of core participants. As a result, Know Your Place, like Adopt-a-Monument, is yet to evidence significant positive participant experience, beyond core individuals already invested in formal records of historic buildings and places in Bristol, and has no participant experience data on volunteers recruited by project leaders or anticipated participation.

As I argued in Chapter 5, the simple deficit model elides the necessity of understanding anticipated participation or deliberate non-participation by writing off the views of individuals who do not participate as simply being ignorant or having 'the wrong values and attitudes'. It follows that the only elements of participant experience factored into design decisions are those relating to the experiences of participants who already are invested in projects and their mission. The result is very low requirements on certain aspects of design. I believe it is no coincidence that my own co-design project finally stuttered to a halt at the prospect of conducting user research. User research was not something my partners were familiar or comfortable with and it was not clear to them why it was necessary. While I could undoubtedly have done a better job of communicating the rationale for this

stage of the process, I also believe the reluctance to pursue user research was connected to the presence of simple deficit models within my own co-design project. Designing a product people *should* want was perceived to be more important that finding out what people actually wanted. In the case of Know Your Place, a lot of attention has been put into the core functionality of the site: the presentation of georeferenced information and maps. The historic map overlay feature is slick and intuitive. The majority of the Adopt-a-Monument scheme takes place offline and the Hall Aitken report is full of praise for Adopt-a-Monument staff and how they interact with participants. I am not arguing that effort has not been put into the design of the two initiatives, but rather that the design effort is concentrated in certain areas and informed by certain perspectives. Perhaps most crucially, as I have argued in the preceding chapters, the implicit participant experience design in both schemes is based on narrow definitions of heritage and understandings of expertise and publics that closely align with the simple deficit model.

It is not possible to suggest participant-centred design interventions for Adopt-a-Monument or Know Your Place due to the significant deficiencies in the participant experience evaluation of both schemes. It is worth mentioning that this is likely also true of most participatory heritage projects in the UK and certainly of my own. Instead, I would like to suggest that the first step toward developing an approach to participant experience design for both Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument is to facilitate assessments of the anticipated participant experience and to apply findings to the design of the participant interface. Investigating anticipated participant experiences is a first step toward non-participation research in that it is concerned with understanding why individuals who chose to interact with a project did not go, or have not yet gone, on to participate in it (cf. Barrett and Zani 2015, 9). A nuanced deficit model recognises that people who are aware of a project but choose not to participate in it may have good reasons for non-participation. As a result, it becomes imperative to understand why, in order to make changes that can produce more sustainable interactions. Non-participation research is not unheard of in the heritage sector, particularly in museums (cf. Lang in Dodd and Sandell 2001, iv), yet appears to remain unusual. Among my case studies, the clearest example of the potential for such an approach is the case of the Enhancing Know Your Place postcards project. As part of their conclusion, Nourse, Insole and Warren makes a series of linked observations and hypotheses regarding anticipated participation:

> 1. Simply agreeing to a volunteer taking on some work via email contact is not enough. Many, but not all, of the volunteers who did not attend any kind of introductory training never contributed to the output of the project. All potential volunteers *therefore* need to be strongly encouraged to attend the session.
>
> 2. Following on from the previous point, we never chased volunteers who had not submitted output material. The effect of this is impossible to tell. If we had chased, *would the volunteer have undertaken the hoped-for research*, e-mailed an apology and withdrawn, or kept silent?

We suspect the last option, in which case we *saved ourselves time and unnecessary administrative effort*. If the first option, however, perhaps we would have achieved more submissions, or completed the project sooner. …

3. Volunteers who moved away from the city made clear decisions to leave the project, even though, theoretically, they could have continued if they were happy to conduct internet-only research (or from their own resources – personal library – or those of the inter-library loans section of their new home town). To the project, this is an important point and *suggests* that what we generated was a community of volunteers, of 'heavyweight peer producers', rather than merely a collection of volunteers. Indeed, the group of very active volunteers tended to *self-organize* their time to spend it researching together, in the BRO [Bristol Record Office] Searchroom. More practically, though, a volunteer's decision to withdraw *is likely to relate* more directly to the lack of access to primary and secondary sources for research. By extension, this *suggests* that we have quality in their findings. …

4. The belief that quality in findings and motivation would be maintained by giving volunteers a requested topic to work with, which we largely achieved in the initial stages of the project, *turned out* not to be that important. Instead, even when the assigned postcard group was not a volunteer's first choice, *the sheer challenge this presented compensated* for the off-topic assignment…

(Nourse *et al*. 2017, 160-161, my emphasis)

In the first point above, it is observed that a higher proportion of volunteers who did not attend an in-person training event did not end up making any contributions to the project and *assumed* that attending an event would have made a difference. The authors make no mention of having attempted to ask these individuals, who had anticipated participating, why they chose not to. Crucially, the focus here is on the productivity of volunteers, not on their experience. This focus is further emphasised in the second point, where the effort of reaching out to volunteers who had not 'undertaken the hoped-for research' is weighed against the likelihood of the work being completed. There is no expressed awareness of that reaching out could have elicited feedback about the project that could have led to more sustainable engagements with other participants in the future, or any demonstrated concern for whether or not volunteers were in fact 'having a lovely time'. In the third point, it is not clear whether any attempt was made to find out why volunteers who moved away chose not to continue participating online. Instead the resulting lack of data is somehow construed to help characterise productive volunteers as 'heavyweight peer producers'. The text also suggests that the only efforts to organise and create a community for volunteers was made by volunteers themselves who self-organized to work together. Again, the authors assert that volunteers' decision 'is likely to relate' to access to resources, but do not present any evidence to substantiate this hypothesis. Finally, they observe that some of their assumptions about participant motivation were misguided. Instead of

recognising the need to ask participants, they use this as yet another opportunity to hypothesise what motivated them. Throughout this whole discussion, which is introduced as 'a number of clear conclusions regarding the overall success of the venture' (Nourse *et al*. 2017, 160), no mention is made of having asked actual or anticipated participants about their experience or that the design of the project could or should have been changed in any way. My point here is to highlight that we have become so used to speaking for non-participants in the sector that non-participation research does not even occur to us.

If the Enhancing Know Your Place project had not been based on a simple deficit model that assumed participating was inherently rewarding and 'wonderful', the fact that volunteers were signing up without proceeding to actively participate might have raised concerns about the participant experience and led to participant experience research. A simple standard email along the lines of 'we haven't heard from you in a couple of weeks; is there anything we can do to help or make your volunteering experience more enjoyable', might both have led to more sustained participation and produced a wealth of information about how the participant experience could be improved. Alongside such direct surveys, it is also worth considering whether information about anticipated participant experience can be captured earlier in the sequence of interactions that lead to an individual signing up as a volunteer. In the future, more interactive webpages and simple data analytics might be an avenue both Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument could explore to produce anticipated participation experience information about what keeps potential participants from participating. More deliberate feedback-loops could also be created for both digital and in-person interactions that foreground projects' interest in the participant experience and project a willingness to change processes in order to meet participants' needs where possible. I discuss such interaction design in more detail later in this chapter, but before doing so, I consider the context of participant experience and the concept of branding.

7.3 Context of participant experience

One of the core aspects of Adopt-a-Monument is the 'reactive, needs-based method of support' on offer from project staff (Hall Aitken 2017, 25), which is built around community groups' and outreach participants' needs. Adopt-a-Monument set out to deliver 20 workshops during the 2011-2017 project period and reported having delivered 80 in their 2017 report:

> Several factors are involved with the increase in workshop numbers, which include
>
> - Adopt-a-Monuments [sic] ability to travel directly to the group to deliver training, sometimes to remote areas of Scotland
> - The existing expertise of Adopt-a-Monument staff meant less reliance on outside trainers thus keeping workshop costs to a minimum

- The reluctance of Adopt-a-Monument groups to travel across Scotland to attend joint-training workshops (despite the offer of travel bursaries)

<div align="right">(Archaeology Scotland ndc, 10)</div>

The willingness of project staff to travel across Scotland to deliver workshops, often to very small groups of volunteers, is a unique selling point for Adopt-a-Monument. The scheme offers a type of support that is not otherwise available – and, in particular, the support is available at times and places that are convenient to participants. This is a great example of how the context in which interactions take place are crucial to the participant experience.

The importance of the context is also clear in the design of the Know Your Bus initiative that formed part of Know Your Bristol on the Move and in the efforts of volunteers in the Enhancing Know Your Place project who self-organised to create a social and collaborative working environment within the Bristol Record Office 'Searchroom'. Know Your Bus was the direct result of recognising both the importance of making participation convenient and realising that some potential participants might not be comfortable in the spaces other Know Your Bristol activities took place in:

> Playing with digital maps isn't everyone's cup of tea – not everyone has a computer at home, a good internet connection or feels confident with new technologies. Even attending a workshop to play, practice and learn at a community venue can be difficult – travel to such events is easier for some than others and each venue tends to privilege the participation of those who understand such venue as 'their space'. As a result, previous work through the Know Your Bristol project tended privileging particular kinds of participants. While this is inevitable to some degree, Know Your Bus sets out to challenge it as far as possible.

> Know Your Bus is a lorry fully equipped with the latest audio-visual archiving technologies. The bus can travel around the Bristol offering a mobile space for people to come together to share and digitise artefacts, recount and record stories and access and update the Know Your Place and Map Your Bristol digital maps with the support of others who've used them before.

<div align="right">(Know Your Bristol ndb)</div>

By contrast, the socialising and peer-support within the 'Searchroom' at the Bristol Record Office is not presented as a designed feature of the participant experience. Instead, it appears to have been the result of volunteers' need for a social and collaborative dimension to their participant experience that was not facilitated through the email-based interactions on offer from the project itself. In this regard, the Enhancing Know Your Place project is a good example of participants' own awareness of the importance of participant experience even when this same awareness may be lacking among project staff. While some volunteers self-organised to improve their experience, others, no doubt participated

less or simply left the project, yet our understanding of these other responses is limited because the project did not follow up on them.

In the examples discussed above, the 'context' of interactions primarily refers to the physical location in which they take place. However, Araz suggests that other factors, such as 'time' and 'culture', also are significant. Time is connected to location in both the example of Adopt-a-Monument workshops and Know Your Bus. While operating Know Your Bus required time from project staff, it facilitated convenient, time-saving, interactions for participants. Similarly, facilitating workshops in remote areas of Scotland requires large amounts of time from Adopt-a-Monument staff, while saving volunteers time. Investing time and effort in the participant experience in this way communicates a significant commitment to participants and appreciation of the value of their contributions, yet can also detract from time spent on other commitments that also impact the participant experience. The Hall Aitken evaluation of Adopt-a-Monument questions whether it would be possible to improve the efficiency of the scheme by bringing groups together for joint workshops or offering other forms of support. My conversations with Adopt-a-Monument staff has demonstrated that this is something Archaeology Scotland are considering. While there is a danger that this would undermine a core feature of the scheme, Hall Aitken correctly identify that the current format is placing unreasonable strain on staff and contributing to 'bottlenecks [that] have caused frustration' to participants in other parts of the process. The crucial question here, then, is where staff time is best spent to create the best participant experience possible, while also 'matching the workload to the human resource rather than expecting the human resource to be endlessly flexible' (Hall Aitken 2017, 26). The reference to 'bottlenecks' highlights that for participant experience, the 'when' of time is equally important to 'how much'.

While considerations of time are significant in demonstrating a commitment to participants, considering the cultural context of participation allows more directly moving beyond the simple deficit model. In this context, facilitators of participatory projects must accept that *Archaeology is a brand!* and that this will have an impact on the anticipated participant experience (Holtorf 2007; cf. Waterton 2010b). As I discussed in Chapter 4, members of one of my partner groups were unsure about participating in my co-design project because they were not an archaeological society and had concerns that their interests in local built heritage were not relevant to my project. These concerns were the product of my project being titled 'Adopting Archaeology' and the fact that I was working in partnership with the Council for British Archaeology. Both archaeologists and non-archaeologists have ideas about what 'archaeology' means and who does, and does not, take part. Projects that want to engage with people who do not usually participate in archaeology will have to address these perceptions head on if they want to shape the anticipated participant experience and facilitate more sustained interactions. In some cases, this may have to involve actively rejecting the established brand of archaeology. John Schofield has made a similar argument with reference to 'heritage', advocating

instead for the use of 'place' (2015). Perceptions of both 'archaeology' and 'heritage' will be context specific and must be better understood in order to increase and sustain participation. Crucially, for a project like Adopt-a-Monument, which facilitates 'community-led' projects, these perceptions must be addressed both at the level of the overarching scheme and individual projects.

A nuanced deficit model for heritage recognises that marginalisation and exclusion from shaping collective social memory is a problem for minorities, but that they may still choose not to take part in participatory projects, even when structural barriers are removed, due to the nature of the participation opportunities on offer and the perceived emotional and social costs of participating. As a result, inclusion may feel more important to organisations hoping to claim diversity impact than to non-participants. In this way, a nuanced deficit model recognises that facilitating organisations may, in fact, be the primary beneficiaries of inclusion. This is especially true of projects reliant on grant funding from the National Lottery Heritage Fund, who stress that projects must involve a wider range of people:

> You will be able to show that your audience or volunteer profile has changed between the start – and end – of the project. It might include, for example, a broader range of ages, ethnicities and social backgrounds, more disabled people, or groups who have never engaged with your heritage before.

