



**Exploring impacts of participation in heritage management: reciprocal links
between communities and heritage institutions in the case of Orkney islands**

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

of

University College London

Bartlett School of Environment, Energy and Resources

Institute for Sustainable Heritage

London, December 2019

'I, Eirini Gallou, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.'

Acknowledgements

After a long journey, I finally have my dissertation at hand: a debt of gratitude to my dissertation supervisor, Kalliopi Fouseki, for her patience and support during my doctoral study period and research-her attitude and approach has been invaluable to allow me direct my inquiry.

This research was instigated by my 2013-2015 professional experiences as an architect working in project management in the island of Samothrace, Greece. It also incorporates ideas that have been discussed within my 2014 internship mentor in ICCROM, G. Wijesuriya to whom I owe great gratitude for allowing me to contradict local and global perspectives.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the financial support by Alexander Onassis Public Benefit Foundation which supported me in this almost four year journey, covering my living expense in the expensive context of London.

I could not be more grateful for the volunteering contributions of numerous local residents in Orkney islands, who became my family for the period that I visited the island and enabled me to collect rich data on social impacts, while allowing me to properly contextualize my research. It is not possible to mention all names here as it would compromise the anonymity: the Orcadian people who hosted me in Kirkwall, supported my public engagement event in South Ronaldsay, and allowed me to visit National trust sites fitting me in their schedule. All members of Friends of Hoy Kirk and Orkney Historic Boat society who greatly contributed to the findings of this research, sharing their time and wisdom. The archeologist who assisted me when I first arrived in Orkney, opening up various networks for me locally to reach more people, as well as the Scapa Flow Landscape partnership (SFLP) Scheme manager, for this contribution to my understanding of the case study, the local council officers for their authentic interest and support.

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, thanking them for supporting my lifelong education and personal development plans. It is also dedicated to all rural communities' residents, that do not believe they can actually change their lives through cultural participation and to whom this thesis provides a counter argument. Last but not least, I would like to sincerely thank my colleagues and friends at the UCL Central House, with whom we shared a long journey of inquiry and especially, my close friend Dimitra, who provided critical insights on my thoughts and supported me throughout it.

Abstract

This thesis explores the reciprocal links between local community wellbeing and sustainable heritage management, through community's active participation in heritage.

Special emphasis is placed on the impact of heritage participation on increasing social capital, and through this, collective level community well-being as well as perceived sense of place. Reciprocal relationships of the aforementioned impacts will be explored through a case study approach, focusing on small islands that represent common challenges of rural communities and landscapes: challenges towards sustaining both communities and heritage due to isolation, accessibility issues but also restricted resources that assert pressures on heritage management. The case of Orkney Islands, Scotland has been chosen as a representative example of islands where a variety of heritage participation projects have occurred in the last few years funded by Heritage Lottery Fund and consists the context of the study.

The researcher adopts a bottom-up stance to impact evaluation that combines multiple perspectives: indicators of social outcomes are emerging from in-depth interviews and discussions with local residents and heritage managers. This approach enables a qualitative inductive exploration of contextually relevant impact areas, using social capital attributes as key assessment parameters to understand the leverage of participation for both heritage institutions and local community groups.

The thesis aspires to challenge existing and develop contextually relevant indicators useful to define (and subsequently measure) wellbeing and social outcomes, in contrast to generic frameworks for impact evaluation studies related to heritage participation. It also proposes a framework for reciprocal impact assessment for participatory projects that combines considerations of institutional, instrumental and intrinsic values of heritage.

The novelty of the contribution lies in providing evidence for the social contribution of participatory practices and relating them through the concept of reciprocity with knock-on impacts on institutional practices and heritage management approaches, ultimately looking at sustaining heritage resources on local level and supporting community wellbeing through engagement with heritage.

Impact statement

The research produced recommendations for planning professionals working in the heritage sector and developing strategies in the interface between heritage, social and spatial planning for supporting local sustainable development-assisting so that the cultural values and social needs of communities can be better appreciated and taken into account in policy planning.

The findings identified an unexplored potential, for the role of heritage professionals in engaging with communities: identifying what communities need and engaging with planning objectives and goals for wellbeing in their work, can revolutionize the sector's contribution to wellbeing and bring profound change by easing conflicts in resource management and distribution.

At the same time, the research provides an advocative base for re-defining their role and the role of heritage institutions, which by enabling access to resources, they obtain social license to operate and can truly fulfil their social role of assisting community development through heritage projects. The research also discusses a step by step, replicable methodology for social impact analysis that is therefore useful for practitioners and heritage organisations, to incorporate in post-project evaluations and better understand community profile, needs and their achieved impact. This has important implications for increasing accountability of use in public resources but could also importantly enhance the legitimacy of agencies in the long run.

The methodology can also be useful for local authorities who are willing to understand the impact of multi-project initiatives on social wellbeing locally and specifically for rural contexts with similar demographical characteristics and challenges. At the same line, the research's academic contribution in the wider field of regional and rural studies, from the perspective of studying management and planning approaches to support sustainable development in rural contexts. The academic contribution of defining indicators for assessing social wellbeing in rural community contexts needs to be noted, as well as the incorporation of the research within the wider theoretical body of social science researchers developing social capital indicators.

The context studied specifically, allows for further use especially in islands, remote areas and areas with rural heritage landscapes, which are rather underexplored in the field.

The large range of participatory typology studies also increases the applicability of findings in real-life projects and the multiple types of heritage assets/activities studied, increases the value of research for multiple heritage management bodies in Europe.

The process of data collection allowed for increasing the impact of the study on the ground, by actively engaging with communities in Orkney through a public engagement event organised by the researcher in August 2017, funded through UCL Train and Engage scheme. It offered an opportunity to locals who never had considered the significance of heritage assets round them to

enter discussions about them, and allowed developing a mutually beneficial relationship between researcher and researched.

Finally the outputs, methodology and especially the theoretical framework of the research contributes to the academic and institutional discussions about 'what we mean' with heritage contribution to wellbeing : extending from individual to communal level approaches, and from physical health to mental and social wellbeing attributes. Novel philosophical and theoretical conceptualizations of wellbeing especially considered here within a socio-spatial theoretical and conceptual framework developed (including interdependencies between social capital and sense of place) can allow integration of tangible and intangible impacts, specific to heritage, in evaluations. The wider contribution of research in bottom-up indicator development is important in affecting ways of measuring social and institutional effectiveness, putting emphasis on quality and changing unidimensional foci on quantity of participation in heritage sector : this way heritage organizations can start considering moving from audience development strategies to community supporting ones.

The upper suggest a clear impact on existing research excellence and innovation, bringing together the heritage studies, evaluation/impact methodologies and project management frameworks with sociological and behavioural theories.

Public sharing of knowledge: The researcher has given multiple conference presentations and papers, in various audiences for Visitor Studies group (VSG) in London, 2017 looking at including social capital theoretical a framework for evaluating social outcomes of cultural projects in museums, to Association for Critical heritage studies (ACHS) biennial conference where the researcher co-hosted a session on the wider leverage of heritage for socio-spatial rural transformations, providing links between the research scope and policy-goals to achieve SDG targets at regional level. The first published output of this study (Journal paper in Cultural heritage management and sustainable development) has been on request by International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) officials and has been also shared with ICOMOS UK, providing the base for discussions on incorporating impact assessment in heritage management and planning processes in the UK. I have been asked to advise on current drafts by IHBC and more UK bodies who develop professional guidance on the subject. Moreover, the presentation for the methodology in the recent International Association for impact assessment (IAIA) 2019 conference in Brisbane, has encouraged further validation of methodology and development of banks of bottom-up indicators by World heritage sites, opening new prospects for utilizing the research outputs in practice and at international level to assist in operationalizing people-centered approaches to conservation.

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Abbreviations

AHD	Authorized Heritage discourse
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sports (UK)
EIA	Environmental impact assessment
FoHK	Friends of Hoy Kirk (charity)
HES	Historic Environment Scotland
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
HONO	Heart of Neolithic Orkney, WH site
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
IohDT (DT)	Island of Hoy, Development trust
NEF	New Economics Foundation
OAS	Orkney Archeology society
OHBS	Orkney Historic Boat Society
OIC	Orkney Islands Council
ORCA	Orkney research Centre for Archaeology
SAC	Special area of Conservation
SC	Social capital
SD	Sustainable development
SFLPS	Scapa Flow Landscape Partnership Scheme
SIA	Social impact assessment
SoP	Sense of Place
UHI	University of Highland and Islands, in Orkney
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VAO	Volunteer action Orkney

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Focus of the research

The proposed thesis investigates the impact that ‘active participation’ of local communities in heritage projects has both on social wellbeing and on local heritage management practices, focusing in rural and remote contexts. It seeks to identify and explore type of links between those two dimensions, by conceptualising heritage as a social practice (Auclair and Fairclough 2015; Smith 2006; Harrison 2013). It is also considering post –project engagement with heritage –within or without institutional frameworks- and ‘social approval’ of projects to be key factors contributing to sustainable management (Unesco, 2010) and heritage safeguarding.

The term ‘active participation’ is employed to refer to study of participatory projects and people’s activities in those that include active engagement with managing heritage resources (tangible and intangible) and longer term involvement. By the term active participation, I also intend to exclude participation only in consultation (as only informative), and gather data from participants who actively had a role in heritage conservation, interpretation, documentation or similar projects’ delivery: this suggests they contributed towards realization of a project goal, undertaking tasks that lasted long (at least more than a week). In that sense studying active participation is distinct from visiting heritage asset, or even one-off volunteering experiences, as considered by certain organizational reports on measuring participation (English heritage, 2017/Take part survey and Heritage counts report, 2014) and is expected to look deeper on development of continuous engagement-as noted also by (Bop, 2009:27, 2009 for HLF) and ways of personal contributions.

The term social wellbeing, as defined by NEF (2009), which will be explained in detail later, refers to aspects of wellbeing –which is studied here at community level- that deal with healthy social relationships, social stability, reciprocity and trust with others in a social group.

It will specifically focus on examining the hypothesis of reciprocal social relationships (between communities and managers), identifying whether or not social and institutional impacts of heritage participation are linked in a mutually reinforcing way, looking at resource restricted contexts, like the remote rural or island localities.

The underpinning hypothesis of the research is that there is a reciprocal relationship between community and heritage benefits, unravelling through participation: increased social wellbeing impacts from heritage participation can reinforce interest in heritage safeguarding and this in turn, can reinforce active civic engagement in heritage management and participation in decisions but also in local social life. In short, the research will explore if and how heritage safeguarding, and social wellbeing for local communities are connected in an eternal reinforcing loop, and study the role of participation as the key for sustaining beneficial impacts for both institutions and communities.

Orkney Islands in Scotland, UK, is chosen as the core case study, as it provides a representative example of the vulnerabilities related with rural and remote contexts for both social wellbeing of communities and heritage safeguarding due to resource related issues. The choice of one case study was considered necessary to allow for in depth understanding of both social and institutional realities that relate to each specific, national and cultural context and are considered to influence behaviours towards heritage participation. The context of the case study also provides a multiplicity of typologies of participatory projects, touching many levels of the “ladder of participation” (Arnstein, 1967) thus allowing for holistic exploration of the phenomenon. Special emphasis is placed on participatory projects realised in Orkney within the Scapa Flow Landscape project scheme, a Heritage Lottery Fund flagship scheme (HLF, 2013). The projects within the scheme, were realised between 2009 and 2012 and involved various heritage types and social groups which are the focus of the research.

The term ‘local community’ for the scope of the research refers initially in geographically defined “community”, “residing around a place”, including Orkney residents living within the enclosed geographical boundaries of the islands (Kearns and Joseph, 1995) and in close proximity with the monuments and sites included in the HLF Scheme. Within this, smaller various communities of interest which participated actively in heritage and its management were recognised, building towards what Therond (2009) calls “shared responsibility” between them and functions of institutional experts.

The research adopts a ‘bottom-up’ approach to impact evaluation focusing on exploring perceptions of residents and managers who had an active role in planning and delivering heritage projects (or “experts and non-experts” according to Sorensen and Carman, 2009). Compared to a top-down approach –which would use existing indicators predefined by researcher institutes/policy makers for different contexts and sectors, eg. urban studies on social capital development from cultural activities in general-the research focuses on exploring community perceptions of impacts to develop relevant indicators from the bottom-up. Therefore, the research approach is advocating that practice can inform policy foci, by producing context relevant impact indicators for cultural heritage projects that involved communities.

The thesis examines local communities of place, perceptions of social wellbeing and existing needs in their context, based on social capital related indicators and relating those to definitions of ‘socially sustainable’ communities. Social capital is used here as defined by Bourdieu (Bourdieu in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119) and Putnam (2000), referring to networks as resources that individuals and groups can use to prosper and support each other. It aims at exploring perceived social impacts stemming from active involvement with heritage, documented as behaviour change towards other social groups and heritage institutions.

The analysis is twofold; on one hand it focuses on defining areas of longer-term social impacts, which affect positively the wellbeing of local communities in context. On the other hand, identifies

contribution of community engagement for managers and looks for organisational impacts that relate to operations and practices of heritage institutions, as expressed through managers' perceptions of participatory projects, and the way they may affect their practice and future collaborative management of heritage assets.

The supporting critical literature review realised in chapter 1 and 2, is covering a wider range of themes, exploring the areas of: sustainable heritage management and local community participation as well as the state of the art in social impact assessment and evaluations of participation in the field of cultural heritage.

1.2 Aim and objectives of the research

The research will draw further on debates on achieving wellbeing through engagement with heritage by delineating contextually relevant definitions of wellbeing, focusing at analysis of aspects at community level. Following a qualitative path, it will track perceived social values expressed by community members and explore their intersection with participation in heritage conservation and interpretation projects. The researcher aims to shed light on the under-researched relationship between social values (attributed by local communities, showing links with their social lives) and wider heritage values (evidential, historic, scientific etc. predominantly recognized by professionals and institutions in the sector)¹, a relationship considered crucial for achieving sustainable heritage management (Jones, 2016) and enhancing links between communities and their heritage. In one sense this assists in avoiding conflict but also in integrating heritage within frameworks for sustainable development at local level (see UN 2030 Agenda and Dessein et al, 2015).

The research aims to cover a gap in academic research within heritage studies, which while focusing so much on discussing community engagement and its value, it failed to make links with perceived social impacts or even project management frameworks and norms requirements that drive institutional practices. Moreover, by specifically delving into indicators for social wellbeing, it provides new perspectives for the field of inquiry around conceptualizing 'heritage impacts': putting the focus on community level links with heritage and not just on impacts as individual experiences from volunteering activities. The research will reflect on the social relevance of the practice of heritage management, looking for common indicators to assess social and heritage-related impacts, locating interrelations between them. It also aims at providing recommendations for heritage managers working with local communities to ensure efficiency and effectiveness of participatory projects and ultimately sustainability of those.

¹ See Fredheim and Khalaf heritage typologies (2016) vis a vis ones identified by English Heritage (2008) for example

Through exploring the *pathways of creation* of social wellbeing benefits on local level, the research will cover an existing gap in evidence-based research on social benefits, stemming from heritage participation. Contradicting bottom up / locally sourced, with 'generic', policy -drawn indicators for defining and measuring wellbeing impacts, the research results offer a base for critical benchmarking of indicators used in cultural impact assessment-it covers different levels of management and planning/governance and relates them to the potential of heritage projects to affect those wider processes. It also provides space for reflection on the alignment of higher, policy goals with institutional goals and daily heritage practice.

Those aspects are reflected in the core aim and objectives of the PhD that will be studied through the case study, shown in the following diagram (Fig.1):



Figure 1 Core aim and objectives of the research

1.3 Originality and value

The thesis developed a novel methodological approach and framework to social impact mapping and evaluating for heritage participation, based on analyzing the state of the art in social impact evaluation in the sector, project management literature and review of best practices for Social Impact Assessment. In that sense, the reflections on methodology of data collection are useful to allow for incorporating social impact assessment in current practices and integrate it with community profiling, needs analysis or wider cultural mapping approaches, the value of which has been endorsed in the cultural heritage sector.

The research also covers a gap in existing research around value of participatory projects from the perspective and less heard voices of professionals/practitioners, through providing key areas for perceived institutional impacts, both internal in practices and structures but also external, regarding networks, collaborations and partnerships development.

The framing of those through the social capital theory and conceptual framework, also responds to critical areas for advancing knowledge in the field of heritage as: the 'typology and diversity of possible links between social capital and cultural heritage' (Graham et al., 2009).

The multi-level systemic reciprocal impacts theoretical framework, and the whole conceptualisation of the research, brings together perspectives of different agents on the same type of impacts is novel as it enables crossing and connecting multiple levels of analysis and processes, a rather complex task: from managerial practices ,institutional strategies to planning and heritage governance and thus can inform that integrated indicators development for evaluating the impacts of such projects that resonate to all levels, while enhancing communication between institutions and communities, on realistic terms.

Its explanatory power is tested for studying reciprocal impacts or 'effective' long -term participation in heritage for both institutions and communities. The overarching theoretical approach- based on the sociological concept of reciprocity- expands the inquiry, including studies of participation vis a vis power dynamics and political theories, to stir the focus on social exchanges. At the same time, is embedding spatial aspects that affect the interactions not only between agents (communities, heritage professionals), but also their engagement with heritage assets as places of personal and communal significance. In terms of the sociological theories touched, it merged aspects of Giddens's structuration theory (1984) which suggests that structure is linked with agency in explaining how social systems work) to allow systemic explanations at the multiple levels of interdependencies between actors. Bourdieu's theoretical points on social capital and practice theory (1979) on the other hand, explains social capital development (structural and cognitive aspects) by viewing participation as a social activity.

Although some of aforementioned social impacts from participation and few implications for institutional practices have been discussed in the literature before (Murzyn-Kupisz & Działek 2013; Addell et al, 2016; Human, 2015; Swensen et al, 2012:1-19), less light has been shed on impacts for internal practices of organizations. Neither has the interdependency or exact way of how one reinforces the other been researched and evidenced. The thesis originality lies in the first systemic attempt to illustrate causal interrelationships between different such impacts of participatory projects: a novel application of system dynamics tools in heritage implies also novel conceptualization and way of studying complex heritage systems, such as rural heritage landscapes. This tool comes as a novel response to the claims for "managing change" in heritage and can be the base for further understanding of complex interrelationships between multiple actors that form the heritage decision making nexus.

1.4 Chapters' outline

Chapter 1

In the Introduction chapter of the thesis, the researcher will present the research questions together with the process to locate key issues around leverage of community participatory projects for yielding synergetic and reciprocal community and institutional benefits as well as present the core hypotheses around them. The main definitions of the concepts used will be set in this chapter and a short background of the research will be provided to how the theme is located within inquiries around sustainable heritage management and the design /value of participatory heritage projects.

The research aim and objectives will be presented and the way they link to specific chapters and steps of the research process will be clarified. The value and originality of the research, both in its theoretical conceptualization and methodological execution, will be presented, together with how it is contributing to a deeper understanding of the field.

Chapter 2_Literature review

The literature review comprises an interdisciplinary synthesis of published literature in the areas of heritage, sociology, and sustainable development together with impact evaluation and organizational, project management studies.

Firstly the researcher draws upon literature in the field of cultural heritage management especially looking at definitions of /factors that contribute to sustainable heritage and heritage management. The academic discourse around the contested concepts of community engagement, participation and empowerment, are discussed in conjunction with recent theoretical conceptualization of heritage as socio-cultural practice, and within the "heritage as enabler of sustainability" discourse. Aim is to establish the state-of-the-art and uncover the role of participation for sustainable aspects of heritage management in the long run.

Secondly, findings of a parallel literature research around heritage and wellbeing benefits follow, with a focus on impact evaluation studies, exploring types of impacts stemming from participation for both institutions and communities. This part aims at clarifying methodological differences and importance on focusing on individual vs. communal level of analysis but also provides a background of different indicators, frameworks and methodologies used in research (suggesting different epistemological foci and wellbeing definitions, from individual wellbeing aggregative approaches to social cohesion/ collective wellbeing approaches also divided between academic and policy-commissioned studies). It specifically discusses collective level, looking at social capital related literature within heritage and cultural participation studies and sets emphasis on the role of sense of place (through its affective, cognitive and contextual aspects; place attachment, identity,

dependency Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006; Proshansky 1978, p.155) for developing and sustaining social capital but also affecting behavior towards heritage as place.

In an attempt to define the state of the art in social impact evaluation and identify research gaps, a methodological framework based on principles of Social Impact Assessment- that is not currently used in the cultural heritage sector- will be also presented and discussed.

The researcher will critique existing methodologies, identifying gaps, and reflect on their aims, conceptual and theoretical assumptions as well as applicability in different contexts.

Chapter 3_Theoretical framework

This chapter provides the theoretical lens through which the researcher has chosen to review this wide body of literature, which includes different epistemological perspectives to explain social and institutional impact formation through participation. Viewing participation as a social experience but also a social exchange between experts and communities, the overarching theoretical framework for the exploration of the research questions, departs from institutional communitarianism ideas that advocate for participatory heritage management, but looks at pragmatic issues, via actor's interactions towards reaching this ideal.

The overarching theoretical approach is based on the concept of reciprocity: As defined in social psychology (Gouldner, 1960; Rook, 1987), reciprocity can be considered a social norm that makes it possible to build continuing relationships based on trust, ensuring the survival of social entities. Are community groups' (and their members') behavior towards heritage institutions affected by reciprocity? (or by reciprocal relationships creation).

At this light, sociological theorists' ideas on reciprocity, trust and social capital are presented as they can be instrumental in explaining the social experience of participation (in the form of volunteering or community-led project making) and the effect of networks, relationships social interactions and exchanges between local community members and heritage experts/managers in long-term behavior shaping towards institutions (as social entities) and by extension to heritage. The theory also allows to study impacts of participation in social lives of communities at both individual and community level.

The theoretical framework is based on bringing together theory of structuration (Giddens, 1984) and social capital theorists like Bourdieu (1986): the first allows explanations at the systemic level interdependencies between actors, by considering structure and agency as interlinked and taking into account the influence of external social structures in our inferences. The second provides a base for understanding functional, structural and cognitive aspects of social capital, its value for individuals and groups and how it is utilized as a resource by individuals, while developing patterns of behavior towards social entities (like heritage organizations or other community groups). Finally, a synergy approach to social capital as theorized by Woolcock and Narayan (2000) is

presented that allows us to view clearer the interdependencies between social and institutional capital formation, while considering their function as one of interacting social entities.

The links with sense of place and connections with spatial entities formed through these social interactions are also accounted for in our final framework and based on the conceptualization of the concept of sense of place as presented in chapter 2. This way the final framework merges sociological epistemological positions with aspects of environmental determinisms, following pragmatic and holistic approaches to exploring the phenomenon. It allows therefore to understand behaviors toward heritage whenever they are not mediated by social actors and isolate them, to understand the leverage of participatory experiences in collective behaviors towards heritage safeguarding.