> (National Lottery Heritage Fund nd)

Minorities are well aware of the value of their participation and, as Sumaya Kassim writes, are wary of being 'rolled in to provide natural resources – our bodies and our "decolonial" thoughts – which are exploited and then discarded' (2017; cf. Onciul 2015, 119); similar arguments have also been made in relation to class (cf. Smith, Shackel and Campbell 2011). The fact that professional and volunteer archaeologists in the UK almost exclusively are white, means that for ethnic minorities participation is a deliberate choice. This choice is not only to take part in activities that 'are not for someone like me', where 'there's not going to be anyone [else] like me' (Doran and Landles 2017; Dawson 2019, 93), but also whether or not to lend their non-white bodies as impact credit to institutions desperate to demonstrate how inclusive they are. Simply participating without making a broader cultural declaration is not an option. In the case of Know Your Place, where slavery appears to be written out of Bristol's 'shared story' and the focus is on documenting the past rather than on changing the present and future, it is not surprising that minorities and other disadvantaged communities by and large choose not to participate. Yet the broader sense of who projects are for extends beyond ethnic divides, as evidenced by Adopt-a-Monument's own 'outreach' project with Tarbert Disability. In the case of archaeology, which already has a very strong brand, initiatives that seek to include individuals who perceive archaeology to be exclusive must develop a sufficiently strong brand image of their own that has enough integrity to overcome such perceptions.

The significance of culture to participant experience is multifaceted and pervasive. It refers to the culture of individual community groups and projects, the culture of overarching initiatives such as Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place, the heritage sector as a whole, or Scottish, English and British culture – and of course the various sub-cultures and social groups individuals are part of, who all have their own perceptions of archaeology, archaeologists, local authorities and academics. Crucially, we have very little formal information about how culture impacts participant experience in participatory heritage projects. I have highlighted some findings from related disciplines in Chapter 2, but our understanding remains limited. The argument I am making is that once we recognise that culture and branding does impact the participant experience, we can develop an agenda for understanding reasons for non-participation and, thereby, the ways in which our practices must change. It should go without saying that such a commitment to change is essential for turning anticipated participation into sustained participation and agency. While the impact the archaeological brand has on the participant experience should not be underestimated, a simple rebranding is not sufficient. Arguably, this captures the essence of why broadening definitions of heritage and foregrounding the benefits of participation without rejecting the core of established definitions of heritage or the simple deficit model has not led to sustained demographic change in participatory heritage projects, as I have argued in this thesis. I now turn to a discussion of what designing interactions in participatory heritage projects might look like if based on a nuanced deficit model and a reconceptualised definition of heritage, before centring the focus for participant experience design firmly back on the participant.

7.4 Points of interaction

In the sections above, I have attempted to demonstrate the relevance of including the preliminary interactions that contribute to whether or not an individual will choose to participate in a participatory project in our understanding of participant experience and highlighted some ways in which the broader contexts interactions take place within similarly shape participant experiences. In this section, I turn my attention to the participant interface – the various points of contact between participants and participatory projects – and consider how these points of interaction might be designed differently if based on a nuanced deficit model and reconceptualised definition of heritage. I want to emphasise that I am not a professional designer and I have not conducted participant experience research for Know Your Place or Adopt-a-Monument. Changes to improve the participant experience of both initiatives should be based on such research. Nevertheless, I believe reconceptualising heritage and transforming perceptions of publics and expertise lay the foundation for such work to begin. I begin this section by outlining a holistic approach to participant-centred interface design for Adopt-a-Monument, based in a hypothetical re-writing of the aims for the 2011-2017 phase of the scheme, before outlining a four-stage 'process' Adopt-a-Monument could use to structure content on their website and in a redeveloped 'Tool-Kit'. I then draw on my own co-design project to outline how I believe the Know

Your Place platform might consider changing if Bristol City Council truly wishes to facilitate public agency in caring for heritage through the planning process. Ideally, and in particular within a thesis on participatory approaches and participants' agency, recommendations such as these should be made in collaboration with the relevant institutions and individuals. Archaeology Scotland and Bristol City Council obviously have their own views on the future of their programmes. The points I make below are intended to illustrate my argument and constitute my reflections on the case studies I have chosen for this thesis.

Adopt-a-Monument

Taking a holistic approach to designing the interface between participants and the Adopt-a-Monument scheme, across in-person, phone, email, social media, website and 'Tool-Kit', would allow Adopt-a-Monument to optimise the use of each and project a coherent brand. Because the interface for participant interactions with Adopt-a-Monument already extends across all these dimensions, the scheme is in a relatively strong position. However, opportunities for interaction on the Adopt-a-Monument website are limited, forcing interactions through direct contact with staff, whether in person, by phone or email. Furthermore, as I have argued throughout this thesis, both the website and 'Tool-Kit' communicate a simple deficit model for heritage and a definition of heritage that closely aligns with Smith's authorised heritage discourse, thereby limiting the potential roles and agency of participants in caring for heritage. This limited potential is reflected in the aims for the 2011-2017 phase:

- To enable communities to become more involved, learn about and care for their heritage & develop new skills.
- To increase community participation in Scotland's historic environment, with an emphasis on raising awareness and providing support to non-traditional audiences.
- To provide training, resource materials, learning opportunities and expert advice to increase access to Scotland's historic environment.
- To promote and assist in the delivery of best practice in heritage research, recording and conservation.
- To promote placemaking as a means of improving knowledge of Scotland's historic environment.

(Archaeology Scotland ndc, 7)

As I argue in Chapter 5, by mobilising the simple deficit model, these aims fail to foreground the agency of participants and appear to justify practices that position participants' primary role as one of augmenting the capacity of Archaeology Scotland and other heritage organisations to care for heritage places. A hypothetical new set of aims for Adopt-a-Monument, based on a nuanced deficit model and

reconceptualised definition of heritage could be promoted under a tagline of 'making Scotland's past part of our future' and might look something like this:

- To support communities who want to take an active role in caring for local heritage.
- To develop an understanding of barriers to participation in caring for heritage and what Archaeology Scotland can do to make participation more appealing and equitable.
- To unleash local knowledge and expertise and provide archaeological training and skills when requested.
- To support communities in developing the confidence to identify the best ways of caring for heritage in their context.
- To promote public agency in caring for heritage as a creative process of nurturing meaningful places and resilient communities where Scotland's past plays a vibrant role in its future.

These aims continue to position Archaeology Scotland as a resource, while foregrounding the agency of participants and recognising their capacity, skills and knowledge in addition to their potential reservations toward participation.

With these potential aims as a foundation, we might begin to explore how the Adopt-a-Monument website and 'Tool-Kit' could change in order to foreground participants' agency and capacity. Second to direct interactions between participants and staff, the Adopt-a-Monument website and 'Tool-Kit' are the most important elements of the interface between participants and the Adopt-a-Monument scheme itself. Crucially, as participants may interact with the website before interacting directly with staff and because staff time is at a premium, the website and 'Tool-Kit' perform the dual function of providing interactions at the convenience of the participant and freeing up staff time for interactions that are a priority to handle in person. The first step, therefore, should be to identify which interactions the website and 'Tool-Kit' should facilitate. Once identified, these interactions should feature prominently in the design and be limited to the *most* important. In the case of the website, the landing page might simply have two options: 'adopt-a-monument' and 'attainment through archaeology', leading to separate pages for what were previously termed 'community-led' and 'outreach' projects. Each of these pages could contain a simple interactive guide to 'our process', accompanied by an invitation to 'help us change'.

I have argued that 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects can be understood to function as a two-tiered governance network: Archaeology Scotland attempt to get groups or individuals involved in protecting archaeological sites, who in turn attempt to encourage other local people to take part. In order to ensure that both tiers of this network operate with nuanced deficit models and reconceptualised definitions of heritage that foreground participant experience and agency, I propose that the first stage of 'our process', outlined both on the Adopt-a-Monument website and in the 'Tool-Kit' should be to identify what local people (not just the core individuals who contact Archaeology

Scotland) would like to care for. This may help avoid the situation I found myself in during my co-design project of designing with individuals who were designing for *other* members of their community. As I have argued, this experience is not unique and is also characteristic of both established 'community-led' Adopt-a-Monument projects and Our Place projects in Bristol, where the utility of the project has to be impressed upon and sold to potential volunteers. Similar observations and recommendations for participatory heritage projects have been made by Anne Pyburn and Emma Waterton, among others. Pyburn notes that initiatives must been based in and be responsive to local cultures and needs, arguing that projects fail 'because they are designed to solve problems that do not make sense to the people they affect' and that 'all too often, the archaeologist is trying to "help" … [with] something people are not interested in and do not understand' (2011, 38-39; cf. Waterton 2015, 59). She has since described her work in Kyrgyzstan as one where she 'did not set out to develop or preserve anything in particular' (Pyburn 2018, 714). Such an approach, however, relies on not setting out to change others, which of course is precisely the aim of many participatory heritage projects.

The first stage of the Adopt-a-Monument process could, therefore, be to facilitate a local meeting, where potential monuments for adoption could be discussed. By ensuring that this meeting, walk or workshop is promoted widely throughout the local community and hosted by a neutral party, the event can be framed as an opportunity to bring the community together and explore the potential for a shared project. There is no reason why local archaeologists could not be included in such meetings to highlight potential sites for adoption as long as they are identified as stakeholders alongside other participants and all participants are encouraged to value their own attachments to place when selecting monuments for adoption. Once one or more monuments have been identified, the next stage of the process should be to identify its significance. As I have argued elsewhere, there is much to be said for beginning this discussion with identifying *what* is there, before asking *why* it is important and in which ways (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016). This is something everyone in the local community can be involved in and there is no reason why this process cannot be modelled and initiated for several potential sites during the initial meeting as part of a process of narrowing down the number of sites and respective landowners to approach for permissions. As identified for Know Your Place, it is crucial to develop a 'shared understanding', but this understanding must be developed in a way that maintains and foregrounds the potential for conflicting views. This provides a solid foundation from which to consider the third stage of which hopes people have for the future of the monument and thereby the fourth of identifying how best to care for the monument in order to make those futures possible. In this stage, participants would select the types of training and resources they require to realise their project and draw up a plan with Archaeology Scotland for how this would be facilitated.

The Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit' could mirror the four-stage process outlined on the website, providing resources for each stage. As a result, resources for the first stage could include techniques for sharing authority and letting all participants contribute during meetings and workshops. The

second could provide worksheets and suggested activities for assessing the significance of place. The third could outline different approaches to thinking through potential futures and uses of place, and the fourth could emphasise that conservation is a creative process and present a selection of practical guides and worksheets from which participants could choose the most relevant to make up a bespoke 'Tool-Kit' for their project. By presenting this guidance on the Adopt-a-Monument webpages, a wide range of resources could be provided, while letting participants shape their own 'Tool-Kit' and keep it digitally or print it out to work on paper. Interestingly, a similar approach to building your own 'Tool-Kit' is one Archaeology Scotland have used in the past. Crucially, each stage of the process would emphasise participants' agency and the validity of their views and hopes for the places they care for. Evaluation exercises could also be built into each stage of the 'Tool-Kit', with reporting mechanisms to local groups and to Archaeology Scotland in order to help review the participant experience, provide evidence for reports and allow Archaeology Scotland to step in where participants are unhappy with how the project is being facilitated locally. By creating feedback mechanisms that do not all flow through local leaders, the scheme could mitigate instances where projects stall or staff lose contact with groups due to key individuals moving or otherwise becoming uncontactable.

While it may seem counterintuitive for me to suggest how to assess significance above, having claimed that similar suggestions led to problems in my own co-design project, unlike my project where we were co-designing a tool or process, the object of co-design in Adopt-a-Monument is each adoption project. Of course, this does not mean that Archaeology Scotland should not set out to seek feedback on their process. This willingness to learn and change should feature prominently on the Adopt-a-Monument website as it constitutes one of the potential core aims I outlined above. 'Help us change' could be a feature of most if not all the pages on the Adopt-a-Monument website. Selecting this option could lead to a page with a statement accompanied by a form to submit feedback and list of other ways of getting in touch:

> We want everyone to feel they can be part of caring the places that matter to them, but we recognise that participating in Adopt-a-Monument is not equally accessible or attractive to everyone. At Archaeology Scotland we are continually reviewing how we work. Please do let us know what is keeping you from taking part or what you would like to see us do differently in the future.

During the 2011-2017 phase, the main avenue through which Adopt-a-Monument attempted to work differently was 'outreach' projects. These projects have now been rebranded as 'Attainment through Archaeology':

> Attainment through Archaeology© is an exciting new initiative which seeks to use archaeology for social good. Using heritage and archaeology we provide training opportunities utilising the wide variety of techniques and skills required by an archaeologist

today. Currently focusing on working with 11-26 year olds living in marginalised communities, we support our participants to develop new skills and knowledge of their local area, all within a fun, creative and inclusive learning environment.

(Archaeology Scotland 2019)

Attainment through Archaeology is an admirable initiative to help disadvantaged young people develop skills with the aim of helping them find employment. 'Outreach' projects represented a learning process for Adopt-a-Monument staff, which highlighted that projects must involve tasks participants were interested in and that more rigorous approaches to evaluation centred around outcomes for participants needed to be developed and implemented. As a result, staff have attended evaluation training workshops and it will be exciting to see how this learning is implemented in the Attainment through Archaeology scheme as it develops. While the scheme is deliberately targeting disadvantaged and marginalised young people, this emphasis on evaluation signals that Adopt-a-Monument staff are now operating with a more nuanced deficit model that recognises they must foreground the participant experience and not simply assume participating is beneficial to participants.

However, the explicit focus on young people does exclude other demographics who previously were included in the intended focus of 'outreach' projects. While the Attainment through Archaeology scheme may provide some insights into why participants have not participated in archaeology or heritage projects previously, there remains a need for other projects to draw on the learning from the Tarbert Disability 'outreach' project to actively pursue understanding why some demographics are less likely to participate in Adopt-a-Monument projects and what Archaeology Scotland can do to address this. While pursuing such work may require resources that could otherwise have facilitated Adopt-a-Monument projects currently on the waiting list, it is work that is necessary in order to develop equitable and sustainable approaches to facilitating public agency in caring for heritage and Cara Jones has expressed that Archaeology Scotland are eager to source additional funding to facilitate such work. It is not possible to understand participant experience without also seeking the views of those who do not take part and simply providing a mechanism for feedback on the Adopt-a-Monument webpages is not sufficient. If Archaeology Scotland are serious about developing equitable and sustainable approaches to facilitating public agency in caring for heritage, they must allocate resources to non-participation research and not rely on non-participants to take the initiative or perform the necessary work. Drawing on the experience of the Tarbert Disability 'outreach' project, it may be possible to integrate this as a core part of the Adopt-a-Monument scheme and support it through existing funding streams. Yet this responsibility should obviously not be placed on Archaeology Scotland alone.

Know Your Place

In this section, I focus on the digital Know Your Place platform itself rather than the Our Place toolkit and various Know Your Bristol collaborations with the University of Bristol that no longer are actively facilitated. I begin by outlining a new underpinning rationale for Know Your Place, based on the reconceptualised definition of heritage outlined in Chapter 6 and show that the platform requires new features in order to meet these goals. I then highlight how my own co-design project set out to create what might be described as my vision for an alternative Know Your Place and how it was similarly hampered by designing with and for existing core participants who wanted to change the behaviours of non-participants. I use this observation to draw the chapter to a close with a renewed focus on the agency of the participant in determining the participant experience and the need for non-participation research.

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that Know Your Place both is, and presents as, an interface for georeferenced digitised archives to be used in the planning process. It is an expanded Historic Environment Record that operationalises an expanded definition of heritage and invites public contributions, while continuing to centre formal archaeological and historical records. While projects around it are less constrained by the political and policy context of the council, the platform itself sits firmly within this context. Most of the content originates from cultural organisations who are eager to digitise their records and encourage their use, thereby demonstrating their relevance. For private individuals participating in a personal capacity, the two main interactions are to explore the content on the site and to contribute content from personal archives. Participant experience research would no doubt highlight that more could be done to improve the design or the interface, such as visually emphasising the contribute function and embedding help and guidance within the interface itself rather than scattering it across various other webpages. However, what I will focus on here are steps that could be taken for Know Your Place to truly become a resource for developing a 'shared understanding' of Bristol and give local people agency in caring for heritage through participating in planning. These are existing aims for Know Your Place within the City Design Group that are made explicit in project documentation, as I have demonstrated in the preceding chapters.

I argue that City Design Group underestimates the extent to which a Historic Environment Record would need to be transformed, beyond digitisation, to realise these aims in practice. As such, I believe Know Your Place has failed to recognise the extent to which heritage management requires new forms of data. This failure is arguably the product of the definition of heritage within the National Planning Policy Framework which identifies heritage and its significance as inherent to the material fabric of the 'historic environment' and thereby dictates the aim of conservation as limiting change and the role for non-professionals as providing content for expert analysis. Not surprisingly, members of amenity societies and other individuals with a layman's knowledge and interest in history,

archaeology and architecture are identified as key stakeholders and primary participants. The platform would need to radically change, however, if the City Design Group were to accept that:

1. Heritage is a subjective future making process, through which we decide which elements of the past are important to us and how we want to use them.
2. Heritage places are defined by people's perceptions of place and its significance.
3. Caring for heritage places involves enhancing what people find meaningful about them.
4. Everyone should have a say in changes made to the places that matter to them. Some views will inevitably conflict with one another.

I should clarify that the brunt of my critique of Know Your Place is targeted at the National Planning Policy Framework itself. Know Your Place was created to fulfil statutory responsibilities as outlined in the *Planning Act* and National Planning Policy Framework, and the extent to which Know Your Place could change independent of policy changes is therefore limited.

In this section, I attempt to explain why a simple makeover is not sufficient for the Know Your Place platform to facilitate the processes demanded by the statements listed above. I should clarify that I do not expect Know Your Place to change in the ways I suggest in this section. The current version of Know Your Place meets institutional needs and the various cultural organisations with connected digitisation projects are likely to be too invested in demonstrating the value of their existing content to support changes that would marginalise their own content. The council is also unlikely to be comfortable hosting an open platform on which residents are invited to voice their opinions about the city. A process that valorises in-house content and expertise and marginalises public agency while projecting openness and reaping the benefits of controlled public input is likely a far more palatable prospect.

Know Your Place affords participants two primary functions, to explore the various georeferenced maps and information pinned to them and to contribute content by pinning it to a point on the map. This feature of pinning content to the map is based on the assumption that the location of heritage can be pinpointed and that the primary way in which participants should interact with content is by choosing an area they are interested in and investigating the content located within it. The feature is designed for ease of use within the planning process and works well within a definition of heritage as confined to material fabric and its 'context', generally defined by view analyses, where information is viewed as objective. As discussed by Calderon and Butler with reference to landscapes, understanding place as 'an objective, physical and visual entity' implicitly excludes many aspects of public understandings of place, thereby limiting public agency in participatory processes (2020). Know Your Place does not offer the functionality of outlining more abstract areas as significant or for multiple individuals to contribute different information to the same site or object. It is not possible for users to search for content using keywords. Instead, the only way to navigate the content on the platform is by

selecting individual pins on the map. Furthermore, it does not facilitate sharing interpretations of place or hopes for the future. There is no active role for participants in shaping planning decisions and there is no way for participants who have identified why they find one place significant to search for other places identified as significant for similar reasons by other participants. In fact, there is no facility to contribute information about the significance of place whatsoever, beyond the simple 'asset description', which does not solicit such content. No attention appears to have been put into designing a meaningful participant experience apart from hoping that members of the public would enjoy interacting with a resource designed for planners and historians. Instead, Know Your Place facilitates a public process only in so much as it provides public access to aspects of a professional process, a point I return to in the next chapter. As Helen Graham argues, simply adding participation into existing "on behalf of" public service logics has caused enormous problems for "community engagement" and "participation" (2017, 76).

Any initiative that intends to move beyond a simple deficit model for participation must foreground participant experience. The problem with Know Your Place is not so much that the participant experience is poor, but that the resource has been designed with the participant experience of planners, developers, archivists in cultural organisations and amateur historians in mind, only to be promoted as a mechanism for democratising caring for heritage through the planning process. A digital platform that set out to give participants agency in caring for heritage through planning would invite participants to identify the places that are meaningful to them and why. It would allow participants to engage with each other's interpretations of place to develop a 'shared understanding' of the meaning of place. It would foreground heritage as subjective and contested, thereby encouraging and anticipating dissenting points of view, while also taking the necessary steps to ensuring that the platform is a safe space for all participants. Crucially, it would integrate processes for alerting participants who identified a place as significant when decisions are being made about changes to that place and provide convenient routes of entry into decision-making processes where public views and concerns are taken seriously. Such interactivity would create incentives for participants to return to the platform and engage with the content in a more sustained manner, as opposed to the current pattern of activity which appears to involve digitising the relevant historic images one owns and then having no further intuitive means of participating. Designing such a resource would require buy-in from residents across the city, particularly from communities that have not traditionally participated in the planning process, in order to ensure the resulting product provides a participant experience that is appealing to potential participants. Participation from members of these communities in informing design decisions would need to be framed as primarily benefiting Bristol City Council and be facilitated and remunerated accordingly (cf. Bell and Pahl 2018, 111). Otherwise, the result will inevitably be another participatory heritage initiative that reproduces the simple deficit model, attempting to convince non-participants of how 'wonderful' participating is.

This alternative vision for Know Your Place is in some ways similar to the web-resource I set out to co-design with my partner groups in my own project. Ironically, the groups I worked with closely resemble those I am criticising Know Your Place for having been designed for in this chapter. By the end of my project, it became clear that at least one of the groups I was working with would have been delighted with their own local version of Know Your Place, where they could source, share and vet information about the history of their town. Subject to a few tweaks, such as highlighting the help and contribution functions, one might argue Know Your Place is very well-designed, offering desired participant experiences for core users. Similarly, Archaeology Scotland, with its waiting list of over one hundred groups, is clearly providing an experience and a service archaeological societies in Scotland desire. However, despite these apparent successes, sustainability remains a pressing concern across both initiatives. As in my own project, the participant experience that is foregrounded in design decisions is that of the established core participant who shares institutional definitions of heritage and understandings of publics and expertise, who like Archaeology Scotland and City Design Group seek to educate and mobilise publics to perform functions that help care for heritage in very specific ways. The resulting participation interfaces are thereby designed with the needs of institutions and established core participants in mind and promoted to rather than designed for and with non-participants.

7.5. Centring participant agency in participant experience

My first experience of design at the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, which inspired the pilot phase of my co-design project, was one of designing a web-app through which users would inform conservation decision-making processes. It was based on an awareness of the information required to make informed conservation decisions and the amount of time and effort involved in stakeholder consultation processes. What it lacked, was any awareness of whether or not the people I wanted to use the app had any interest in doing so. This experience led me to co-design, only to once again realise that my co-designers and I were designing for *other* people without any understanding of whether or not they would be interested in using our product. In this chapter, I have argued that Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument are also designed with the intention of mobilising publics without knowledge of whether or not these potential participants are interested in participating in the processes on offer. In doing so, all three initiatives have failed to recognise participants' agency in shaping participant experience. As emphasised by specialists in user experience design, participant experience is dependent on the participant and what they bring to interactions with the participant interface. Understanding potential participants is therefore the single most important aspect of participation experience design.

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that interactions facilitated by Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument are the product of institutional needs and priorities. The result of centring these needs in the design of the participant interface is having to impress upon potential participants that they *should*

want to participate in the ways that are facilitated. Sharing the skills and knowledge required to perform these desired interactions is framed as capacity-building. Yet, despite this framing, individual projects find recruiting and retaining volunteers challenging. As I argued in Chapter 5, this framing is justified by positioning publics as deficient and institutions as centres of expertise. Reconceptualising heritage as a hopeful and caring future-making practice challenges this identification of expertise, providing publics with a role in identifying places that are meaningful to them as deserving of care, and in identifying ways of caring for these places that resonate with their meaning and desired visions for the future. Within these definitions of heritage and conservation, there is no justification for the simple deficit model. Instead, publics hold valid forms of expertise and may be actively opposed to the futures that are being created through institutionally facilitated participatory heritage initiatives. Institutions that wish to engage with such publics must seek to understand non-participant perspectives and be willing to change their practices. As Jo Pugh pointed out to me in Chapter 4, we should be uncomfortable with the idea that sustainability comes from changing people. Even if we are not, experience suggests that participatory projects that rely on changing people are not sustainable.

This is not to say that participatory heritage initiatives cannot change behaviours, especially if they are designed to facilitate interactions potential participants need or want. However, this requires first identifying what these needs and wants are. The participatory heritage projects that begin in this way are few and far between. In this chapter, I have outlined the concept of participant experience design, which I am hopeful will help us change this in the future. While I am critical of both Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place, my own experience of failing to successfully implement user-centred design demonstrates that incumbent forms of democratisation may be the product of critical intentions. It is also important not to underestimate the way in which available funding streams and policy contexts organisations operate within constrain their efforts. My interactions with the core individuals behind both Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place have led me to believe that they truly are interested in increasing and sustaining public agency in caring for heritage. The core principle of centring the participant is simple and there is a growing body of research within heritage studies that justifies such an approach without jettisoning professional expertise. This is not to say that working in this way does not require new forms of expertise. As Archaeology Scotland experienced through their 'outreach' projects and I did throughout my own co-design project, the extent to which working outside familiar contexts can highlight the boundaries of our expertise should not be underestimated.

7.6 Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate that facilitating public agency in caring for heritage is an entirely different project to merely increasing the number of volunteers in participatory heritage projects. The metaphor of expanding definitions of heritage, understandings of expertise and professional processes elides the extent to which public processes that foreground participant

experience and agency require deliberate and distinct design choices. As much as I believe thinking differently about publics and heritage is the place to start, it is only the beginning. Crucially, it is a process that cannot simply consist of critique and introspection but must be founded on developing robust understandings of non-participants and reasons for non-participation. In the next chapter, I attempt to bring all my analysis and discussion together around this central question of sustaining public agency in caring for heritage and outline avenues for future research.

8. Conclusion

I began this thesis by writing that I did not want my thesis to be about failure. I do not think it is, but it certainly does apply a range of critical lenses in order to outline how we might approach increasing and sustaining public agency in caring for heritage places differently in the future. In order to do so, I have introduced a critical vocabulary and developed a multimethod approach to critical heritage studies that intimately binds constructive practice and deconstructive critique through iterative cycles of action research. Through mobilising this vocabulary and methodology, I have demonstrated how the forms of participation facilitated in participatory projects are constrained by how we understand publics and legitimate heritage expertise, which in turn is constrained by how we conceptualise heritage. I therefore argue that we cannot facilitate and sustain public agency in caring for heritage without reconceptualising heritage and revisiting how we understand publics and expertise. Attempting to do so, invariably reproduces patterns in which we set out to change publics and struggle to sustain engagement beyond a relatively small nucleus of committed participants who share established definitions of heritage and understandings of publics and legitimate heritage expertise. Conversely, foregrounding public agency will inevitably require working to other aims and priorities. As a result, I hope this thesis has firmly dispelled any residual belief in that participatory approaches provide a silver bullet with which volunteers can be mobilised to mitigate the loss of professional capacity during austerity without devaluing professionals, exploiting volunteers and exacerbating diversity deficits in the sector. Instead, the only way participatory approaches can be used to realise institutional goals, while also democratising heritage and accruing benefits to participants, is by first aligning those goals with the needs and wants of publics and ideals of radical democracy that foreground dissensus. One example is Anne Pyburn's work in Kyrgyzstan, where she describes her approach as one where she 'did not set out to develop or preserve anything in particular' (2018, 714). Yet this open-ended approach is far less common outside academic research projects. What I have attempted to achieve in this thesis is to demonstrate that even celebrated projects that foreground the active role of participants in shaping their scope and nature can be seen to fall short of their critical ideals – and to begin to explore why.