The chapter devotes special attention to the operationalization of theoretical aspects of reciprocity and trust through presenting leading approaches to social networks and social capital formation and sustaining. Its various levels, types and forms (bonding, bridging and linking) (cognitive, relational, structural) are presented. The chapter ends by explaining how those levels, types and forms of social capital (as indicators for assessing social wellbeing in community level) are linked to aspects of rural wellbeing using the theories presented.

These theoretical insights assist to form the basis of our conceptual and theoretical framework, proposed towards the end of this chapter: this can guide explanation of how socio-spatial impacts are created through a process of heritage participation, for both communities and institutions and locate reciprocal links/ interdependencies at a systemic level, covering both design and planning phases of projects.

Chapter 4_Case study

In this chapter the researcher will present the case study and will resonate why it qualifies as an interesting case and context to focus on. Orkney Islands provide a representative case for exploring both rural, small tight-knit community relationships and networks (affecting social impacts but also types and modalities of participation). Baseline data, which were identified through fieldwork, on social issues and community needs present for both communities and individuals in the context, set the basis for further exploration of leverage of heritage participation to impact on such issues, like social isolation and loneliness common in rural, remote communities. Contextual constraints stemming from the remote nature of the island poses resource related challenges to heritage management as well, rendering the case ideal to study any possible linkages between social and institutional approaches and impacts.

Basic demographic information and geographical identity features of place initially set the start of the chapter, allowing us to identify specific communities of place and localities where they reside.

The chapter, following, is providing an overview of the tangible (multiplicity of built heritage assets (archaeological to wartime heritage) and intangible heritage that lies in the island landscape of Orkney, as a rich, challenging context for both community and managers to define heritage values and prioritize actions for heritage safeguarding.

It continues with presenting the multiplicity of heritage actors within the context, depicting both official institutions dealing with heritage management and planning, their remit and common approach to participation, but also delineates a profile of currently active community groups, associations and heritage trusts that engage with protection and management of local heritage assemblages in Orkney.

Finally, the chapter briefly presents the specific projects and activities under focus, starting with an introduction to the Scapa Flow Landscape Partnership Scheme (LPS), a scheme realized under the umbrella Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), its structure, aim and key objectives around community engagement and landscape heritage protection in Orkney.

Chapter 5 Methodology: Data collection, methods and limitations and methods for analysis

This chapter starts with a description of the ontological, epistemological and methodological directions that shaped the research enquiry, along with a thorough account of its fieldwork techniques and tools employed to explore the research questions.

The researcher will discuss in detail the fieldwork design for the two phases of data collection and justify how they relate to and reflect the research questions and the theoretical perspective chosen. The design and realization of the data collection process, including semi-structured interviews with local heritage managers, council heritage officers and residents who were involved in Scapa flow Landscape Partnership Scheme will be described together with how the first phase informed the sampling strategy and focus of research (selection of specific sub-cases) for the second phase to study the different typologies of participation in the context.

Additionally, the researcher will discuss the advantages and limitations of the chosen methods and if or how these may affect the interpretation of the data and the results of the study.

Following, the inductive thematic analysis of the data will be presented, explaining how it followed a first stage of first open coding, and then axial coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) In our case at that latter stage, relationships between the coding categories were refined and major themes explaining participation's impact creation were defined.

The design and results of applying another analytical tool for triangulation, causal loop diagrams, used to explore systemic interrelationships between social and institutional changes will be presented.

The methodology of coding textual information into cause-effect variables and merging variables to create causal diagrams -that represent behavior or groups of participants and groups of managers respectively – will be described.

Chapter 6_Linear findings of thematic analysis

This chapter will present the main aggregative categories that emerged through organizing and re-organizing nodes in the qualitative analysis software Nvivo, ending up in identifying 3 core, descriptive themes about social impacts, institutional and reciprocal impacts and 7 analytical themes that define the production of impacts from participation-or the leverage/effectiveness of it- but also the potential for mutual (synergies) and reinforcing impacts between communities and heritage institutions (reciprocity). Out of these seven themes, two (Perception of role of heritage for wellbeing and Perception of benefits for heritage management and institutional practices) are closely related to the final ‘descriptive’ themes (i.e. Directly referring to aspects fo research question like social and institutional impacts) offering more contextual information on how the different groups (managers/planners and participants) think about those.

Nvivo analysis findings, related with the description of the context are not presented here, but are incorporated in the description of the case study (referring to community profile and social needs, project feature and structures, as well as perceived features of island identity that affect community’s behavior towards institutions and heritage).

Finally, the ‘analytical themes’ (i.e. inductively emerging form the data, explanatory in nature, aiming at explaining how impacts types are linked and how they emerge) developed in Nvivo are going to be presented and the way they relate to each other towards the formation of a conceptual framework is presented: this explains both managers and participants’ behavior towards participation and the impact generation through participation as a socially interactive process that includes heritage assets.

The findings on social and institutional impacts are briefly discussed and potentially negative observed impacts or counter-effects are reflected upon (eg. discussing the long-term impacts of accumulation of bonding social capital in rural close-knit communities).

Chapter 7_Causal Loop diagrams analysis

This chapter will present the findings of analyzing data via causal loop diagrams, a tool adopted from system dynamics, to map here causal interrelationships between various types of impacts and allow for observations of behavior change during time.

Key insights from applying this secondary analytical method, for triangulating information between groups of participants will be presented. The findings allow viewing ‘pathways to impacts’, as ‘change’ rather than simply providing a descriptive list of impacts as the thematic analysis did

(either social, organizational or heritage resource related ones). In that sense the analysis allowed for accounting for 'why and how' these impacts were achieved and which factors enabled or contributed to reciprocal behaviors toward heritage and institutions.

The findings are presented per group of participants, with individual insights given for key informants, starting with managers, moving to planners and then into three types of participants identified according to variances in processes of participation (volunteers, community-led project members and museum-led project participants).

The aims of the analytical causal loops per participants include locating changes attributed to participation on how participation affects:

1. Social processes, structures and behaviors that contributed to social wellbeing: community impacts
2. Institutional processes and behaviors: heritage management, project delivery and project planning impacts
3. Behaviors towards heritage as place: community engagement with heritage and heritage planning, impacts at local governance (on state of conservation/maintenance of heritage elements within landscape)

and locating interactions between those three sub-systems: are there links between changes in behavior of managers, institutions and communities?

Chapter 8_Discussion

The first part, starts with connecting findings from thematic analysis with the causal loop diagram finds and with the theoretical and conceptual framework, including notions of linking, reciprocal and cognitive social capital and their implications in level of heritage management and heritage governance/planning will be presented. The discussion reflects upon key positive impacts/ benefits and potential challenges for communities and institutions (it complements the discussion of negative impacts in ch.6) stemming from the two core modalities of participation.

The way the two core typologies lead to varied impact pathways is also explained-as power equilibrium and roles of managers/ institutions and communities in the process varied substantially-providing clear methodological suggestions for assessing impacts of various activities using suitable indicators.

The level where impacts are expressed (heritage project management to heritage planning and governance level) is also part of the discussion together with the sustainability and legacy of the projects themselves.

The biggest challenges in the findings are analyzed: the issue of '*developing empowerment in communities while enhancing trust to institutions*' and the 'effect of sense of place on shaping (individual) behavior towards heritage' (through perceptions and visions of communal places).

A key part of the chapter is devoted in delineating the ‘preconditions of reciprocal interactions’ between communities and institutions ensuring effective collaboration towards heritage safeguarding in the long run. Through discussing where and when reciprocity was observed a framework for reciprocal impacts that links institutional practices with community’ behaviors is presented, that can be adapted to both modalities of participation (and their different procedural but also structural characteristics).

A section with recommendations for managers and planners to achieve reciprocity brings together the first part (conditions for reciprocity) and findings from analysis (role and responsibilities and interaction between managers, institutions and communities) that identified challenges to overcome for managers, institutions and planning professionals, in order to achieve beneficial impacts for both heritage protection and social sustainability at local level. Key repetitive themes that deal with the role of heritage managers as brokers of relationships and institutions as key agents for network development are also discussed here. Finally, the chapter finishes with major key points that will be reinstated in the conclusions chapter, responding to the main research questions of the thesis.

Chapter 9_Conclusions

The last chapter of the thesis will attempt to position the research results within the wider theoretical frame work and set the limits of generalizing the results. It does the first by reflecting on the theoretical framework in relation to the core findings and the second by critically comparing those to existing research. It will specifically reflect upon the key finding of variances in the leverage of the two core modalities of participation (volunteering/ institutionalized participation vs. community-led) to produce long term social impacts for communities and affect behaviors towards heritage. Specifically, looking back at the analysis of emergent themes from local community vis a vis experts’ narratives, it discusses the power of empowered community groups for leading heritage-making and therefore the leverage of community-led projects for reciprocal benefits.

The conclusion will address the ethics at the base of heritage co-creation processes and the new role of heritage managers in this process (as facilitators and knowledge resources allocators), that requires close understanding of local social issues and sensitivities. The thesis holds that changes in perception of in the local institutions’ role in relation to management (agency, communication) and contribution to social development (social wellbeing, cohesion, inclusion) are considered fundamental prerequisites for success of participatory projects but also crucial to achieve substantial/sustained social impact at local level. Recommendations for managers and professionals to achieve this level of reflective practice will be made.

In light of its new empirical evidence and corroborations (chapter 8), this chapter presents the core proposition of the thesis: that rural, remote contexts can function as successful models for sustainable management of heritage resources and community wellbeing through a balanced approach. This consist of a symbiotic co-existence of community-led and institutional-led project design and participation typologies, while holding an imminent role in re-discovering socially-impactful communitarian governance models that can assist heritage institutions to adopt more reflective and responsive approaches.

This final chapter will also articulate the value of the research for the heritage studies area in terms of contribution to academic knowledge and describe innovative methodological aspects developed through the thesis. It will finally make suggestions for further research that could take on the findings while considering key limitations identified through the research process followed.

1.5 Background and scope of the research

The following section will provide basic background of the research, definitions of terms used and clarification of the core assumptions made when the research questions were formed. Finally, it will define core gaps in the relevant literature and establish the state-of the art in the field, which assisted the researcher to develop the scope and objectives of the research.

1.5. 1 Role of heritage for society and local social sustainability

Over 25 years after becoming publicly visible through the Brundtland report (WCED, 1987) the notion of sustainable development based on intergenerational equity and balance, both now and for the future, cannot be considered new. Despite the fact that cultural heritage seems nowadays to be acknowledged as a key factor in the sustainability discourse (Dessein et al, 2015; Gustafsson and Mellár, 2018), a majority of national and international actors are still struggling to achieve integration into policy agendas (Faircough and Auclair 2015). The goal that Brundtland report had set has been criticized (ibid, Sneddon et al, 2005), regarding the ill-defied concept of needs; differences among individual needs across time and space, indicate that seeking global solutions can be problematic.-The role of cultural heritage as a driver to sustainable development after Rio summit's (1992) calls, has been viewed as assisting to Sustainable development (SD) goals like social inclusiveness and economic regeneration (Blake, 2015). The role of culture as an enabler of sustainable development on the other hand was recently considered possible through a human-centred approach to development, assuming responsiveness to the cultural context and the particularities of a place and community in order to achieve really sustainable and effective future strategies that would affect people's lives (Unesco, 2013).