As I first noted in Chapter 4, my case studies are all faced with pressing questions regarding their sustainability on two levels. The Know Your Place platform is embedded in workflows through which Bristol City Council meet their statutory requirements outlined in the National Planning Policy Framework and as such the professional capacity necessary to maintain the platform is likely to continue to be funded through core budgets. The future of the other initiatives surrounding the platform, however, is less clear and while City Design Group continues to promote the Our Place toolkit, it does not have the capacity to conduct workshops and work to increase and diversify participation. Adopt-a-Monument is Archaeology Scotland's flagship programme and, as such, Archaeology Scotland are committed to continuing to deliver it and have recently secure funding for

two staff members to work on the scheme through 2024. The second level of sustainability concerns relates to sustaining volunteer engagement within individual projects. I have shown how small groups of committed individuals perform most of the work and attempt to mobilise other local publics in all three of my case studies. Where completely new groups are targeted, as in the cases of Adopt-a-Monument 'outreach' projects, Our Place, or Know Your Bristol on the Move workshops, sustaining such engagement over the longer term has either not been the goal or proven difficult. These initiatives, my own co-design project included, all attempt to change publics and their behaviours to align with institutional values and priorities, reproducing typical dynamics of unsustainable participatory projects, described by Anne Pyburn as being 'designed to solve problems that do not make sense to the people they affect' and attempting to 'help' a local community … to do something that people are not interested in and do not understand' (Pyburn 2011, 39; cf. Waterton 2015, 59).

In the cases where sustained engagement has been more successful, this has been the result of realising the need to shape volunteer tasks according to volunteers' skills and interests. This appears to be a shared point of learning across all my case studies, that sustainable volunteer participation is only possible if volunteers are engaged in tasks they enjoy and find meaningful. As a result, projects have shifted their focus in order to centre participants' skills and interests, most notably in the cases of Enhancing Know Your Place transforming into the 'Wish You Were Here' project and the increased flexibility built into Adopt-a-Monument 'outreach' projects, by which participants are afforded agency in project design. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, published accounts of crowdsourcing projects being re-framed as community-sourcing initiatives reveal similar learning. It is worth noting however, that this learning generally takes place as a result of first attempting to encourage publics to perform tasks identified by institutions. My own co-design project was no exception to this, despite my prior reading of participatory action research literature. A significant consequence of this is that the publics whose skills and interests are centred in the design of participant-centred projects are those who first engaged, if only fleetingly, with institutional priorities. Those who for whatever reason did not participate thereby remain outside consideration in the design of new participant-centred projects. In this way, our 'public' or 'community' projects are prone to continue to centre the needs and interests of self-selecting publics, as opposed to those we 'don't normally, or don't easily work with' (Jones and Richardson 2014). Sustainable participant-centred projects that aim to facilitate diverse and equitable participation must therefore be based on non-participation research. A topic I return to in my discussion of future research needs later in this chapter.

The central argument I advance in this thesis is that the forms of participation facilitated by participatory projects, or the roles and responsibilities assigned to volunteers, are constrained by understandings of publics and legitimate heritage expertise, which in turn are constrained by the definitions of heritage projects are based on. I argue that without reconceptualising heritage, projects that set out to increase public participation in caring for heritage places cannot successfully increase

and sustain public agency. This is because defining heritage as the tangible remains of the past, whose significance is identified through the application of technical expertise, necessitates that the primary roles and responsibilities written for publics relate to augmenting professional capacity. Furthermore, within this conceptualisation of heritage, an infinite amount of heritage is under threat and in need of protection, providing a cause that invariably overrides concerns about devaluing professionals, exploiting volunteers and exacerbating diversity issues in the sector in the design of participatory projects. As such, this thesis reinforces Smith's critique, arguing that as long as definitions of heritage underpinning participatory projects remain centred around tangible features and 'inherent' values identified by technical experts, participatory heritage projects will be trapped in a cycle of 'changeless change' (Smith 2006; Olma 2016). Here I argue we must move beyond simple typologies of participation that place working 'with' communities as inherently morally superior (cf. Matsuda and Okamura 2011), recognising that the logics of the simple deficit model can be maintained *through* participatory approaches.

In Chapter 6, I introduced a range of critical perspectives that I argue cannot sit comfortably within an expansion of established definitions of heritage. I have shown that expansion of the heritage concept invariably leads to reinforcing and foregrounding the core, while marginalising heritage at the expanded periphery. As a result, I synthesise emerging critical heritage studies research to argue for a hopeful and future-oriented reconceptualisation of the heritage concept that foregrounds what heritage *does* socially, as a range of inherently narcissistic, potentially amnesia inducing and refrigerating, waste management or recycling practices. I want to stress that while I contend that heritage practice often is refrigerating and amnesia inducing, it does not need to be this way. By foregrounding the dissonant nature of heritage and its function as a waste management and recycling process, it can fully embrace its potential to move beyond covering up uncomfortable pasts that continue to cause present inequalities, to functioning as an agent of social change rather than stasis. Reconceptualising the core of what heritage *is* from tangible remains of the past to what those remains, alongside inherited practices and relationships, mean and do in the present, allows us to transform how we understand publics and legitimate heritage expertise.

In Chapter 5, I showed how current understandings of publics and legitimate heritage expertise are illustrated by the direction in which capacity is understood to flow in participatory projects – from professionals to publics. It follows that the degree to which publics can be said to hold legitimate heritage expertise is relative to their alignment with and adoption of professional values, skills and knowledge. Within this way of understanding participation, volunteers are understood as a deficient resource, where the extent of their deficiency, or their relative lack of professional expertise, constrains the roles and responsibilities they can be assigned in participatory projects. Publics who do not align themselves with and adopt such values, skills and knowledge are implicitly labelled deficient and thereby positioned as beneficiaries of participatory projects, independent of the nature of

participation facilitated. I have shown how this, in turn, removes any need for rigorous evaluation of participatory projects and justifies the ways in which participatory projects reproduce characteristics of incumbent democratisation and network governance.

By inverting the sequence in which I made my core argument in the main body of this thesis, I hope to underscore that only a reconceptualisation of heritage can justify inverting the simple deficit model within heritage practice. Without such a reconceptualisation heritage remains something inherently 'wonderful' that publics inevitably benefit from being included in. Conversely, recognising heritage as a narcissistic and potentially amnesia inducing refrigeration process that often is mobilised to restrict change, underscores why non-participants may have good reasons not to want to participate. This allows us to construct a nuanced deficit model that recognises exclusion from heritage as a form of injustice, while affording non-participants agency in rejecting unequitable participation. Simultaneously, reconceptualising heritage facilitates developing new understandings of legitimate heritage expertise. If the core of heritage is the meaning and function things, places, practices and relationships have in the present, publics must be recognised as sources of legitimate heritage expertise, independent of their alignment with and adoption of professional values, skills and knowledge. In this way, new roles and responsibilities for publics in caring for heritage can be cast and new participatory initiatives that facilitate and sustain public agency can be facilitated. The design of such initiatives must begin with the intention to create equitable *public* processes, understood as distinct to merely opening up participation in professional processes to the public.

I have demonstrated that while Adopt-a-Monument and Know Your Place are leading the way in foregrounding public agency in caring for heritage through 'community-led' projects and inviting members of the public to identify heritage on Know Your Place, the agency afforded to participants remains restricted. I want to stress that this reality is shaped by the context in which these initiatives operate, and I have shown how the constraints placed on public agency in Know Your Place and Adopt-a-Monument can be traced to the logics of that National Planning Policy Framework and National Lottery Heritage Fund, respectively. This constrained public agency is evident in the way in which community groups are taught how to adopt and mobilise professional values, skills and knowledge through the Adopt-a-Monument 'Tool-Kit', are largely limited to performing survey and low-skill maintenance work and, when engaging in interpretation, are asked to take on the role of promoting professional values, skills and knowledge to other deficient publics. Similarly, while participants in Know Your Place can identify heritage places, they are not given an active role in interpreting their significance or in any other phases of the planning process and are instead restricted to providing information for expert assessment. I should emphasise that the problem here is not with these roles and responsibilities themselves but the fact that they do not extend further.

Participants are left with little agency in defining what caring for heritage should entail and what their role in it should be.

I have argued that reconceptualising heritage and mobilising a nuanced deficit model opens new possibilities for foregrounding public agency in caring for heritage through participatory initiatives. By recognising that caring for heritage involves negotiating meanings and uses of the past in the present and that publics have legitimate expertise in identifying these meanings and outlining desired futures for places, publics are afforded agency in defining their own roles and responsibilities in caring for heritage and participatory projects positioned as initiatives to facilitate this. Doing so must involve deliberately unmaking the established brands of archaeology and heritage that are perceived to be exclusive by some non-participants and implicitly restrict the range of ways in which heritage can be cared for. Attempts to facilitate public agency in caring for heritage within a reconceptualised definition of heritage and nuanced deficit model must therefore emphasise the legitimacy of other ways of caring for heritage, which publics might otherwise assume heritage institutions would deem inappropriate.

My own experience of co-design suggests that successfully facilitating increased and sustained public agency in this way must be approached extremely sensitively, aware of the influence our own presence and other authorising structures will have on the process. Arguably, such influences can never entirely be undone and it is worth bearing in mind Ricardo Blaug's discussion of incumbent democratisation, introduced in Chapter 2, in which he similarly questions whether public agency *can* be 'engineered'. Furthermore, the dissonant nature of heritage determines that the importance of who participates cannot be underestimated. Initiatives that set out to foreground participants' agency through partnerships with existing participants are unlikely to be successful in diversifying participation. Finally, my experience highlights the importance of mobilising methods that centre participants' agency at the very beginning of any collaboration and setting aside enough time for potential participants to be involved in setting the agenda. Initiating pilot phases based on institutional priorities, such as in the case of my own co-design project, is unlikely to attract diverse participants or create participatory dynamics that lend themselves to diversifying and sustaining public agency in caring for heritage.

The nuanced deficit model and reconceptualised definition of heritage I propose in this thesis both call for deliberately foregrounding public agency in the design of participatory heritage projects. I introduced participant experience design as a framework for developing such projects in Chapter 7. By drawing on broad definitions of user experience within the field of human-computer interaction, I outlined a framework that goes beyond simply seeking to increase volunteer satisfaction. Instead, I

argue that the participant experience includes all interaction leading to a decision to either participate or not participate in a participatory project through the concept of anticipated participation. In this way, anticipated participation challenges facilitators of participatory projects to investigate what puts potential participants off taking part in their projects in order to facilitate equitable participation, thereby calling for non-participation research. I repeated this call for further research in the subsequent sections on the context of participation and the points of interaction. As such, I use the framework of participant experience design to structure the questions facilitators of participatory initiatives must ask in order to develop participatory projects that truly seek to increase and sustain public agency. It represents the product of the overarching iteration of action research represented by my PhD that synthesises what I have learned and outlines areas for future research.

The most pressing need is to understand the reasons why non-participants do not participate in participatory heritage projects and how such projects must change in order to facilitate equitable participation. As outlined in Chapter 7, while branding inevitably plays a part in how participatory heritage projects are perceived, equitable participation requires more than a simple rebranding exercise. Anticipated participation is the obvious place to begin non-participation research efforts. However, truly equitable participation requires also approaching publics who are unaware of or have shown no interest in participating in heritage projects. There is a particular need to understand the ways in which participatory heritage projects are felt to be exclusive. As I have shown in this thesis, research suggests that heritage continues to remain a 'White' space that minorities feel excluded from and do not wish to engage in. Research documenting this on a larger scale is lacking and in particular, there is an absence of research outlining the specific practices that contribute to such perceptions and outlines steps organisations must take to change. While non-participation research is essential and attempts to centre the participant experience in project design without it are prone to exacerbate diversity issues and unlikely to result in more sustainable projects, there are also reasons to be cautious. Publics that have been excluded from heritage should have an important role in outlining how practices should change, yet as Sumaya Kassim expresses, minorities should not have to provide the 'natural resources' for such work (2017). Furthermore, when they are asked to, they should be remunerated appropriately and not simply be expected to be grateful for the opportunity to participate. Non-participation research must therefore be carefully designed not to reproduce the mechanisms by which publics are positioned as beneficiaries and the costs of participating are overlooked. Instead, approaches to non-participation research that counter the material impacts of exclusion should be developed. Paying research participants is increasingly becoming common practice in co-produced research and should not be considered a utopian fantasy, yet constitutes only one dimension to consider (cf. Bell and Pahl 2018).

This emphasis on non-participation research does of course not remove the need for rigorous evaluation of points of interaction in participatory projects. Throughout this thesis, I have argued that

evaluation is not afforded the attention it deserves because protecting heritage is considered a good cause and participation inherently beneficial. Where evaluation is performed, it is also generally applied to comply with funder requirements. Such evaluations are, by their nature, designed to evidence the positive impact of participatory projects. Institutions that are committed to foregrounding participant experience in the design of their participatory projects should therefore establish internal evaluation mechanisms that are designed to highlight ways in which the participant experience can be improved. Such evaluation must be embedded throughout participatory processes in order to support the iterative development of approaches to facilitating public agency during projects, not merely as retrospective evaluation exercises once projects are completed. Embedding evaluation in this way also demonstrates to participants that institutions are prepared to afford participants agency in shaping the nature of their own participation. Responding to and implementing the findings of such evaluation processes during ongoing projects thereby provides a powerful mechanism for building trust.