This research draws on the newly located potential role of cultural heritage as an enabler for social sustainability, as expressed firstly through the urges of the 2005 European Framework Convention (Faro convention, 2005). This debated on the Value of Cultural Heritage for society through a human rights approach (Bonnici 2009) to heritage management, prioritizing democratic participation for interested, marginalized and local communities to foster social cohesion and mutual respect (Logan, 2012, p. 236). These enlarged foci of heritage practice in relation to an extended idea of social inclusiveness (Schofield 2015, 2014). Thérond (2009) connects these emerging communities with the academic discourse on creating new states of balance and “shared responsibility” between them and the respective functions of institutional experts. These notions of democratization, inclusiveness and shared responsibility also resonate with participation in planning decisions and governance, rather than only engagement in interpretation of heritage and its day to day conservation and management. The research is going to attempt bring together those institutional functions with community functions and roles within participatory projects, to look closer at the dynamics and suggest pathways to achieve balanced approach and effective projects for both.

1.4.1.1 Heritage management as a social practice

Various academics in search of a current definition of heritage and approaches to study it, understand heritage as a process socially defined, a part of culture, while at the same time supporting and transmitting culture (Auclair, Fairclough 2015). Heritage this way was considered able to contribute through cultural sustainability to human well-being and socially- and culturally-sensitive policy. Smith in her influential writing on the *Uses of heritage* (2006) also provides a conceptualization of heritage that seeks to move away from its persistent material connections. While those fostered an interpretation of heritage as a cultural product/ resource (with social and political functions) (Lowenthal, 1985; 1996), innovative approaches like Smith’s introduce a novel understanding of heritage as a social and cultural process. Multiple academic voices support this subsequently emergent analytic framework, that treats heritage and thus its management as social practice, recognizing its communicative aspect (Dicks, 2007) and its dynamic character in informing current societies’ conflicts and value assessments (Ashworth and Graham, 2005, 7). Harrison (2013, p.4) adds to this purely social ideal the effect of nonhuman “affective” agency of things, creating a vision for heritage as “connection, materiality, and dialogue,” expanding heritage’s scope to involve concepts evoked by materiality.

Within this school of thought, the thesis explores an extended conceptualization of heritage, stemming from this academic discourse encompassing both material and immaterial sides. In search of impacts to “heritage management”, the research draws upon Pendlebury’s theorization of “heritage conservation –planning”, perceived as a social entity under constant iteration, an assemblage (Delanda, 2006 in Pendlebury 2013). Pendlebury (2013) defines an assemblage as a non-essentialist, non-totalizing social entity, constructed through specific historical processes and

from heterogeneous parts. In fact, planning and management are constantly redefined in practice by multiple actors intervening in the process, including local authorities, institutions and local groups that mediate in decision making. An assemblage in this sense embraces institutional organizations, norms and objects and normalized practices and is utilized by the researcher to understand the various actors and their relationships involved in heritage conservation and planning processes.

Various academics and institutions leading research in the field (among others; Getty Conservation Institute, Sullivan, 2012; Demas, 2002; Mason & Avrami, 2002; Mason, 2002; de la Torre et al., 2005b) following the well-established value based approach framework to heritage conservation also recognized socio-political aspects of heritage process focusing on the right of multiple stakeholders to participate in conservation (Mason & Avrami, 2002: 25). However, it was only recently that heritage conservation has been considered not anymore an end in itself- but means for furthering the well-being of individuals, responding to the wider expectations of society. This realization shapes the ontological purpose of heritage conservation and planning and asks for redefinition of processes that are usually driven by preexisting goals and conservation objectives to include wider social and cultural considerations around development.

Recently, most heritage academic publications were relating positive social impacts from engagement mostly with tourism-related income, underlying the economic aspect in sustaining communities (like Figgis and Bushell, 2007, Lopez-Guzman et al, 2011). Archaeology holds another share in this niche of “implicit” impacts studies, providing however few evidence and many case studies for impacts rising from the public value of community archaeology projects. (Simpson, 2008, Marshall, 2002; Tully, 2007, for visitor and participant surveys see Merriman, 1991; Streeter, 2005; Rosenfeld, 2006). Few academic studies (Lipe 2007; Sayer 2015) lately draw upon the wider social value of the practice of archaeology and heritage, as introduced by Lipe (1984), and expanded on by Darvill (1995), based on sociological theories and continued in the work of Jones (2016 and 2019) on understanding ‘social values’.

It can be argued that there is certainly much less focus on and definitely less evidence on the social and wellbeing impacts of participation in heritage and its conservation rather than on economic and other impacts. The research subsequently will attempt to cover this gap.

1.5. 2 Communities, place and participation

Communities have been since the mid 90’s brought up in the heritage discourse within the values-based approach and in relation with the so-called subject of ownership (legal versus moral) (Byrne, 1991) bringing up questions for heritage managers (“experts”) in relation to acknowledging the rights of (especially indigenous) local populations (“non-experts”) to decide over their past (Sorensen and Carman, 2009).

In the aftermath of Faro, the importance of local agendas set by various non-expert groups and communities for heritage practice is highly valued (Wofersan in Schofield, 2014). This points to the emphasized role of participation of those communities in the process of appropriation or even co-creation of heritage, creating space in the academic discourse for reflecting on new foci for heritage practice and heritage definitions in relation to inclusiveness (Schofield, 2015).

The aforementioned communities can be identified in multiple ways (Waterton & Smith, 2010) either related to space, creating “geographic” communities of place or “community of interest” (Goldschmidt, 1947; Kearns and Joseph, 1995). These descriptions are consistent with the notion of “place” which continues to be a central aspect of landscape and rural studies (Bradley and Lowe, 1984; Johnston, 1991; Yarwood, 1996).

In this light, the research considers as an initial presumption, local communities as communities of place within the enclosed boundaries of the island where they reside. The proposed context offers a phenomenally clearly defined geographical border for the island residential community, within which various communities of interest may participate actively in heritage and its management building towards what Therond (2009) calls ‘shared responsibility’ between them and functions of institutional experts. The thesis focuses on those communities, aiming initially to explore impacts to all regionally located groups actively involved with heritage and then trace the existence of knock-off impacts to the rest of island (“inactive”) residential community.

1.5.3 Role of communities and active participation for sustainable heritage management

The aforementioned innovative and emerging conceptualizations of heritage, communities and its management, provide certain challenges in defining what constitutes sustainable practice. When would this ‘assemblage’ of management and planning of heritage be considered sustainable? The thesis aims to explore notion of sustainability linked to longevity of maintenance and ability to bequest heritage (its tangible and intangible values) to future generations. It aims to explore:

what is the role of communities in those processes?

Unesco (2010) provides clear directions aiming to delineate the sustainable management of cultural heritage at the service of development. This bears at least two important dimensions- that of longevity of the material aspects and that of economic, environmental and social viability. Social viability of cultural heritage, is thought as obtained through participation of local populations in its management, requires to ensure collective and individual pride in heritage, interest and involvement in its protection. This is the aspect of sustainable management that this research will focus on integrating the concept of longevity of material aspects considered possible to be achieved through continuous engagement in heritage. Through this active and continuous engagement non- experts have the opportunity to grow their knowledge around heritage

attributes, increase their interest and willingness to protect by delegating heritage values with professionals, institutions and groups of existing gatekeepers. Aspects of material viability are reviewed only regarding the way they are interconnected with and stemming from participation- this is to say that an assessment of material resources is not attempted by the researcher, but the research focuses on perceptions around heritage benefits, usually implying improved state of conservation of objects or sights or safeguarding of intangible heritage resources.

Unesco's recent working document on sustainable development (2010) clarifies also the important gap in existing indicators to measure social aspects of sustainable heritage management providing a clear gap for the researcher to cover. Those indicate a lack of interest from institutions and public guidelines on the subject and underline the difficulty of the task (see eg. English Heritage 2008a, definition of sustainable heritage management concerning on materiality ignoring the importance of actors that preserved the material without any assessment of wider socio-economic instrumental benefits, recognized by Pendlebury (2013) and Waterton (2010).

Landorf (2009) presents a relevant definition of sustainable heritage management framework recognizing conflicts between potential heritage and society benefits from heritage management. The researcher following this approach, chooses a bottom up research design and is concerned with perceptions of social impacts coming from both residents and managers, trying to map areas of collision and conflict, aspiring this way to inform management approaches and policy from the bottom up.

Until recently, academic work has focused on supporting positive impacts of community participation for SHM, mainly within the discourse on sustainable tourism management (Li and Hurter, 2015; Millar 2006; Smith 2009). These unavoidably tend to relate benefits mostly around economic benefits, that assume benefits for all or locally, only if equitable distribution is assumed . these also find value of heritage through its market values, raising concern about the underexplored impact of potential counter –effects on community wellbeing (Labadi, 2013) or the underexplored intrinsic and other instrumental values of heritage engagement outside of use for touristic development, which may not be adequate for rural economies based on agriculture for example.

1.5.4 Role of participation for institutions –adaptive management and governance models

While the research looked predominantly on the underexplored social impacts of participation from local community perspective, the systemic approach undertaken required a broader lens on existing function and perception of participation by managers and planners engaged in decision making and shaping of heritage projects.

In literature, the discussion around participation as a process and institutions' role is strongly linked with issue of co-production models in curation and interpretation of heritage objects (usually in museum studies) and adaptive management and collaborative governance (linked with level of urban planning).

Considering heritage as an assemblage, that spans both planning and management fields, means looking at engagement processes and how they affect both levels of decision making.

Due to its spatial nature, heritage has a key role in spatial planning and relevant decision-making processes around platemaking eg. Assigning significance in certain aspects of built environment. Within management and cultural resource management literature (that focus on conservation and specifically that of archaeology) heritage is viewed as a resource, a set of objects that are to be protected, conserved and interpreted, able to produce value in the form of many capitals (with a focus on economic growth generation through tourism) to enable their sharing between different communities interested on them.

Museum literature on participatory projects suggests ways for developing effective 'co-creative' processes relevant for (museum-based) interpretation projects: projects illustrated in Jones and Holden (2008) (and Simon, 2010 among others) provide a definition of co-creation used sometimes inter-changeably with co-production (Boyle and Harris, 2009) Such research focuses on attributes of managers' roles and abolished hierarchies that can enable success of collaboratively planned and delivered projects.

Stakeholder engagement and public participation in conservation and relevant decisions have been considered a means of achieving : participatory democracy (community empowerment and providing the opportunity to develop knowledge for making informed choices, wider transparency in decision-making but also community empowerment and consensus, or less conflict over decisions between actors holding variant forms of power (Yee, 2010).

A relevant body of work on governance models, within planning and local , specifically rural development, is also very relevant for the research due to insights it provides on role of community engagement, processes of inclusion in decision making and wider links to local development that usually are missing in the museum studies literature.

A body of research on participatory decision making considers the challenges and additional 'cost' it may bring on policymakers and managers (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Jordan et al., 2013; Marzuki et al., 2012), while a wider body of research endorses the value of consultation platforms (ie. enabling exchanges of information/ collaborations increase citizen engagement in democratic decision making) (Madden, 2010; Duxbury, 2007, Duxbury and Jeannotte, 2011) .What is in for public institutions seems to be the opportunity to be held accountable by the people they serve and legitimise their role in the system. Social and collective learning (Koorosh et al., 2015) can be considered one crucial positive impact area stemming from participatory projects (Harrison et al,

1998). Putting this in the context of local development, more authors working on rural development and policy making, support that through creating new shared discourses of development (which revolve around view and visions of a place and its identity) leads to mutual learning between actors and can be transformational for policy outcomes.

The work of McAreavey and McDonagh (2011) looking at how processes of engaging local rural communities has worked in LEADER programmes, identified key challenges for achieving effectiveness: institutional (in) capacity, legitimacy of local groups, navigating between stakeholder interests and sustainable tourism in practice.

The authors suggest that adaptive management encourages actors to “confer at an earlier stage so that they may, through a process of knowledge generation, identify the problems and agree the challenges from the outset, thereby avoiding the pursuit of blatant self-interest” McAreavey and Mc Donagh (2010, pp.184)

Such authors recognize however that rural areas have complex, multifunctional capacities with a range of different ‘interest groups’ claiming their rights to, and use of, different rural spaces. Such discussions position heritage in the centre of rights to land discussions. More authors have been dealing with processes of participation given the popularity of partnership models for rural governance in Europe and beyond (Cheverett 1999; Goodwin 2003; Shortall 2004).

McAreavey’s work (2006 p.85) considers the challenges for collaborative approaches in rural development practice to be linked with micro-politics: “the hidden and subtle processes that bind groups together, including trust, power and personal perceptions and motivations”(Ibid).

Such works use methodologies that focus on process analysis and social capital in terms of studying how norms and relations operate locally both positively and negatively, showing the way towards relevant analytical approaches to understand those relationships that support collaboration.

Various authors however digging deeper on the process of engagement in planning, emphasize the key role of wide representation of various sub-groups in communication and consultation platforms, to allow for heterogeneous perceptions and interests to be heard and subsequently included in planning (Byrd, 2007; Byrd et al., 2009; Jordan et al., 2013; Ostrom, 1990; Waligo et al., 2013).

Healey’s work is also significantly relevant (1997, 2003) as it provides a novel critique to collaborative planning theory and suggests a move towards an approach to governance, that is grounded in the resources of ‘formal knowledge and empathetic understanding between those with a stake ..which can take into account ‘the value-laden dimensions of people’s concerns about their local environments’, as she writes (Healey, 1997, p.284). McGuirk (2001: 195) also underlined the importance of including place qualities and the need to consider communities’ identity expression when developing representation processes in planning.

Healey's work recognises that such an approach not only produces social relations which provide a store of 'capital' to be drawn on in the future, but also underlines its contribution to development of institutional capacity at place level to enable a proactive, locally-relevant development. In that sense establishes a link between place identity and social capital development but also reciprocal relationships-a notion which is developed by the thesis as part of the theoretical and analytical framework in the next chapters.

Chapter 2: Establishing the state-of-the-art

2.1 Concepts, terms and critical debates

2.1.1 Defining community wellbeing and approaches to evaluation of impacts of cultural heritage projects

Looking at existing studies that trace positive social impacts from participation in broader cultural activities including heritage and museums (Fig.2) one can identify multiple foci around the wider concept of wellbeing: some studies relate it explicitly to health, tracing impact on physical or mental health (Veenstra, 2002), while others focus more on psychological wellbeing (Kawachi et al, 2008, Siegrist 2000), or subjective wellbeing). Another body of work is looking at community level and policy related social or societal impacts (Murzyn-Kupisz and Dziasek, 2013), offering a broader lens to looking into both space-relevant impacts and encompass discussions around the role of institutions in shaping those.

Studies that focus on impacts for rural communities and isolated community groups can offer more specific frameworks (through more rare and not linked with impacts of heritage), linking specific activities with potential for responding to common issues in rural communities, like isolation, ageing population issues etc Relevant methodological insights can be drawn, for tracing social impacts through studies featuring social capital indicator-based approaches built around civic engagement, social relationships, trust and reciprocity and they also look at longer-term impacts. An overview of the studies reviewed will be given in this chapter to locate gaps in literature and different approaches that can guide the inquiry.

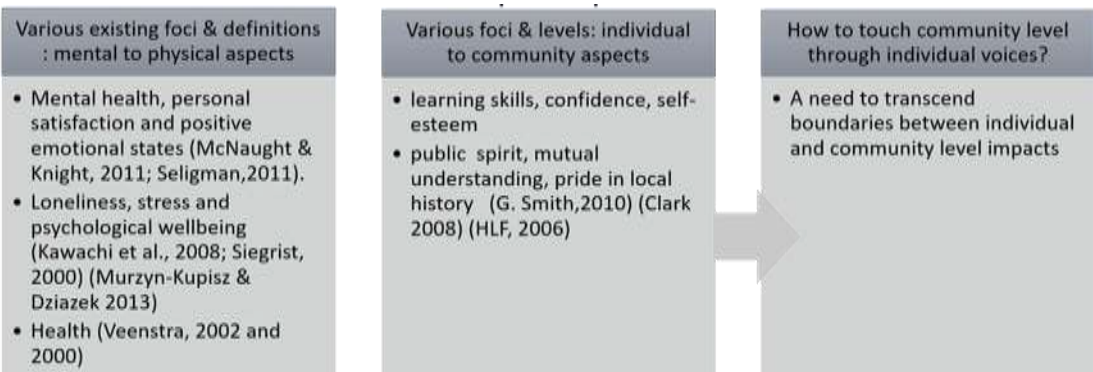


Figure 2 The figure compiles different foci of existing social impact studies and two main levels of analysis around participation in cultural activities (Source: Author)

The literature review indicated another key division in analytical frameworks used in impact studies (that connects methods, tools and contents or findings of the analysis): the different level of analysis that studies adopt, either looking at impacts for individuals (and looking more at

subjective perceptions of health) or aspiring to provide aggregated inferences for communities or even the society as a whole (these tend to focus on quantitative approaches in order to aggregate findings and generalize). These automatically suggest a gap with few studies that look at community level impacts or social inclusion and group relationships (see fig.2).

While most of the aforementioned studies have in a way adopted a definition of 'wellbeing', this is not theory-driven, explicitly stated or even consciously chosen (fig.2). With this in mind, looking at types of social impacts identified may be more meaningful to inform theoretical base of what social impacts can occur from participation in heritage (and guide further inquiry). Following, the relationship with social capital and its relevance with participation in heritage will be explained.

Looking at social impacts through a wider wellbeing lens, leads to a large body of theory, with Wellbeing being a rather elusive and frivolent concept, difficult to define not to mention measure, due to its intangible and multi-attribute nature (Griffin, 1988). While during the latest decades it has been related with individual physical health and the seek for "quality of life" (Griffin, 1986; Seligman, 2011), there is also a huge number of studies that refer to wellbeing as happiness, associating it to mental health as well as more temporal emotional states and perceived personal satisfaction (Hernandez et al, 2007 in Rollero and De Picoli, 2010; Knight and McNaught, 2011; Seligman, 2011). Such approaches underline the individual level of assessment and are not considered for capturing impacts that occur through group activities, nor impacts for individuals and groups that may relate to improvements of living environment or management structures where they live.

Other authors , like Scott et al (2018, p.1), looking at value of culture for rural development, argued on the need to adopt approaches to account for its intrinsic value (as opposed to instrumental one), linking the wellbeing discourse with work on community resilience in rural studies and sustainable development studies. These suggest a focus on building community capacity, empowerment and ability to adapt to changes as key for community-level longer-term quality of life.

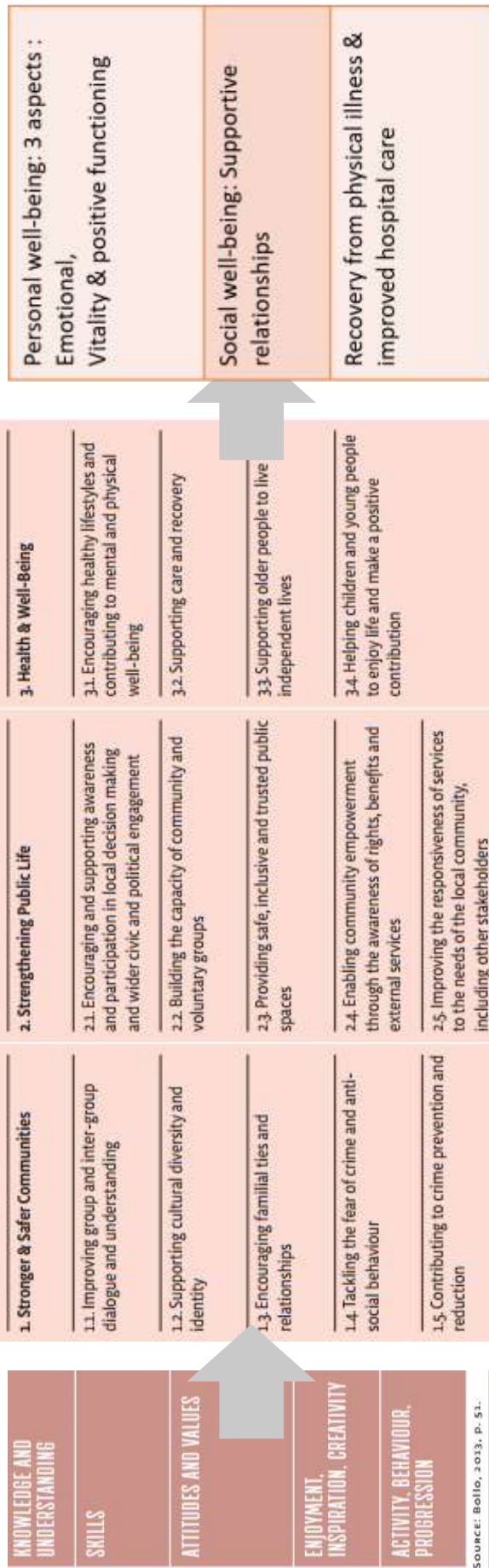


Figure 3 Aspects of wellbeing within museum-related research looking for social impacts of heritage: from Generic learning outcomes [Sources: left: Bollo (2013, p.51), to Generic social outcomes-middle (Source: Arts Council England, 2016) and right: Generic wellbeing outcomes for museums, Ander et al (2011) elaborated by author]

Museum studies offer indeed a richer body of literature on wellbeing impacts of engagement (see fig.3), connecting the notion to health and healing, through personal meaning-making (Ander et al., 2013; Chatterjee and Noble, 2013), but also connecting it with inter-personal, relational aspects like feelings of inclusion and belonging to group (Camic and Chatterjee, 2013). Despite this focus on the individual and personal wellbeing impacts of creative cultural activities (Cuypers et al., 2012; O’Neil, 2010) that were mostly studied through learning and development frameworks (see fig.3, Generic learning Outcomes as an example), there seems to be much less research, especially academic, realised in the potential of participation in heritage or engagement with other aspects of the historic environment and social benefits occurring at community level.

An exception to that is a recently developing body of research on “the potential community impacts of archaeology and heritage” (Ascherson, 2000; English Heritage, 2014; Holtorf,2005; Howard,2002; Merriman,2004; Simpson,2008). This is linked with critical literature on community engagement in heritage, that is unravelling the unfulfilled claims of community and public archaeology to produce social change. As, Darvill rightfully mentions (2015) while a general link between heritage, quality of life and well-being is made implicit in Faro Landscape Convention-emphasising the role of environment- and may be widely accepted, the theoretical underpinnings of it are still far from explored by academics.

A body of heritage research relates impacts on individual wellbeing through healing via contact with tangible aspects of heritage, and especially with the natural element of it; these include W.Gesler’s(1993) and William’s (1999 and 2002) work on therapeutic landscapes, that focus on places relevant to particular communities and demographic groups and their special needs. Those studies tend to put emphasis on extrinsic values, which are judged by personal, social and cultural perspectives and explore the subjective nature of them. However, they do not examine participation in heritage as a factor nor introduce the notion of ‘active engagement’, but rather observe the impacts of a physical interaction with the historic environment, ie. assessing recreational visits and contact with historic elements. Those strands of literature maintain strong links between wellbeing and sense of place relating the second to creation of positive community experiences and consequently wellbeing. This way, they implicitly connect with a part of policy reports in UK that rediscover the importance of place for local pride and belonging (Our place in time, 2014; Bradley et al, 2009).

These also relate with a body of work within environmental and behavioral psychology studies (see Milligan and Bingley, 2007) as well as heritage studies work (Davies and Huang, 2009 and more critically Waterton, 2005; Jones, 2004; Jones 2016), focusing on qualitatively assessed wellbeing

benefits via assessing sense of identity and appreciation of place, using the concept of sense of place.