This thesis has focused on how heritage institutions in the UK can increase and sustain public agency in caring for heritage places without exploiting volunteers, devaluing professionals or exacerbating diversity issues in the sector. I have argued that the increased pressure on heritage institutions during austerity and resulting increase in participatory practice does not automatically lead to critical democratisation in caring for heritage places. Instead, I have shown that the perceived necessity of protecting heritage and the belief that participation in caring for heritage is inherently beneficial to participants can mask the extent to which the driver to augment diminishing professional capacity can dominate the design, development and implementation of participatory projects. My focus has been on how heritage institutions mobilise participatory projects. However, like Cooke and Kothari (2001) and Olma (2016, 68), I believe we must also look beyond the mechanics of participation to the wider context participatory initiatives operate within. Considered in the light of critiques of participatory processes and the rise of volunteering in public service provision during austerity, heritage institutions should ask themselves whether the tasks they have in mind are best served by a participatory project. As facilitators of unpaid participatory projects, we must shoulder some of the responsibility for the high levels of under- and unemployment and lack of diversity among emerging heritage professionals that are becoming endemic to the sector. Consistently asking volunteers to perform tasks that could make up paid entry-level positions cannot be considered unrelated to this wider development. I hope Rico and May's hopeful future-oriented ontology for heritage and the framework of participant experience design can help heritage institutions no longer to feel the need to position publics as a 'stop-gap' (Rosol 2016, 90), and for publics to reject such roles when they are ascribed to them.

Clearly, there are no simple solutions. However, as I have demonstrated in this thesis, facilitating public agency in caring for heritage depends on reconceptualising heritage and internalising a nuanced deficit model for understanding publics and non-participation. From this foundation a whole range of roles and responsibilities for publics in caring for heritage places present themselves, which we are

largely yet to explore. As I have demonstrated in this thesis, there is a large body of scholarship calling for such change, yet it remains largely unrealised. I therefore argue that any practical action that can withstand the critique of 'changeless change' must begin with a fundamental theoretical transformation. This transformation is all about changing how we view ourselves, our work and the publics we engage with. As a sector, we have always sought to change others. It is now high time to strive seriously to understand others and to consider how we must change ourselves.

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APPENDIX A – Participant questionnaire and stream-of-consciousness prompt

Understanding Heritage and Thinking Digitally Evaluation

Please only complete this form if you have read the information for co-creation participants and completed an informed consent form.

1. **Are you part of a heritage group or organisation?** *
   Mark only one oval.

   ◯ Yes   *Skip to question 2.*

   ◯ No   *Skip to question 3.*

Group/Organisation Affiliation

2. **Which one?** *

   ....

Defining Heritage

3. **How would you define heritage?** *

   ....
   ....
   ....
   ....
   ....

4. **What do you consider part of your local heritage?** *

   ....
   ....
   ....
   ....
   ....

Using Digital

5. **How do you feel about using digital tools for heritage?** *
   Mark only one oval.

   ◯ Positive

   ◯ Mixed Feelings

   ◯ Negative

6. **Space to explain**

....

Designing Digital

7. **How do you feel about designing digital tools for heritage?** *
   Mark only one oval.

   ◯ Positive

   ◯ Mixed Feelings

   ◯ Negative

8. **Space to explain**

....

Information about You

Some information about you for statistical purposes. Providing this information is entirely optional, but any information you provide will be useful and will be treated confidentially. Please be as specific as you feel comfortable being.

9. **Gender**

....

10. **Age**

....

11. **Geographic Location**

....

12. **Ethnicity**

....

13. **Profession**

....

Please begin by providing your **name** and the **date**. Then:

1. what you liked or disliked about the **event**
2. how you feel about the **co-design project** and you being part of it
3. how you feel about **collaborating**, within your group and with other groups

[Further information about providing stream-of-consciousness accounts was provided in an insert placed inside the project information leaflet, reproduced in Appendix C.]

APPENDIX B – Caring for your heritage survey & Heritage expertise survey

Caring for Your Heritage Survey

The 'Adopting Archaeology' project (http://new.archaeologyuk.org/adopting-archaeology) is about volunteer involvement in heritage stewardship, which we understand as taking care of heritage.

We would like to know how we can best support you in caring for your heritage. All sincere opinions are appreciated.

*Required

1. Please read the Information for Survey Participants leaflet (available at http://new.archaeologyuk.org/adopting-archaeology) before completing this survey. Please select the 'I Agree' button below to indicate that you have read the information document and would like to take part in this study. *

   Mark only one oval.

   ( ) I agree

   ( ) I do not agree

Heritage Stewardship	When we use the word 'Stewardship' in this survey, we mean taking care of heritage. This includes (but is not limited to) identifying, advocating, maintaining, conserving and managing heritage, and involves both making decisions about heritage and practical actions to take care of it. 'Heritage' is something that is valued by a group of people for other than purely functional reasons. Heritage is something you consider valuable and may be anything from a place or building to a tradition or story.

2. Are you involved in heritage stewardship on a voluntary basis? *

   Mark only one oval.

   ( ) Yes   *Skip to question 5*

   ( ) No   *Skip to question 4*

   ( ) I'm not sure   *Skip to question 3*

Understanding Heritage Stewardship

'Heritage Stewardship' is about taking care of heritage.

For this survey, you may define what heritage is. It is something you, or other people think is important and worth taking care of.

If you still are not sure whether or not you are involved in heritage stewardship, get in touch!
Contact lhf506@york.ac.uk

3. Are you involved in heritage stewardship on a voluntary basis? *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Yes   *Skip to question 5*

◯ No   *Skip to question 4*

Heritage Involvement

4. Are you involved with heritage in any other way? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Skip to question 6

Group Membership

5. Are you part of a local group that is involved in stewardship activities? Would you be willing to say which group and describe the activities you are involved in? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Stewardship Interest

6. Are you interested in becoming more involved in heritage stewardship *

Mark only one oval.

( ) Yes   *Skip to question 7*

( ) Maybe   *Skip to question 7*

( ) No, I'm already as involved as I want to be   *Skip to question 8*

( ) No, I'm not interested in heritage stewardship   *Skip to question 9*

Stewardship Preferences

7. Which roles/activities are you interested in being involved in? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Restrictions

8. What is keeping you from getting more involved with heritage stewardship? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Skip to question 10

Fair Enough

9. Why not?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Skip to question 19

Sustainability

10. Do you think your stewardship efforts will be sustained in the long-term?

Mark only one oval.

⬭ Yes

⬭ No

⬭ I don't know

11. What makes you think that?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Support needed

12. What kind of support could help your stewardship efforts become more effective and sustainable? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Digital Support

13. Do you think this support could be provided digitally? *

Mark only one oval.

( ) Yes   *Skip to question 15*

( ) Yes, but less effectively   *Skip to question 14*

( ) Maybe   *Skip to question 14*

( ) No   *Skip to question 14*

( ) No support needed   *Skip to question 17*

Why?

14. Care to elaborate? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Co-design

'Co-design' is short for 'collaborative design' and is also known as 'participatory design'. It is an approach to design that blurs the boundaries between designers and users, where users are encouraged to be involved in the design process. In this case, we want to know whether you would be interested in co-designing digital tools to support your stewardship efforts. No computer knowledge or design experience is necessary.

15. Are you interested in taking part in co-designing digital support for voluntary heritage stewardship? *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Yes   *Skip to section 16 (Get in Touch!)*

◯ Maybe   *Skip to section 16 (Get in Touch!)*

◯ No   *Skip to question 16*

Why not?

16. Not wanting to take part is perfectly reasonable, but it would be helpful to know why you are not interested.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Skip to question 17

Get in Touch!

If you are interested in co-designing and co-creating digital tools, please visit http://new.archaeologyuk.org/news/5844-adopting-archaeology or get in touch with Harald Fredheim (lhf506@york.ac.uk) or Mike Heyworth (mikeheyworth@archaeologyuk.org).

Sustainability

17. Based on your own experience, what makes a heritage stewardship group or community sustainable? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Sustainability Solutions

18. What do you think can be done to make a heritage stewardship group or community more sustainable? *

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Information about You

> Some information about you for statistical purposes. Providing this information is entirely optional, but any information you provide will be useful and will be treated confidentially. Please be as specific as you feel comfortable being.

19. Gender

_____

20. Age

_____

21. Geographic Location

_____

22. Ethnicity

_____

23. Profession

_____

Thank you!

Thank you for completing the Heritage Stewardship Survey. Your views will be used to inform our projects and research. Please visit http://new.archaeologyuk.org/adopting-archaeology for updates and contact adoptingarchaeology@gmail.com if you would like to be added to our mailing list.

If you are interested in attending a conference and knowledge exchange event on the topic of heritage professionals and volunteers working together, complete our heritage expertise survey for a chance to win a free place at the event to be held at the University of York in August 2016. The award of bursaries is subject to available funding. You are, of course, more than welcome to complete the survey also if you are not interested in attending. The survey will be launched in mid-June and be available at http://new.archaeologyuk.org/adopting-archaeology.

Heritage Expertise Survey

The 'Adopting Archaeology' project (http://new.archaeologyuk.org/adopting-archaeology) is about volunteer involvement in taking care of heritage. We are investigating perceptions of 'heritage expertise'. All sincere opinions are appreciated.
*Required

Consent

1. Please read the Information for Survey Participants leaflet (available at http://new.archaeologyuk.org/adopting-archaeology) before completing this survey and select the 'I Agree' button below to indicate that you have read the information document and would like to take part in this study. *

   Mark only one oval.

   ⚪ I Agree   *Skip to question 2*

   ⚪ I do not Agree

Experts

2. Do you consider yourself a heritage expert? *

   Mark only one oval.

   ⚪ Yes   *Skip to question 3*

   ⚪ No   *Skip to question 4*

Yes?

3. What makes you think you are a heritage expert? *

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

No?

4. What makes you think you are not a heritage expert? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Expertise

5. What makes someone a heritage expert?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Professionalism

6. Have you worked as a paid heritage professional? *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Yes, I still do   *Skip to question 7*

◯ Yes, I used to   *Skip to question 7*

◯ No   *Skip to question 10*

Working with volunteers

7. As a paid professional, how often have you worked with volunteers? *

   Mark only one oval.

   ( ) Always

   ( ) Usually

   ( ) Sometimes

   ( ) Rarely

   ( ) Never

8. As a paid professional, what do you consider the benefits of working with volunteers? *

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

9. As a paid professional, what are you concerns about working with volunteers? *

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   Volunteering

10. Have you ever done any heritage related volunteering? *

Mark only one oval.

( ) Yes, I still do   *Skip to question 11*

( ) Yes, I used to   *Skip to question 11*

( ) Yes, a long time ago   *Skip to question 11*

( ) No   *Skip to question 14*

Working with Professionals

11. How often has your volunteering involved working collaboratively with paid heritage professionals? *

Mark only one oval.

( ) Always

( ) Usually

( ) Sometimes

( ) Rarely

( ) Never

12. As a volunteer, what do you consider the benefits of working with paid professionals? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

225

13. As a volunteer, what are your concerns about working with paid professionals? *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Working Collaboratively

14. In general, which heritage projects do you think are the most successful? *

Mark only one oval.

( ) Projects designed and delivered by paid professionals

( ) Projects designed and delivered by volunteers

( ) Projects designed and delivered by paid professionals and volunteers working in collaboration

Restricting Self

15. Have you ever decided not to volunteer for a role or activity because you think you lack the necessary 'expertise'? *

Mark only one oval.

( ) Yes   *Skip to question 16*

( ) Maybe   *Skip to question 16*

( ) No   *Skip to question 17*

Care to Explain?

16. Could you describe the situation(s) and how they made you feel?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Restricted Access

17. Has anyone ever kept you from volunteering for an activity you were interested in because of your perceived lack of 'expertise'?

Mark only one oval.

◯ Yes   *Skip to question 18*

◯ I'm not sure   *Skip to question 18*

◯ No   *Skip to question 19*

Care to Elaborate?

18. Could you describe the situation(s) and how they made you feel?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Roles

19. In relation to your own work or volunteering, where is the line drawn between professional and volunteer responsibilities? *

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

20. When considering the potential benefits of volunteering and the capacity of volunteers, do you think this division of responsibilities is appropriate? *

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Threat or Opportunity?

21. Do you think the potential lack of professional capacity due to cuts during austerity are predominantly a 'threat' or an 'opportunity'? *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Threat

◯ Opportunity

Thank You!

Thank you for completing the Heritage Expertise survey. Your views will be used to inform our projects and research. Please visit http://new.archaeologyuk.org/ for updates.

If you are interested in supporting our research, please also complete our Heritage Stewardship survey.

APPENDIX C – Ethics information leaflets (co-design, caring for your heritage survey & heritage expertise survey) & consent form

Adopting Archaeology

Sustaining Heritage Stewardship Communities by Digital Co-design

In light of continuing cuts to archaeological and heritage provision in local council budgets, the Council for British Archaeology and the Department of Archaeology at the University of York have developed the Adopting Archaeology project. The project divides its focus between the sustainability and impact of community-led heritage stewardship projects. The sustainability strand has three overarching questions:

- How sustainable are community groups that engage in taking care of their local heritage?

- What are key factors for sustainability in heritage stewardship communities?

- How can NGOs, like the CBA, best support local stewardship communities in an increasingly challenging financial climate?

Participating in this co-design project is an opportunity to:

- Influence the design of digital tools designed for you
- Collaborate with experts in heritage, computer science and digital design
- Meet people concerned with taking care of local heritage
- Receive a free report reflecting on the successes and failures of the co-design project

Participating in this co-design project will involve:

- 3-4 meetings in your local heritage stewardship community
- 1 optional collaborative design workshop in York with participants from other heritage stewardship communities (free attendance and reimbursed transportation costs)
- 1 product showcase in York with participants from other heritage stewardship communities (free attendance and reimbursed transportation costs)

If you choose to participate in this co-design project, you will be asked to:

- Complete a short evaluation survey (less than 5 minutes) at each event you attend
- Volunteer to provide a stream-of-consciousness account of your reflections on participating in the project (see the leaflet insert for more information)

What are the evaluation surveys about?

The surveys will ask questions about your experience of being involved in the co-design project

Are the surveys required?

You do not have to complete the surveys in order to be part of the co-design project. However, all participants are encouraged to complete the surveys, as this will help us improve our co-design projects in the future. Participants who do attend all events and complete all surveys will be given priority if financial support cannot be offered to all participants wishing to take part in the two optional events in York.

You may pull out for any reason at any time. Any data traceable to yourself will be deleted and destroyed.

Will I be anonymous?

Yes, your survey responses will be anonymous. Any identifying information will be removed. Your name will not be mentioned to others or published in any professional or academic reports. Pictures will be taken at some events. You will be asked for permission before any pictures of you are taken.

How will my responses be used?

The answers you provide will be included in a PhD dissertation, and may be referenced in workshops, conference presentations, journal articles and other forms of professional and academic research literature. Upon completion of this research project, the data will be stored and shared in accordance with University of York policies on data sharing. Please do get in touch if you have any questions about the future use of your data.

Are you willing to provide more information about your co-design experience?

We are looking for a small number of participants to provide stream-of-consciousness accounts of their experience. This will entail:

- Recording or writing your thoughts reflecting on each co-design event you participate in
- Provide your account immediately following each event, using equipment provided, or send a digital file by email during 48 hours following.
- Anything from 5 to 30 minutes per event, but this will vary from event to event and participant to participant

You may pull out at any time. If you do, your data will be deleted and destroyed

Each co-design project will involve participants from a number of different heritage stewardship groups. A small number of participants from each group will be asked to provide a stream-of-consciousness account of their experience.

Your account is confidential and will be anonymised before it is used in any research outputs or shared with other researchers. The utmost care will be taken to ensure your account cannot be traced to you individually or your group.

If you have any questions about providing a stream-of-consciousness account of your participation, please do not hesitate to contact Harald Fredheim lhf506@york.ac.uk

Who is conducting this research?

(Leif) Harald Fredheim is a PhD candidate at the University of York, jointly supervised by John Schofield and Gill Chitty in the Department of Archaeology and Mike Heyworth, director of the Council for British Archaeology. Harald's background is in archaeology, but more recently in archaeological site management and objects conservation, having completed MA and MSc degrees at University College London.

Has this research been subject to ethical review?

This research project has been approved by the Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee at the University of York, chaired by Dr Kate Giles. Please do contact the committee with any ethical concerns regarding this project hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk

More information?

For more information about being a co-design participant in this research project, please do contact Harald at lhf506@york.ac.uk, or adoptingarchaeology@gmail.com for any questions about the broader Adopting Archaeology project.

You can also follow us on Twitter:
@haraldfred
@adoptarchy

UNIVERSITY *of York*
Department of Archaeology

ARCHAE OLOGY FOR ALL
Council for British Archaeology

Adopting Archaeology

Sustaining Heritage Stewardship Communities by Digital Co-design

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- How sustainable are community groups that engage in taking care of their local heritage?

- What are key factors for sustainability in heritage stewardship communities?

- How can NGOs, like the CBA, best support local stewardship communities in an increasingly challenging financial climate?

Why Should I Complete this Survey?

- Highlight the amazing work done by volunteers to take care of local heritage all around the UK
- Assist in mapping the distribution of community groups involved in heritage stewardship in the UK
- Communicate the needs of your heritage stewardship community to ensure the relevance of support provided by NGOs and universities like the CBA and University of York
- Share your views on why heritage stewardship communities are not more common, larger and more diverse
- Help identify why some stewardship communities are more sustainable than others

What is the Survey about?

You will be asked a number of questions relating to your involvement with volunteer groups engaged in taking care of local heritage. Your responses will help researchers identify key factors for sustainability in heritage stewardship communities. This will lead to the development of projects aimed at sharing skills and capacity between groups in order to increase resilience and effectiveness.

You may pull out for any reason at any time. Any data traceable to yourself will be deleted and destroyed.

How long will it take?

Completing the survey will take approximately 10-20 minutes; it will depend on how detailed your responses are. If you have had limited involvement with heritage stewardship, it may be considerably quicker.

Will I be anonymous?

Yes, your survey responses will be anonymous. Any identifying information will be removed. Your name will not be mentioned to others or published in any professional or academic reports.

How will my responses be used?

The answers you provide will be included in a PhD dissertation, and may be referenced in workshops, conference presentations, journal articles and other forms of professional and academic research literature. Upon completion of this research project, the data will be stored and shared in accordance with University of York policies on data sharing. Please do get in touch if you have any questions about the future use of your data.

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More information?

For more information about being a survey respondent in this research project, please do contact Harald at lhf506@york.ac.uk, or adoptingarchaeology@gmail.com with any questions about the broader Adopting Archaeology project.

You can also follow us on Twitter:
        @haraldfred
        @adoptarchy

Adopting Archaeology

Sustaining Heritage Stewardship Communities by Digital Co-design

In light of continuing cuts to archaeological and heritage provision in local council budgets, the Council for British Archaeology and the Department of Archaeology at the University of York have developed the Adopting Archaeology project. The project divides its focus between the sustainability and impact of community-led heritage stewardship projects. The sustainability strand has three overarching questions:

- How sustainable are community groups that engage in taking care of their local heritage?

- What are key factors for sustainability in heritage stewardship communities?

- How can NGOs, like the CBA, best support local stewardship communities in an increasingly challenging financial climate?

Why Should I Complete this Survey?

- Contribute your views to work on understanding how "expertise" is perceived in the heritage sector
- Assist in correcting misperceptions of who can and who cannot take care of heritage
- Help us understand how paid professionals and unpaid volunteers can work together most beneficially
- Have your (anonymised) views discussed at a conference and knowledge exchange event in York on the 12th of August 2016.
- For a chance to be awarded a free place and travel bursary to the event in York on the 12th of August 2016. (See http://new.archaeologyuk.org/negotiating-expertise for more information)

What is the Survey about?

You will be asked a number of questions relating to how you understand "expertise" and whether or not you think you are a heritage expert. Your responses will help guide the event on the 12th of August 2016, where professionals, academics and volunteers will be discussing perceptions of expertise and how paid professionals and unpaid volunteers can most beneficially work together, without devaluing professionals or exploiting volunteers.

You may pull out for any reason at any time. Any data traceable to yourself will be deleted and destroyed.

How long will it take?

Completing the survey will take approximately 10-20 minutes; it will depend on how detailed your responses are. If you have had limited involvement in taking care of heritage, it may be considerably quicker.

Will I be anonymous?

Yes, your survey responses will be anonymous. Any identifying information will be removed. Your name will not be mentioned to others or published in any professional or academic reports.

How will my responses be used?

The answers you provide will be discussed and shared at a conference and knowledge exchange event at the University of York. A report about the event will be written, which may include some of your responses. Your contributions will also be included in a PhD dissertation, and may be referenced in workshops, conference presentations, journal articles and other forms of professional and academic research literature. Upon completion of this research project, your contributions will be combined with all produced research data, before being stored and shared in accordance with University of York policies on data sharing. Please do get in touch if you have any questions about the future use of your data.

Who is conducting this research?

(Leif) Harald Fredheim is a PhD candidate at the University of York, jointly supervised by John Schofield and Gill Chitty from the Department of Archaeology and Mike Heyworth, director of the Council for British Archaeology. Harald's background is in archaeology, but more recently in objects conservation and archaeological site management, having completed MA and MSc degrees at University College London.

Has this research been subject to ethical review?

This research project has been approved by the Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee at the University of York, chaired by Dr Kate Giles. Please do contact the committee with any ethical concerns regarding this project hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk

More information?

For more information about being a survey respondent in this research project, please do contact Harald at lhf506@york.ac.uk, or adoptingarchaeology@gmail.com with any questions about the broader Adopting Archaeology project.

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lhf506@york.ac.uk

Sustaining Archaeological Adoption: Facilitating Community-led Heritage Stewardship by Digital Co-design

By signing this form, you are providing informed consent for the use of your responses as research data.

This project has been granted ethics clearance by the University of York, Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee. Please contact hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk with any concerns.

	Yes	No
Have you read the information leaflet?	☐	☐
Have you had the opportunity to ask questions?	☐	☐
Do you understand that you are free to withdraw at any time?	☐	☐
Do you accept that your responses are research data and will be stored in a data repository?	☐	☐
Do you maintain your right to confidentiality?	☐	☐
Would you like to take part in this study?	☐	☐

Name of research participant: …………………………………………………………

Signature: …………………………………………. Date: …………………….

Name of researcher: …………………………………………………………………..

Signature: ………………………………………….. Date: …………………….

APPENDIX D – Notes from persona brainstorming at first joint co-design meeting

Oscar

White, Caucasian

8-10

Interested in rock pools

Bright

Curious child

Wide interest

Dad studies robotics

Likes animals and people

Well educated family

Passes this place every day

Joanne

40s

Strong, wears waders, drives a landrover with crabs to Bridlington for market. Mobile phones savvy.

Sometimes has to wait for the people she works with.

Three kids – 11-late teens

Pets

Husband works at sea

Very active, busy, organised, very proud of independence

Frustrated by women's wages, Wants husband to catch more crabs so she can have more holidays in sun. Wants to buy bigger house for parents.

Fishermen use chalk tower to navigate

Frustrated and concerns about bad weather – forecasts are helpful. Less anxious because of new technology.

Monument in town commemorates loss of life during storm – fishermen now more cautions

Steven 35, married two children

Interested in heritage and events for families

Moving to Pontefract, wants to buy a house, find out about town and events etc.

Interested in volunteering

Frustrated, doesn't know where to go to find out about these things.

Jo

Late 30s

Newly appointed to are with children

Researching area for professional and personal reasons

"I need to find our more"

Frustration – predecessor left me no notes

Chardonney 35

Mother, part time/stay at home

With children

Annoyed about arguments with children

Wants to get them interested in other things than playing minecraft etc.

Recently bought house

Wants to start family

Safety of local area

Powerlessness about contributing opinions

Lived in town 50 years,

Many changes, many memories

Like to reminisce, but feel like town has lost much of what makes it special

APPENDIX E – Notes on discussion following Meghan Dennis'
response to emerging design brief at first joint co-design meeting

Meghan responses:

People want quite different things + types of information

User focus! Teacher might want different kinds of information from tourists.

Lisa – Hates acronyms

Steve – is for all ages. Not just about decision-making and professionals

Meghan asks web based, app based? – Room response: Web-based

Use personas to get information that is packaged differently. Information, visuals etc. tailored to audience. Allow people to play their way through information

How do inputs come into the system to send the information to different people. How would site play into use for different people?

We, in this room want it – we are easy target. Key question is how to get other people to contribute, use and access information.

Sadie asked about Trip advisor element/similarity?

Trip advisor – who puts information into trip advisor – our target group is different.

More work on filtering and moderation. Think about time spent on moderating – how much time do you have to spend.

Meghan mentioned "emotional response" and Maureen pounced on that as key word we have not mentioned.

When we visit we don't necessarily take away facts, but we remember emotional responses to seeing things from different angles, what remains and what doesn't, seeing the huge lawn and thinking about how much work it takes to maintain it etc. What is the purpose of space.

Steve responds that "we are adding colour to black and white"

Sharon says it's also about moving forward, how we want something to be and how we want to use something.

Lisa says, this information will also help us to give alternatives, "x will be better" – to give options and suggestions.

Sharon says so many ideas, really helpful to have someone formulate it

Meghan says we need clear design

We want to have it let people do what they want – useful from first visit.

I said split focus and easier to design analytical back-end than appealing front that will make people want to interact with, come back to

Meghan says we need to understand how people use social media, not just that they do.

Lisa makes point that instant gratification is different to different people.

People on board with learning way of working together already – and importance of networking.

Lisa – people come and go because they have an issue, they sort it and they leave – civic societies are for life – it's a way of living or working rather than a specific problem to solve.

Sharon talks importance of naming groups on the website.

Access to content – don't want to be exclusive. People will want to access all information, not feeling like they need to be part of a group to access the information they want.

Meghan asks, what the virtual community is – for whom, for groups

Steve – let people set filters, rather than filters being imposed.

Thinking about privacy – public on facebook, public on twitter. How are you going to be able to stop that. Comments on planning information cannot be anonymous.

Different platforms have different ID protocols. Facebook and Twitter different.

APPENDIX F – Write-up of initial design requirements from first joint co-design meeting

We want a space to collect and organise personal interpretations of (or "emotional responses" to) what users consider their heritage. It will be an appealing place to share and interact with other users' posts, and will provide a database of information for those who want to access opinions about heritage.

In summary, we want a platform that lets us link in with what already exists – our platform will aggregate and organise posts, let users interact with posts and let users navigate the platform for information. In our case, these posts will be identifications of something as valuable ("heritage" if you like) and an explanation of why the user considers this heritage. At the moment, this is all we want aggregated on our platform – personal opinions and interpretations of what their heritage is and why.

Functionality

- Users should be able to make posts identifying something as heritage and providing a reason why they have identified this
- Posts should consist of a title, explanatory text and an image/video/audio file
- Users should be able to connect posts to points on a map – google maps?
- Users should have a personal page and a home page
- Users should be able to share each other's posts
- Users should be able to "like" (or similar) each other's posts
- Users should be able to comment on each other's posts
- There should be a combination of automated and manual filtering/moderation
- It should be possible to view information without signing up, but need profile to contribute
- Users should be able to log in through other SM platforms and link their various accounts
- Users should be able to contribute posts through other SM platforms
- Users should be able to embed features from our platform to their website, as a widget or similar

We believe databases for factual knowledge about heritage exist, but opinions and memories are not captured here.