The review also signified the need to bring together different strands of work realized within museum and heritage studies and merge the gap between wellbeing as stemming from interaction with objects and with places through a wider consideration of heritage experience (with museums offering insights on dealing with community projects in a sustainable way within institutional settings). The multiplicity of forms of participation, however, remains a core methodological issue, especially when studying together activities related to conservation and interpretation of heritage that may offer different level of engagement with place itself.

2.1.1.1 Towards an initial operational definition relevant to active heritage participation and long term, community wellbeing impacts

Looking into the positive effects of active heritage participation for long term community wellbeing and engagement with heritage required some theoretical understanding of the expected links between ‘what we do’ and also understanding the impact external conditions may have on shaping social life of individuals (thus, engagement in leisure activities and civic presence in decision making around heritage).

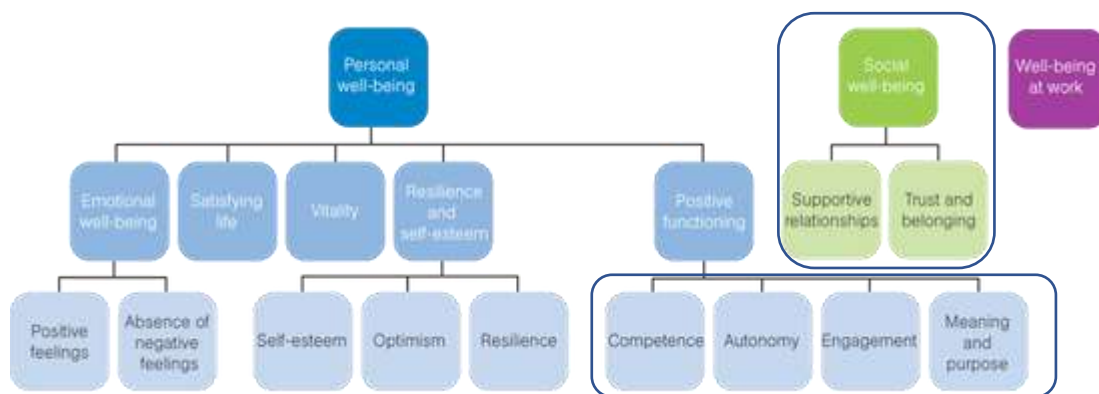


Figure 4 NEF’s holistic conceptual model on wellbeing consisting of personal and social aspects. (Source: NEF, 2009, p.2)

Considering participation as a social activity/social interaction, it was expected to affect social behaviour: thus, the concept of social wellbeing (for individual-group relationships), together with aspects of positive functioning (for individuals), was considered very relevant to the type of outcomes expected by activities of participation in heritage.

Social wellbeing, as described by NEF, is considered a headline measure of well-being, complementary to personal wellbeing, in the dynamic wellbeing model developed by the think – tank NEF (2009, see fig.5). It covers the wider social aspects resulting from supporting relationships, trust and belonging and NEF proposed a measurement approach that looks into levels of trust. These aspects, are relevant to the research in the sense that allow at theorizing what impacts are expected at individual- and group community level.

However a wide body of research papers looking at trust, tends to use another concept social capital and the vast research behind it to account for changes in social links, relationships and trust. Social capital has been considered an indicator of social wellbeing (Grootaert, 1998) but they have been also conceptualized by other authors as mutually reinforcing (Graczyk, 2002). As this provides a more solid base for the analysis a thorough set of definitions and theorization of the concepts around social capital is offered at Chapter 3, as it provides the base for the theoretical framework of the research. Reciprocity is one aspect of social capital together with trust and network development (Putnam, 1993): it is the norm that guides development of links between individuals. Social capital is between also key indicators for assessing attitudes to civic participation and therefore strongly linked with participatory projects. We will explore its relevance with heritage participation related research in the next sections.

2.1.2 Heritage participation, the concept of social capital and links to rural community development

Social capital is considered important within the nexus of social sustainability, quality of life and also wellbeing studies because of its positive contribution to a range of aspects of community development relevant to policy makers and researchers. These start from personal well-being (Helliwell and Putnam, 2004) and health (especially mental well-being and combatting loneliness) –as involvement in social/collective networks has been seen to avert risk of depression (Kawachi et al., 2008; Siegrist, 2000) or simply stimulate social life (in Murzyn-Kupisz and Dziasek, 2013). Its benefits have been traced in many levels: individual, community, regional, national or even international (Halpern, 2001). In that sense there are parallels between social capital and life quality assessment within communities (Putnam, 1993, 2000, 2003), regarding aspects of social and citizen life like ethnic tensions, lower political efficacy, less collective action, lower confidence and trust in government, perception of lower quality of life of residents (see also New Economic Foundation, 2000). It is therefore evident from existing research that social capital affects mental wellbeing at individual level and ‘social wellbeing’ (NEF, 2000 definition) at community level through participation in networks and civic participation in collective decisions. The way participation in the various levels can be mapped and analysed however, differs depending on epistemological and theoretical base of each study performed.

In relation with heritage participation specifically, capital related discussions (and specifically social capital ones) relate with community development and emancipatory approaches to development, but also with broader discussions on role of heritage for social conclusion and cohesion in various urban contexts (vis a vis issues of globalization and segregation due to identity differentiation).

Social capital is related to the profits at the individual and the macro level that can be achieved through networking, co-operation and the resulting formation of trust (Coleman, 1990; Hanifan, 1916).

2.1.2.1 Links between social capital, community development and participation: the rural dimension

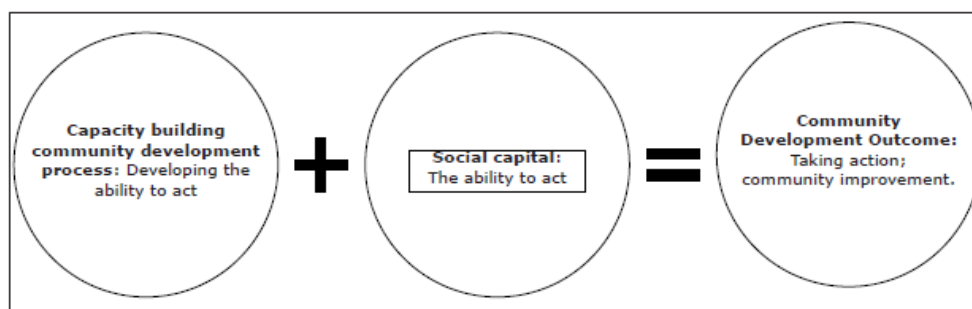


Figure 5 Social capital and community development. (Source: Mitchell-Brown, 2013)

This link between social capital and socio-economic development at community or neighbourhood level is at focus by multiple studies (see Graham et al, 2009 for an overview citing Putnam, 1993; Knack and Keefer, 1997; Beugelsdijk and Smulders, 2003; and Ogorzalek, 2004 between others), that indirectly look to community wellbeing via the filter/approach of (sustainable) community economic development.

Nature capital and social capital have been discussed in previous studies on differential economic development of rural areas, as important competitive forces (e.g. Terluin and Post, 2000; Svendsen and Sørensen, 2007; Courtney and Moseley, 2008; Isserman et al., 2009 in Sorensen, 2018).

Healy and Cote (2001) suggest that human and social capital can be key contributors to a wide range of positive outcomes, including higher income, life satisfaction, and social cohesion; despite this, concerns are expressed about the distribution and quality of each form of capital and how this might impact future wellbeing.

There is much more research focusing on economic development outcomes for local communities, some specifically for certain types of assets, like for example Burtenshaw and Gould (2015) who evidence the role of archaeology in supporting economic development through research and production of explanations and interpretations of the past that engage the public or the work of Girard and Nijkamp (2009), that support the role of archaeology for sustainable development.

These come to complement a wider body of work on sustainable heritage tourism and relevant strategies for engagement by local groups, which was rather consciously excluded here as it has been extensively studied, it focuses on income generating activities that happen next and not within practices of heritage protection institutions.

Gould's work (2018) provides however evidence on social impacts from engagement of local communities with archaeology, which are in the sphere of improved governance, which in turn indirectly supports economic development. Notions of empowerment, as ability and willingness to act are associated to increased levels of community capacity, that can- in turn- support local development (Raeburn et al, 2006, Liberato et al, 2011). This is therefore considered one of the core ways in which social capital [see synergy approach to it by Woolcock (2000) for variables related to empowerment] can support community development.

Putnam (2003) confirmed that when social capital resources are deployed in a productive way by groups to facilitate actions, they can benefit not only them but the wider community as well (Mitchell Brown, 2013, see fig.6). In that sense, his theory supports the potential of community action to encourage social networks and norms characterized by trust and mutual responsibility. It is through these networks that collective (together with individual) goals can be achieved and community can develop and prosper both financially and socially (ibid.). An adjacent and well developed literature in rural development (McAreevey, 2009; Black and Conway, 1995 among others) recognises the central role of community-led approaches to developing local capacity and puts engagement in the focus when processes of change are happening in rural areas especially during significance changes through urbanization processes or periods of high migratory flows.

In such works, the ability to work together with planners to develop new but shared discourses of development of rural areas, has been evidenced as beneficial for both, supporting mutual learning between actors and transforming policy outcomes.

The work of P.Lowe et al (1998), and C.Ray (2001, p.4) on neo-endogenous rural development is relevant when discussing how an active role of communities in informing management and governance decisions can be effective; they supports the key potential of bottom-up approaches (endogenous as opposed to externally driven actors and forces) to mobilize rural development that is relevant and supported, therefore more sustainable in the long-run. It underlines the locally rooted, but outward-looking element and suggests dynamic interactions between local areas and their wider context of actors in a regional level.

Many of studies looking at community development studies through heritage, revolve around impacts of regeneration or revitalization projects (Pendlebury et al, 2004; Jones, P. 2017), and despite their specific focus on economic parameters of positive impacts, they still provide a base to define what are attributes of a 'sustainable or resilient community' by including social and economic parameters.

They are also characterized by clear links to spatial development, suggesting that wellbeing at community level cannot be only viewed through social capital lens in its entirety (see for example, Williams, 2006), where for example, outcomes are enhancements to the neighbourhood's physical infrastructure..

Other heritage related literature like Spyridon and Sandu (2015) specifically focus on participation in heritage conservation mapping outcomes for conservation through network and collaboration :they consider the role of collaboration between actors to: "facilitate dialogue between all actors; mobilise and validate popular knowledge and skills; apply and adapt the science; and support communities and their institutions to manage and control resource use". On top of this they link collaboration with the pursuit of broader goals like sustainability, economic equity, social justice and the preservation of cultural integrity (Bass et al, 1995; Brown, 1999; Negri, 2009 as in Spyridon and Sandu, 2015).

However in similar literature, engagement in conservation projects themselves is not distinctively treated from engagement in planning decisions: the thesis expands the discussion uncovering links between planning and management decision making through a focus on process. Building on the work of Pendlebury and the writings of Delanda on heritage assemblage, positions the discussion around representation in both processes and the forms engagement takes, raising inspiration from literature on collaborative models of governance in planning and their role in supporting rural development.