Similarly, platforms where people can share exist – what we really want is something that aggregates, organises etc. and that provides a database from which information can be extracted – i.e. Facebook groups are great for sharing information, but not for organising, presenting and extracting information.

Wants

In general terms, wants were (bold to be taken forward initially):

- **accepts various media (text, audio, video)**
- **attracts younger (broadly defined) people**
- **facilitates the formation of informal networks**
- allows sharing research products
- can capture oral histories
- **allows filtering of uploaded content**

More specifically, we want:

- something that is EASY to use
- allows pooling/sharing local opinions and ideas about "heritage"
- opinions as individual posts that identify something as heritage and explain why
- something that will connect interested parties and encourage dialogue
- people to be able to contribute to our platform from other sites (Facebook, Twitter etc.)
- APIs that let our platform aggregate posts from elsewhere and feed back
- A database for finding uploaded opinions that is searchable (need input structure?)

Users

- People who want to share opinions, stories and take part in discussion about what is important to them
- A pool of people's opinions about what they value in an area and why that will let individuals responding to planning proposals on behalf of groups like Civic Societies provide responses that are more representative of general opinion.
- Those who want a heritage-centred virtual social community
- Tourists who want an unofficial source of information about the area they are visiting
- Teachers and students who want a source for more fun/interesting information about "heritage"

We envision two main types of users – those who contribute to the platform, and those who access the information uploaded to the platform. We need it to be convenient and appealing to both groups – though attracting the contributors is likely to be the main challenge.

Access

Primary access will be through existing networks. Would like to be able to embed prompts to engage with platform on other social media sites, such as Facebook and Twitter

We started thinking about names – initial suggestions were:

- Our Place
- Locality …
- Here and there

Some detail

Each profile page will have a wall (think Padlets) that the user can stick posts/notes to. We would like these to be presented in a visually attractive way using post titles and images and in list form with full post details/content – again, think a Padlets-style wall (with titles + images/video) above/next to a Twitter or Facebook-style feed. Every post made by the user will appear in the feed, and a summary/representation of it appear on the wall.

The home page will look similar, but have all posts by all users on it. Users can filter their homepage to only show posts relating to places that interest them.

We imagine that there would be a hierarchy of posts reflecting the scale of what each post refers to – here we could use a system of hashtags? There could be posts identifying different places as being important. In addition, there would conceivably be posts about parts of each of those places – i.e. posts about landscapes, within which there are buildings, within which there are rooms, within which there are objects etc. It will, however, not be this simple in practice, as users may identify practices or relationships as significant, which operate on a different scale to rooms and buildings – that said, practices also take place within landscapes, or buildings, or rooms, or in connection to specific objects. The point being it may be necessary to allow users to assign scale and relationships between posts manually, rather than having a fixed structure.

There are obviously going to be issues about automatically organising posts that come from other platforms where there won't be an enforced input structure. Here we could perhaps use a combination of teaching how to input from eg. Twitter and Facebook for it to be organised automatically and a manual system within our platform where users can post to it from elsewhere, but must organise manually within our platform. I imagine that this is where testing (initially Wizard of Ozzing) will be very helpful in pinning down these issues.

I don't know how these things work, but imagine it would be possible to tweet @myplace Bridlington/Spa/ The Sea View: The beach and ocean are beautiful from here. Where "@myplace" is a handle created for our platform, "Bridlington/Spa/" is the directory, if you like, for the post, "The Sea View" is the title of the post that identifies what is being noted as valuable in this case, and "The beach and ocean are beautiful from here" is the rationale.

APPENDIX G – Draft personas and use cases presented at second joint co-design meeting

Booster

Liz, 63, is a local business owner in ████████. She has lived locally most of her life and has been a member of the local civic society for a few years now. She is concerned with the drop in visitor numbers to the town, both because of her own business and the success and atmosphere of the town as a whole. She loves ████████, even though it is perhaps not as glossy or bustling as it was in the past, but she doesn't think other locals or tourists are able to see the town as she does. Liz knows this because her granddaughter, who is just entering her teens thinks ████████ is a boring dump. Liz is concerned that ████████ may not have a future if it has no appeal, and offers no opportunities to younger people. She is not an expert with digital technology, but she has taught herself the basic functionality of social media sites like Facebook and Twitter to find out what people are saying about ████████ online and to share news and events. Liz is eager to get more people involved in promoting ████████ as an attractive place to live and visit – "there really is so much on offer if people are willing to give it a chance and take a closer look!"

Goals: Attract more tourists to ████████*; foster local civic pride; meet others who love* ████████

Frustrations: No one seems to listen to or care about her efforts; negativity and narrow-mindedness

Liz heard about the Share My Heritage platform at the civic society meeting and looks it up to see what people are saying about ████████. She searches for "████████" and finds quite a few posts made by civic society members. She zooms in using the map to limit her search to the area around the Spa. She sees that the Spa, the harbour and the beach have the most posts and choses the harbour. The posts cover a range of topics, from historical associations with trade and fishing to how it looks currently. She wants to comment on a couple of the posts with pictures, but the site requires her to register. Initially, this seems off-putting, but it does seem like a site she can use to promote ████████, so she decides to create a profile so she can contribute content. She is relieved to see that she can create a profile through her Facebook account, which means she does not need to come up with yet another online username, password and profile picture. From the instructions on the page, Liz understands that she is supposed to contribute small snippets of information, identifying what she considers valuable and important about ████████ and why. She is overwhelmed; there are so many things! Well, she thinks she might as well start somewhere. She picks out five things she loves about ████████ and uploads a pictures to go with a couple of them. Liz selects the option to be notified by email if other users interact with her uploaded content. She notices that there is a "share" button for her newly created profile page, which now has her five posts on it. She shares the overview of her profile page to Facebook and posts it on her wall. She then shares this post in the ████████ The Good Old Days closed group on Facebook, which has over 7000 members, with a short message saying she has come across a new site that lets her share what she thinks is important about Bridlington in the present, not just reminisce about the past. She hopes that some of the other

members of the group will create profiles on the Share My Heritage site also, so more positive information about ████████ will be available, and constructive and creative discussions about ████████'s present and future can begin. She then goes back to the posts about the harbour, copies a few of the posts to her profile and leaves a comment.

Liz receives a few likes and comments to her Facebook posts, both on her profile and in the Good Old Days group. While some people think the Share My Heritage platform looks interesting, she receives quite a few comments from the Good Old Days group that they enjoy the group precisely because it is concerned with reminiscing and sharing memories, rather than getting involved with politics and civic decision-making. Liz is disappointed, but is encouraged by the fact that she also received comments saying others would contribute to the Share My Heritage site. Two days later, Liz notices that she has received three emails from the Share My Heritage website, indicating that people have been interacting with her contributions to the site. Two other users have also contributed content related to the harbour and another user has copied her post about the spa. When she searches for ████████, she can see that there are quite a few contributions she can click through. It isn't much, but it's a start. Liz has decided to mention the site at the next civic society meeting and suggest that they organise some sort of activity or event to get local people involved in sharing what they love about ████████. It is an opportunity to do something different, and might even be a good way to attract some new civic society members!

Bigwig

Michael, 68, is a retired lawyer in ████████. He did not grow up in ████████, but lived there for the second half of his professional life. Michael is a member of the civic society and believes one of the society's responsibilities is to provide a citizen's perspective on planning proposals, to ensure the places ████████ residents love are protected. Michael is frustrated that the civic society is so small and that many members appear apathetic to the society's core civic responsibilities. Surely more people must care about changes made in ████████! Why do so few people get actively involved? It seems people are only interested in changes that directly impact them, and not with ████████ in general. Michael wants to be a good representative for local residents through his lobbying activities, but is aware that his voice carries little weight and may not be representative, because of the small number of people who use him as a mouthpiece to have their views heard. Michael uses email when he has to, but has no time for social media – "it isn't made for people like me." Instead, Michael prefers to gather and share news and opinions through the public meetings and the civic society.

Goals: Get more people involved in contributing to local decision-making; responsibly represent local interests

Frustrations: Apathy and lack of initiative

Michael heard about the Share My Heritage site through the civic society when he returned from his travels over the summer. Apparently the society has run some activities to get people involved in sharing their views about ████████, so when Michael hears about the plan to renovate a building right straight across from the ████████ he decides to look up the site to see what people are saying about the place. Unfortunately, there is nothing there about the specific building, but there are quite a few contributions about the ████████ and about the market area as a whole. There is some helpful information there that will help Michael make a case for why it is essential that the front of the building is not changed during the renovations because it forms part of the market area as a whole, but there more specific information would be helpful. Michael calls the chairman of the civic society to ask whether it would be possible to use the society's email list and social media presence to call for specific contributions to the Share My Heritage site from local people who have an interest in the building across from the ████████. Michael creates a profile with the site and asks to be notified by email when users contribute content that relates to ████████.

When Michael checks his email a couple of days later, he is shocked to see that he has over twenty new messages. Eighteen of them are from the Share My Heritage website; Michael is quite annoyed. All the emails tell him is that three people have been making contributions about ████████; none of them are about the building he is interested in. Michael decides asking for notifications from the site was a mistake. The two other emails are from the chairman of the civic society. Apparently, a few members do have specific interests in the building Michael is investigating, but they did not want to use the Share My Heritage website. Michael writes his response to the planning proposal that is out for consultation, satisfied that he has been able to make a more informed response than he would have otherwise, but is left thinking about the need to store and share opinions about ████████'s heritage. He writes an email to the chairman of the civic society, suggesting that maybe the society should create a profile on the Share My Heritage website, and that those who have opinions, but don't want to use the site, for whatever reason, can share their views with the civic society and then the society can upload the information so it is available. The chairman responds that he thinks this is a great idea and decides to copy posts made by civic society members to the newly created civic society profile, so the profile represents the views of the society's members. He then uses the share function to share the overview of ████████'s heritage according to the civic society on their various social media profiles and on the civic society website.

Decision-maker

Laura, 43, is an archaeologists working for Historic England in the North-East. Laura is very aware of the shifts in academic scholarship and international professional charters that advocate for greater involvement of local people in identifying and taking care of local heritage, in all its forms. Laura is

concerned that these ideals are impossible to implement in practice. It requires infrastructure, training and above all, money. Now that their budgets are being slashed again, Laura has less and less time to do her work, which means she no longer has any time to engage with local people and visitors to find out what their interests in their local heritage are – truly informed decision-making feels like a distant utopian dream. The frustrating thing is that when her organisation makes changes, people are often unhappy – it is obvious that people have opinions, but it feels like there is no way to get at them until after the fact when everyone angry and frustrated.

Goals: Make good decisions for heritage in keeping with the interests of current and future generations

Frustrations: Lack of time and money to give each decision the attention it deserves; absence of mechanism to effectively communicate with stakeholders.

As Inspector of Ancient Monuments in the North-East, Laura is responsible for making sure that changes made to listed sites are made according to the significance of sites and in the interests of present and future generations. She is committed to the 'high level principles' of Historic England's approach to conservation, which include that 'the historic environment is a shared resource', that 'everyone should be able to participate in sustaining the historic environment', that 'significant places should be managed to sustain their values', that 'decisions about change must be reasonable, transparent and consistent' and that 'documenting and learning from decisions is essential.' Laura has heard of the Share My Heritage website, and hopes it will help her in her work. Due to the ongoing Heritage Lottery Funded work at ███████ Castle, she is particularly concerned with ensuring that the changes being made are consistent with the significance of the castle site, as understood by heritage professionals and other interested parties. Laura looks up the Share My Heritage website and is pleased to find that there are many entries relating to ███████ Castle; she notes that the civic society has been particularly active in populating its profile with perspectives on the castle. Even if the site cannot provide the range of perspectives she might want, it is a great place to start and it will help her formulate the right questions and get in touch with some of the right people if she ever has time to run a more detailed consultation programme.

Laura creates a profile on the site and is pleased to see that there is an alternative interface for analysing site data. The interface lets Laura see the different features of the castle users are discussing, and quickly identify which perspectives are the source of the most agreement and controversy. She is particularly interested in the features of the castle that appear to be areas of potential conflict, where users have contributed contrasting perspectives or initiated explicit disagreements. Laura uses the hidden tags function to flag the controversial aspects of the castle. She also finds that she can use this feature to organise posts according to the values in the Conservation Principles typology: Evidential, Historical, Aesthetic and Communal. This lets Laura compare the

perspectives shared on the site with the official designation description for the castle. Laura is satisfied that she is now better prepared to meet with the team in charge of implementing the Heritage Lottery Fund project at the castle, and is relieved that she is now far less likely to be caught off-guard by potential controversies.

Tourist

Caroline, 35, is a saleswoman from Manchester. Caroline is single and loves travelling by herself, but likes to occasionally interrupt her much-needed solitude by getting to know local people in the places she visits. This summer, while on vacation in East Yorkshire, she stumbled across ███████, a little gem by the sea. She fell in love with the sleepy village on the cliffs overlooking the ocean, but was frustrated by the lack of information she could find about it online. Of course there was some available information for tourists online, but on a short trip like this, there is never enough time to find the hidden gems – the things only local people know about small places like this. Caroline would definitely like to come back sometime, especially if there was a way to tap into that elusive local knowledge!

Goals: Have authentic experiences of the local and every-day while on vacation

Frustrations: Never enough time to get to know the places she visits

Left-behind Local

Boris, 28, is a hairstylist in ████████. Boris is one of the few of his childhood friends who ended up finding work in Bridlington after finishing school. Boris is all over social media in an effort to create a more exciting social life for himself and to stay connected with the wider world. He would love to travel – there's a whole world out there, and somehow he ended up stuck in ████████. There isn't much to be excited about here, so he would rather be involved, virtually, with happenings elsewhere.