2.1.2.2 Heritage: specific opportunities for social capital, types of heritage and forms of participation

Fewer studies target specifically the connection between heritage and social capital, looking at social inclusion and cohesion as impacts of civic participation (Matarasso, 1996; Bryson et al, 2002; Scott, 2006). A study by Pendlebury, Townshed and Gilroy have supported the potential of built heritage to enhance social inclusion, both through "its intrinsic historical nature" as well as through its regeneration potential and special place-making effects (2004, p. 27) (see also: Pollock and Sharp, 2007). The first, implies benefits stemming from knowledge and learning about history of the historic environment and suggest that understanding of place or sense of place can enhance social inclusion. The second, shows towards the potential of heritage to enhance livability through economic regeneration. However the indirect effects of regeneration projects on social inclusion are not well documented and actually are still highly debatable (James, 2011; NEF Consulting, 2019).

Similar conclusions stem from the analytical review by Graham et al (2009) which is also adopting a rather spatial approach to heritage (differentiating this from cultural activities in general and looking at it through the lens of "historic environment"). They contend that: "it has the potential

to link to the kinds of interactions which might generate social capital” pointing out to outcomes of increased social inclusion which occurs slowly and rather indirectly. An alternative pathway through which heritage can contribute to social capital is “through enabling people to realize their goals” (which may be heritage-specific or unrelated (ibid).

Graham et al (2009) confirm that there is only scarce evidence of research focusing specifically on the role of the historic environment in bridging and linking capital (Newman and McLean presented some evidence on ‘bonding’ forms of capital, 2004b, pp.490-495). However, they recognize the potential of institutions attached to heritage interpretation projects (ie. cultural institutions like Museum, Libraries and Archives) can enhance many of those outcomes (as suggests also the Generic Social Outcomes framework created by Arts council UK for the sector).

Social cohesion, is another term in relevant research attempting to show how social capital affects and is affected through the interactions between people, which tends to be conceptualized and studied at the macro-level. What is interesting is that the role of public authorities is considered more relevant here and responsible to instigate and frame the ‘milieu’ used by multiple actors, like local heritage institutions, to develop social capital (Easterling, 2008:39 in Murzyn-Kupisz and Dziasek, 2013). According to Huntoon (2001) this can only happen indirectly: they can support “establishment of associations and public institutions under their supervision in opening to new tasks and challenges” (ibid). What remains still vague is: how can heritage and related institutions enhance those aspects of social capital through active participation or heritage ‘practicing’?

Some empirical studies have discussed the implications of “different levels of involvement in heritage activities” or place making activities (Graham et al, 2009). Regarding shaping experience of participation and the role of institutions, qualitative research in Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) projects in Glasgow “open” museums, showed that “the more focused the experience was on the needs of the individuals, the greater the impact” (Dodd et al, 2002). From the perspective of institutions, the same research showed light on the role of partnerships (for exhibitions in that case) to develop further initiatives and collect resources (ibid, 2002 p. 42). What has also been highlighted is the distance in institutional understanding of heritage and local residents’ views of place (Miles, 2005) -this aligns with critical voices within the authorized heritage discourse, that identify a gap between experts and non-experts’ perceptions of heritage as well as official and unofficial heritages (Crooke 2008; Smith 2006; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). Worthing and Bond (2008) have recognized that listing systems, usually managed by heritage institutions, have endorsed and nurtured the concept of “statutory recognized heritage”, thus can be considered as enlarging this gap. The plurality of meanings expands to more stakeholders and communities and leads to construction of varying historical narratives, through which ‘plural’ (Ashworth et al 2007) or even ‘dissonant’ (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) heritages can be legitimated.

The importance of local understanding of place or “sense of place” is also underlined, reflecting the powerful spatial references that “historic environment” bears and its links to meaning and

perceptions of neighbourhood, parish and landscape level. Heritage's role to define local identity "in the face of the homogenizing pressures from cultural globalization" [(Beugelsdijk et al. 2006) in Throsby 2007, 24], offers another important link that includes a function of heritage towards shaping 'sense of place' but also a certain type of 'social cohesion' between groups of people that self-differentiate from others and gather around their cultural, collective identity.

While all these resources refer to involvement in heritage activities or place making activities, they do not cover the breadth of literature developed parallel with this one, on participation in urban planning or natural resource management that focuses on issues of collaboration, power relations and ownership. These are close to the key issues raised in heritage studies as part of Authorised Heritage discourse (Smith, 2006). These are explored by the author in ch.2.1.4 as they provides common methodological lenses, with a focus on process analysis and examination of practices of exchanges between actors in planning.

2.1.3 Heritage participation and sense of place

While arts and culture studies have been focusing more on impact of participation for mental and physical wellbeing for the individuals (see indicative literature review by Ander et al, 2011) a large amount of research within heritage management studies, focuses around notions of place, landscape, heritage assets and historic environment (Worthing and Bond, 2008; Hawke, 2010; Corsane et al, 2008) making indirect associations with wellbeing, while referring to these concepts. Such studies focus on the connections between humans and place and mainly explore them through various conceptualizations on the concept of 'sense of place', and its sub-constructs (place distinctiveness, place continuity, place dependence, attachment and identity) (see literature review in Graham et al, 2009).

The Appendix B tables attempt a categorization of some influential research -mostly identified by Graham et al (2009)- that forms arguments on how the historic environment affects people's social behavior and develops social capital) and how people interact with heritage/the historic environment (see also fig.7).

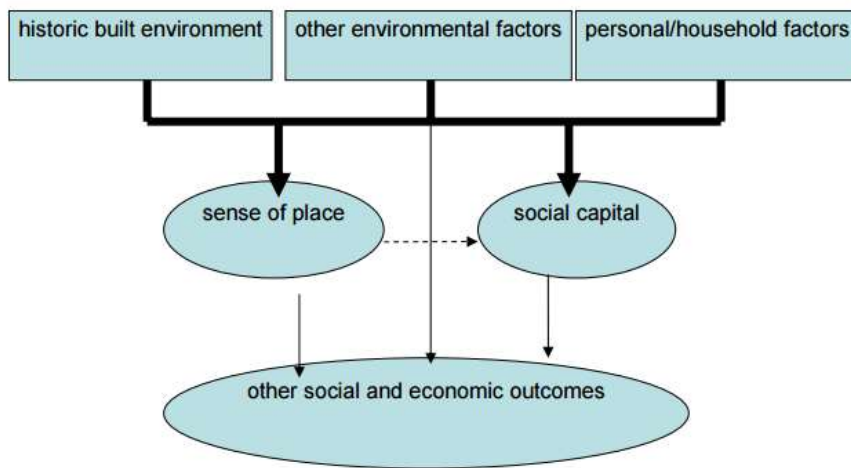


Figure 6 Hypothesized links between key concepts of social capital and sense of place, as affected by both built heritage, other environmental and personal factors and leading to socioeconomic impacts, in the report that accompanied the systematic review by Graham et al, 2009 (Source: Bradley et al, 2009, pp.12)

Research around the concept of sense of place is based on a wide range of paradigms as (pragmatic to interpretivist), methodologies (phenomenological approaches, looking into experience of place, to more positivistic inquiries, looking at interlinkages between the three core sub-concepts of place attachment, place dependency and identity). Orientating between those very different understandings of “sense of place”, assisted me to position my own research within this compendium and realise how my research outputs can come in dialogue with existing research findings within the field that support different leverage of ‘sense of place’ towards affecting wellbeing and identity, therefore also indirectly shaping attitudes towards specific types of heritage. The Tables 27, 28, 29 (Appendix B) provide a comprehensive review of major literature references on social capital and sense of place, with an attempt to recognize their different epistemological foundation and links with various disciplines that relate them with heritage theory and practice in different ways.

Theories around sense of place inevitably suggest an incredibly strong intangible links (emotional and cognitive) between people and tangible assets as “places”, that is founded upon connections and interactions links with the greater place that surrounds historic environment, the place that is actually formed and sculpted by the presence of heritage assets.

As a result, a great part of the existing research on impacts of heritage and participation in heritage for citizens and communities, is theoretically based on the concepts of sense of place and social capital and the relations between them (Graham et al, 2009 and Bradley et al, 2009) and with heritage. This work consists the basis of this review providing existing gaps for the research to start with and areas where explorations have provided already conclusions worth building upon (figure 7).

The most recent HLF's report on social impacts of their projects in the UK (Maeer, Robinson and Hobson, 2016) represents the state of the art in policy measurement of social and wellbeing impact from volunteering for heritage in the UK. It regards the wider term of "social benefits of heritage for communities", and is specifically looking at heritage's role for establishing sense of place and "fostering a sense of community cohesion" (ibid). Specific references to participation are made, utilising the concept of social capital and relevant terms to look at the collective level : "greater interaction between people, hence the strengthening of social capital / a deeper sense of collective identity, linked to sense of place / enhanced levels of awareness and understanding between particular groups, with a positive effect on community cohesion"(Onesti, 2017).

What is evident in the HLF impact report by Maeer, Robinson and Hobson (2016) is the realization of a gap in research of: impacts on community level (ibid.) and a realization of potentially indirect generation of benefits (see also: Pendlebury et al. 2004, p.12), complemented with a focus on understanding "how heritage can contribute" to those or simply put, how impacts are generated: "social mechanisms through which community benefits may arise from engagement with heritage"(ibid.). Demos (2006, p.8) similarly, states: "most reviewers conclude that the evidence for group-level impacts is less compelling than that for individual impacts".

A set of three reports has been produced for HLF, regarding assessing and measuring impacts from volunteering in HLF funded schemes- that include lots of cultural statistics.

One more study that has quantifiable results is the HLF commissioned research (Rosemberg et al, 2011 for BOP): "the majority (92%) of volunteers meet new people through their involvement with HLF projects and 35% of volunteers sustain these relationships" (Heritage counts, 2014). The research this way supports that heritage through volunteering can enhance community cohesion and "boost instances of co-presence among distantly connected people" (Taylor et al, 2015). An earlier version of this report (BOP, 2009) adopted a cross-section survey, and underlined the role of participation to "maintain and deepen the skills, knowledge and social networks of volunteers and to increase their sense of belonging to their local communities" (ibid.).

The recent version of the report by BOP consulting for HLF manages to encompass individual and community level impacts from volunteering and suggests a set of key areas for indicators to look at the community level that include place : socializing, intergenerational relations, public life, community focus and place, sense of belonging and community cohesion (Rosemberg et al, 2011).

The social capital benefits stemming from cultural heritage volunteering, are more around "deepening existing, strongly 'pro social' inclinations" (BOP, 2013 for MLA) , a finding echoed in studies of volunteering in general (Howlett 2009).

Within other Museum, Library and Archives commissioned reports (eg. Demos, 2006) impacts relate to community appreciation of diversity. This could be relevant to a broader rural, remote context, given the fact that tight-knit communities usually hold and defend close relationships, not

permitting easy infiltration by newcomers, leading to social tensions (Brennan and Cooper, 2008; Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, 2006).

This part of the literature review made clear the lack of in depth studies explaining or attributing causality or how individual and mostly community impacts result from active forms of participation or volunteering.

A review of the major influential sources on both concepts (SOP and SC) has been realized here in order to help the author conceptualize their interrelationship and refine the way of assessing impacts stemming from participation within those broad areas.

2.1.4 Social capital & sense of place: a relation

This chapter looks at the relationship between the concepts at theoretical and conceptual level, as established in relevant heritage and planning literature. It looks at sources that illuminate the role of heritage as affecting individual and communal identities, and few sources that define some particularities when studying them at rural contexts and communities.

Multiple researchers have focused on the potential of heritage to reinforce individual and communal identity through these connections with place, relating this also to willingness to protect or safeguard heritage resources through active engagement (Selman, 2004; Perkin, 2000, El-Husseiny et al, 2012). In that sense it is crucial to look into the potential of sense of place not only to reinforce social connections/social capital and vice versa but its specific role for behaviors encouraging heritage conservation and protection.

In the context of heritage studies, communities' long-standing connections with certain localities were at focus for researchers, who looked at how long-term individual experience with a territory, and with social groups in the same place, enhances social capital (Wiesinger, 2007 pp. 43-56).