Goals:

Frustrations:

Teacher

Paulette, 28, is still relatively new to teaching. She works at a secondary school in ████████, but is originally from Cardiff. Under the new curriculum, she is supposed to incorporate local history in her teaching, but she's only lived in Pontefract for a couple of years and doesn't know much about it.

How is she supposed to have the time to do research on local history when she's still getting to grips with everything else? She has just started her own family and is trying very hard to make time for a private life, no longer letting her working day spill unchecked into her evenings and weekends. "███████ is probably interesting enough, I just don't have the time to find out."

Goals:

Frustrations:

Armchair Explorer

Chris, 52, journalist

APPENDIX H – Initial draft mockups presented at second joint co-design meeting for paper prototyping exercise
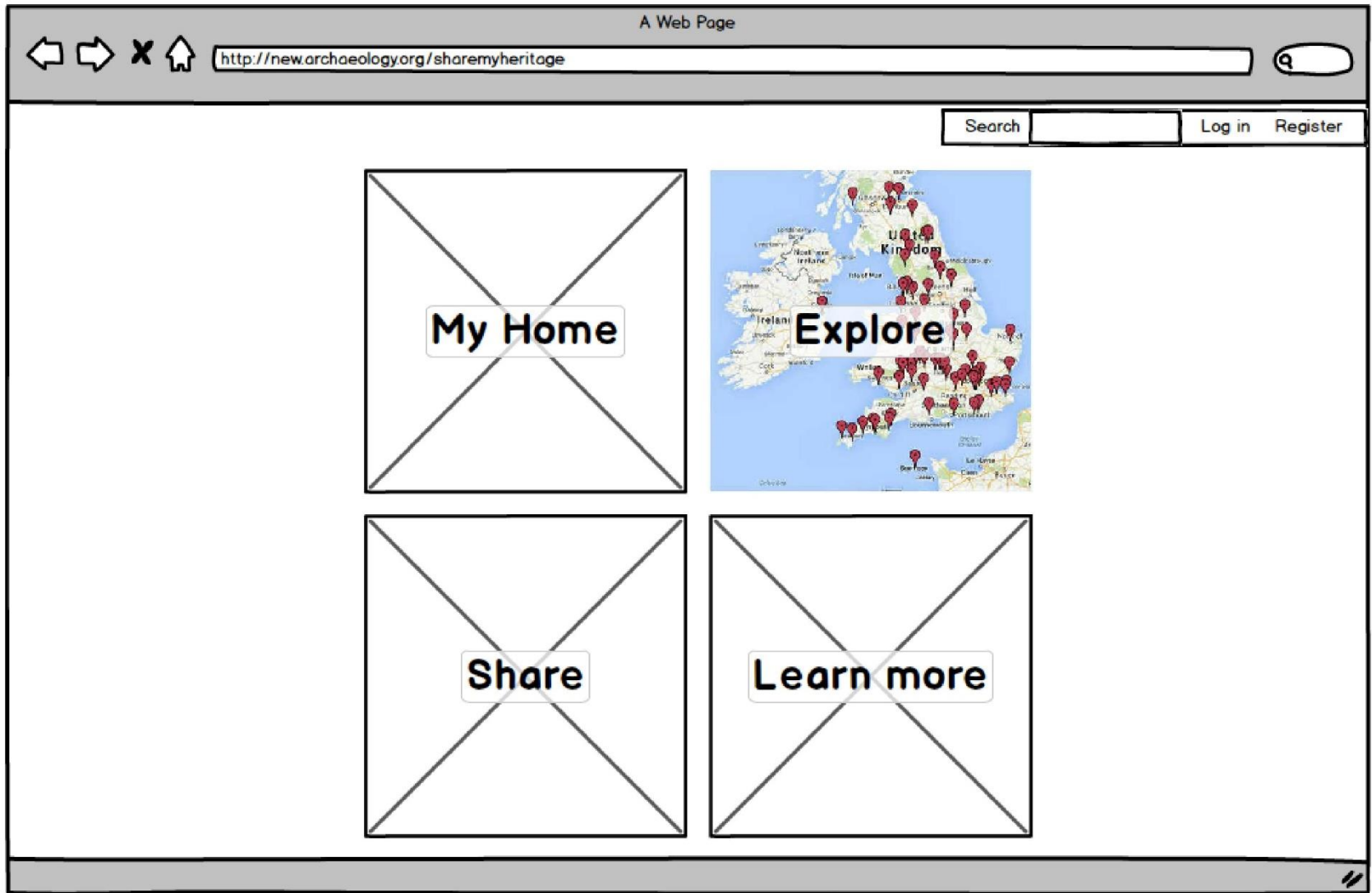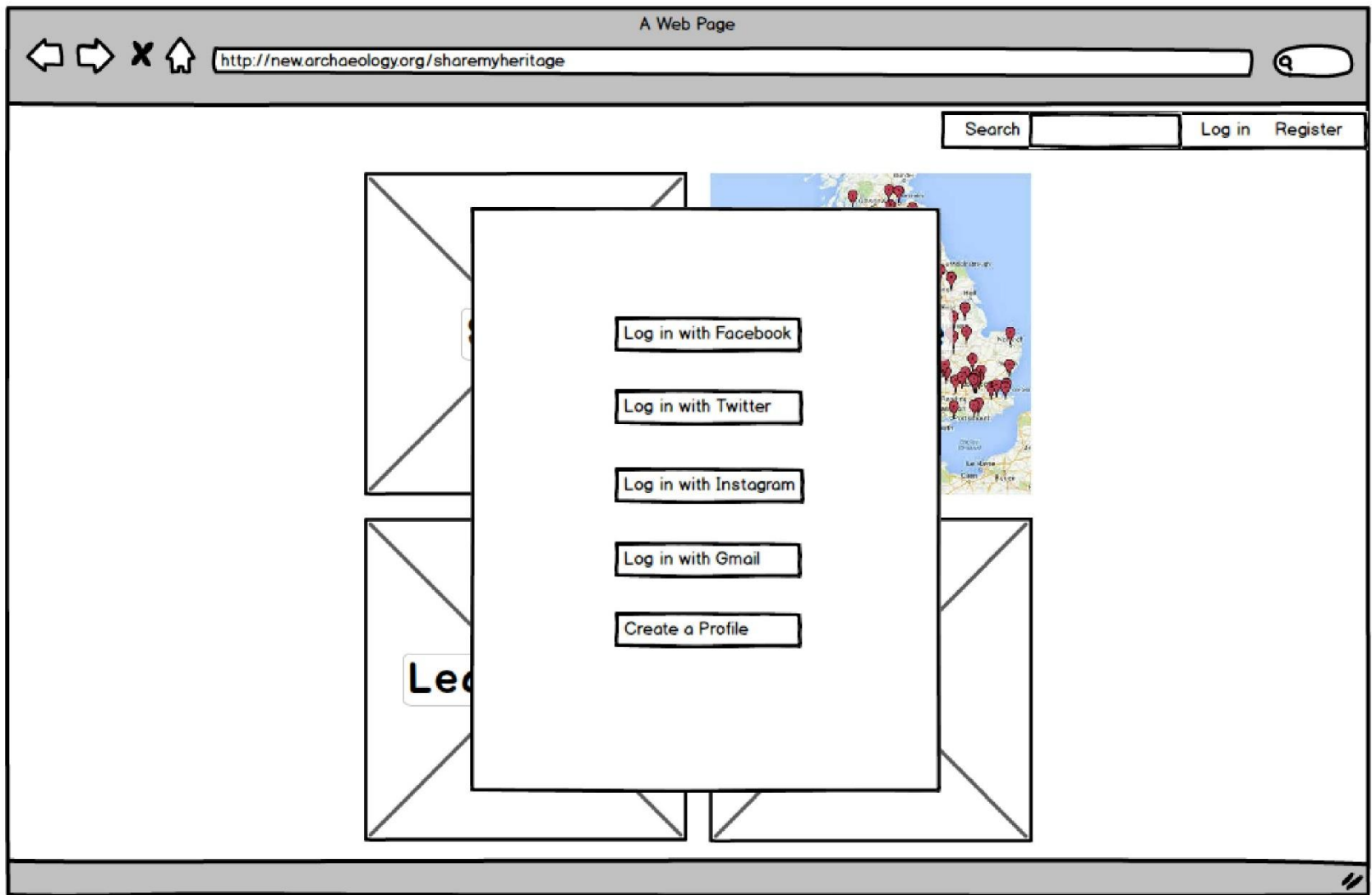
http://new.archaeology.org/sharemyheritage

Search   Log in   Register

My Home

Explore

Share

Learn more

263

A Web Page

http://new.archaeology.org/sharemyheritage

Search [   ]   Log in   Register

Log in with Facebook

Log in with Twitter

Log in with Instagram

Log in with Gmail

Create a Profile

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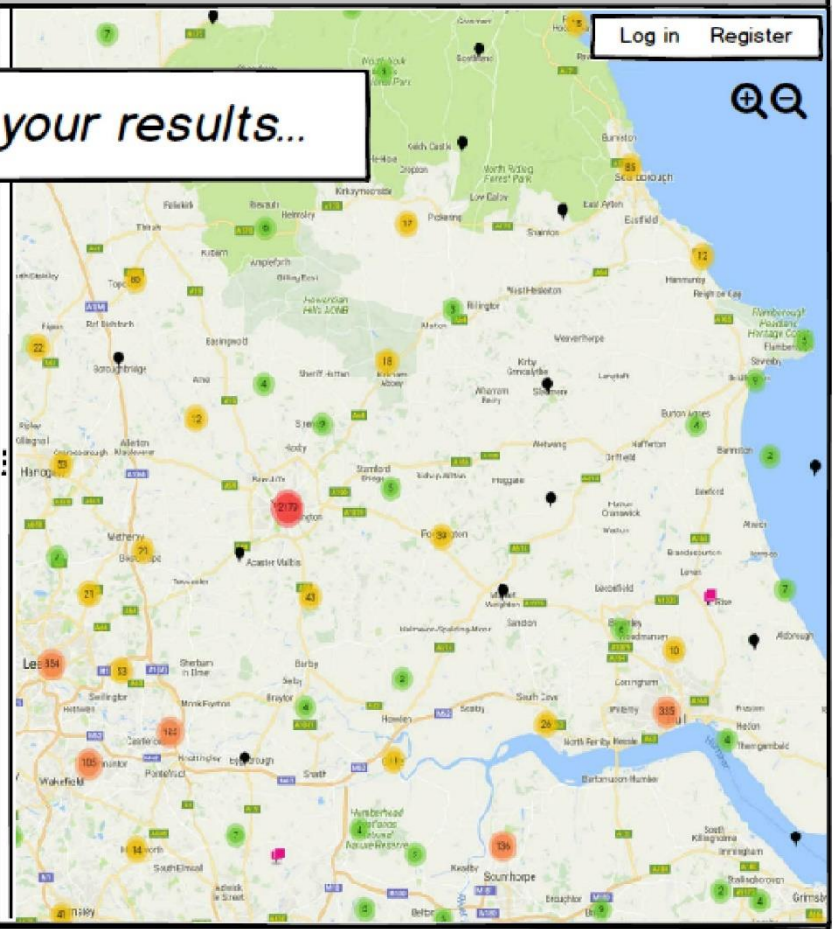
http://new.archaeology.org/sharemyheritage

Map View | Feed

Log in   Register

Bridlington

The Harbour

The Spa

Priory Church

Duke's Park

A Web Page

http://new.archaeology.org/sharemyheritage

Map View | Feed

Log in   Register

Bridlington

Popular | Recent

The Harbour

The Spa

Priory Church

Duke's Park

The salty sea breeze Bridlington Beach, Bridlington

The smell and taste of the seaside - home.

Harald Fredheim   13 Oct 2016   ♡ 0 ☆ 2 ⌒ 1

The Priory Bells Priory Church, Bridlington

🔊

Every Sunday, morning and evening, doesn't feel like Sunday without them.

Harald Fredheim   13 Oct 2016   ♡ 5 ☆ 3 ⌒ 2

The Auditorium The Spa, Bridlington

It's grand, it's beautiful and it brings culture to Bridlington. It's something to be proud of.

Harald Fredheim   13 Oct 2016   ♡ 1 ☆ 0 ⌒ 0

http://new.archaeology.org/sharemyheritage

☰

Feed Related

Log in   Register

⊕⊖ Dog Walking

Bowls

Hockey

Tennis

Things I Do

Cricket

Dance

Petanque

Rugby

Duke's Park, Bridlington

Smell of the sea

Things I Sense

The butt hills

Skatepark

Memories

Things I Think About

Stories

Genealogical links

Sense of community

List   Network

Duke's Park

James Stone

Priory Church   Harald Fredheim

Bridlington Beach

North Landing

A Web Page

http://new.archaeology.org/sharemyheritage

Bio | My Heritage   Feed | Related   Log in   Register

List | Network

Harald Fredheim

Dog Walking

Bowls

Hockey

Tennis

Things I Do

Cricket

Dance

Petanque

Rugby

Smell of the sea

The butt hills

Things I Sense

Skatepark

Things I Think About

Memories

Stories

Genealogical links

Sense of community

Duke's Park

James Stone

Priory Church   Harald Fredheim

Bridlington Beach

North Landing

http://new.archaeology.org/sharemyheritage

Share

Where is it?

Categorise your post using the options on the right and give it a title

Why is it important to you?

Upload media

| Buttercross | Castle | Liquorice |

| Racourse | Market | xxxxx |

| xxxxxx | xxxxxx | xxxxxx |