Rifkin (2001) introduced a territorial approach to studying social capital itself that directly suggests the importance of spatial aspects (pointing to the connections with sense of place): he states that "all real culture exists in geography because that is where intimacy takes place, and without intimacy it is not possible to create bonds of social trust and engender true feelings of empathy" (in Wiesinger, 2007 pp. 43-56). However, as there is constantly a 'disembedding' between space and time (Giddens, 1990) (people are moving to the future, while communities change localities and places rapidly) that may result in loss of intimacy.

John Agnew and human geographers looked at social and spatial aspects - place is made up of 'location' (fixed co-ordinates on earth, position) but also 'locale', which refers to the material settings that surround us (ie. built/natural environment) – within which social relations are conducted (Agnew, 1987).

There seems to be a common need to capture individual experiences and meanings attributed to place in those, deeply relevant for heritage studies, looking at “heritage places”, as landscape including multiple objects and multiple meanings attributed to those elements.

The relationship between experience (viewed via place attachment) and (personal/communal) identity (values and meaning) that display great interest for heritage studies, has been further elaborated by social psychologists’ Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) that links the two. They suggest Sense of place as “supporting the production of self via – distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem and the idea of self-efficacy” (ibid.) similar with work of Korpela’s theory (1989).

Environmental psychology research has been focusing on how each of these concepts are formed and which leads to another/reinforces another: eg. “place attachment comes before place identity” (Hernandez et al 2007), while earlier research assumed instead that ‘place attachment’ is an overarching concept with ‘place dependency’ and ‘place identity’ as its subsets” (Williams et al, 1992). The seminal work of Jorgensen and Stedman, who argued that: “sense of place is made up of place attachment (emotional engagement with place), place dependence (conative, action oriented), that is directed towards action) and place identity (cognitive, sense making)” (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006) forms the base (Graham et al, 2009, see also figure 8).

Box 5.2 Links between social capital and sense of place (summarized from Graham et al., 2009)

- Place attachment and social networks seem to be linked in a virtuous cycle, although there is disagreement about which comes first and which is more important.
- Social networks may be more important than the built environment in generating place attachment, although certain types of built environment do provide safe and attractive public spaces that can support social activities and motivate people.
- A key way of understanding the relationship between sense of place and social capital is through the relationship between place attachment, self-esteem and shared pride.
- The more actively people are involved in heritage or place-shaping activities the greater the social capital developed.
- Social capital may also be linked to place dependency, as people meet others through shared interests and activities.
- The more actively that people are involved in place shaping, and the greater the opportunities for bridging and linking forms of social capital, then the greater becomes the likelihood of realizing social capital outcomes such as citizenship, well-being and the broadening of horizons.

Figure 7 Links between social capital and sense of place (Source: Graham et al, 2009)

What is interesting in identity-focused research in relation to researching reciprocal behaviors, is how aspects of identity are linked to behaviors towards planning and place making and thus a renewed focus on place dependence in relation to the other two aspects.

Authors like Lewicka advocated that different “cultural perceptions of identity” in ethnically diverse places, can influence communities’ responsive behavior towards urban planning and potentially regeneration projects, as she states that ‘Place discovered’ and ‘roots discovered’ play key role for installing civic responsibility towards place formation (2005). This indicates that factors that affect behavior include social cohesion but also tradition and heritage beliefs (D’Auria 2001). It also implies that a sense of wellbeing and a sense of belonging or neighborhood attachment are necessary (Manzo, 2005) for people to interact with planning initiatives and realise their visions.

However despite the common focus, common level of analysis in such studies, is the individual: this suggests that explorations on community level, looking at interpersonal influences and considering the role of the social sphere is necessary, especially when looking at group-led initiatives within heritage. A relevant body of work within community psychology and development studies can assist in covering this gap through introducing the construct of sense of (belonging to) community (Chipuer and Pretty, 1999; Long and Perkins, 2003; Manzo and Perkins, 2006) and its links with spatial and social attachments of a group (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) or its relation with greater participation (Hunter, 1975; Wandersman & Giamartino, 1980). This body of work provide insights in looking at behavior of groups, experiences and interrelations with individual decisions about belonging to associations and other forms of civic participation. This is relevant to inform explanations about behaviors of members of community-led heritage projects explored as part of the research.

Some scholars looking at production of social capital, considered that place attachment or identification with place comes first, “before they can provide the social capital for change and regeneration of a place or a city” (Lin 2002, Lloyd and McCarthy 2003). Three more scholars have worked on the important interdependency between social capital (including socialising, sense of belonging) and sense of place. “To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it” mentions Relph (1976). This relates to the physical environment as well as the people who occupy it. Talen (1999) mentions that pride/sense of place is closely related to the built of environment, as those feelings are said to be influenced by the perceived quality of a place. Pride and sense of attachment to a place are also bound to the concepts of belonging and territoriality. Theories and research on sense of belonging to community at local level suggest that sense of place can create vested interest for further actions (see also Masterson et al, 2017 or relation it with sustainable development in Chapin and Knapp, 2015). Knox’s work (2011) on the other hand pays particular attention to the processes of attachment. He states that a place is always socially-constructed and that a crucial element in the social construction of a place is the ability of people to define themselves in relation to the material world.

In that sense the two scholars are somehow looking at interactions between the two concepts, but positioning differently the role of each as generating and affecting the other. The way participation influences the process of “social construction of heritage places” is going to be

explored through the analysis of the interview data in this thesis. The framework developed to support this multi-dimensional and interactionist analysis, taking into account interdependencies between sense of place and social capital is analyzed in the end of this chapter.

2.1.4.1 Links between social impact areas and place: Impacts of rural context

When starting to look at heritage and social impacts through participation for local communities, existing studies focus on the interaction of humans with historic places as affecting aspects of their identity (Harrington, 2004; Lewicka, 2005) and thus self-identification and confidence (Hawke, 2011). Other aspects affected are their locality and quality of life in neighbourhoods or even the way people define themselves in relation to others and therefore interact with other social groups.

The specificities of rural context (and moreover island one) underlines the need for developing “contextually relevant approaches” to study such social impacts, which few existing studies actually seem to account for (eg. different needs between urban and rural communities or different cultural perceptions that affect social needs or even looking further at socio-spatial determinants of wellbeing).

Few studies looking specifically at rural contexts and wellbeing at community scale, become thus relevant here, as the research attempts to identify indicators of social wellbeing in such a context. Ramsey and Smit (2002) worked on identifying existing models of wellbeing within regional perception and identified some of the models used. The focus of the research in that sense is closer to the work of Branch et al (1984), community/impact assessment model (see fig. 9), that bridges individual and community level impacts. They suggest as measures of indicators:

“for community social organisations: diversity, outside linkages, personal interactions and for individuals: behaviours, access to resources, perceptions of well-being and for community resources: cultural, demographic, labour force and economic characteristics” (Ramsey and Smit, 2002).

The thesis aims at developing a bottom –up definition of what rural community wellbeing consists of, through understanding the needs of local community and how heritage could contribute to those, posing emphasis on island particularities in terms of life quality and relation of people with places of significance to them. Similar approach is adopted by Scott (2012) in her work around ‘sustainable community’ using the term ‘local wellbeing’.

These insights were useful in order to conceptualise categories of indicators that would be relevant to the context of research and particularly understand the individual vis a vis the social/community level related aspects. The next part of the literature review, will focus on some

studies that identify social or wellbeing impacts from cultural or heritage activities, looking at their methodological frameworks.

Selected models of well-being		
Main subject/scale	Central concepts/attributes/indicators	Measures of indicators
Human well-being	Physical well-being	Disability and impairment, functional dependency
	Mental well-being Social well-being	Life satisfaction, psychological assessment Social support, social activity, economic well-being
Community health	Social well-being	Income, self-sufficiency, employment, education
	Physical health	Disease rates, infant mortality, life expectancy
	Mental health	Mental health administration, suicide rates
Rural area well-being	Economic well-being	Employment, income, economic structure
	Social indicators	Poverty, crime, education, population density
	State and fiscal indicators	Fiscal need and capacity
Community social impact assessment	Individual well-being	Behaviours, access to resources, perceptions of well-being
	Community social organizations	Diversity, outside linkages, personal interaction
	Community resources	Cultural, demographic, labour force, economic characteristics
Livability in housing	Economic vitality	Employment
	Social well-being	Affordability, suitability
	Environmental integrity	Housing density and design

Figure 8 Models of wellbeing, with rural wellbeing and community social impact assessment being the most relevant to the context of the research (Source: Ramsey and Smit, 2002, pp.370)

2.2 Comparing frameworks in evaluating impacts of culture and heritage

2.2.1 Policy-driven frameworks for evaluating impacts of culture and heritage vis a vis impacts of participation

Two main issues appear in policy-driven literature : the ‘Value versus impact’ of heritage and heritage participation issue and the problematic relation between different types of values (with authors writing about Intrinsic, instrumental and institutional as seen in Scott, 2011) and the way we perceive social and institutional impacts of cultural heritage are the core issues appearing.

The first issue is well analysed from a policy perspective in the “Cultural heritage counts for Europe” report (Giraud-Labelle et al (eds) 2015), that provides two definitions of the terms, with our research focusing on the second:

Value: “morals, principles, or other ideas that serve as guides to action (individual and collective); and second, in reference to the qualities and characteristics seen in things, in particular the positive characteristics (actual and potential)” (Mason, 2002, p.7)

Impact: "a dynamic concept which pre-supposes a relationship of cause and effect. It can be measured through the evaluation of the outcomes of particular actions, be that an initiative, a set of initiatives forming a policy or set of policies which form a strategy"
(Landry, et al, 1993)

The same report recognizes however that value and impact are connected through processes.

Finally a last differentiation between value as 'benefit' and value/ values as "what matters, meaning" is useful, as heritage values under the second sense has been widely used in 'value-based heritage management literature, the two concepts however as very close to each other as they both refer to specific groups of people. Values are assessed and utilized in process of heritage making (interpretation and conservation) linked mostly to 'intrinsic' value of heritage for people, and are also created as outputs (as benefit) of these projects-in that sense these co-exist with institutional value, as outputs are usually serving also short or medium term institutional goals. Looking back into the connection of 'social values' of heritage and social impacts, the first can delineate expected or aspired social benefits from engagement with heritage, however these may not always equal to experienced benefits or impacts.

Looking into evaluation studies, one can concur that those are usually policy driven or commissioned by existing governmental bodies (see for example Fig.10 for key areas for value and impact related to heritage, recognized by English Heritage), therefore guided mainly by instrumental directives and the values that the national bodies and institutions set as key ones. They usually need to provide 'proof of social impacts' to enable funding which restricts their ability in understanding impact generation processes.



Figure 9 the value and impact of heritage and the historic environment (Source: English Heritage, 2014, pp.17)

An interest for this gap in focus between institutional and instrumental benefits and their relation with intrinsic value of heritage and expected social benefits, has been demonstrated through HLF in UK (Maer & Fawcett 2011; Maer et al, 2016) that commissioned studies within the more general framework of “value of heritage” and evaluation reports to showcase project outcomes and impacts in relation to those values. As early as 2006, Clark (Fig.12) was suggesting pathways to study the public value of heritage, looking more into the intrinsic benefits it can bring but also how heritage organizations can develop it to increase responsiveness to public calls (Clark, 2006). Regarding priority instrumental benefits for the groups involved, those included: benefits to communities (public spirit, mutual understanding, pride in local history etc) and to individuals separately (learning skills, confidence, self-esteem), (Clark 2006; Clark, 2006 in Smith 2010; Clark 2008).

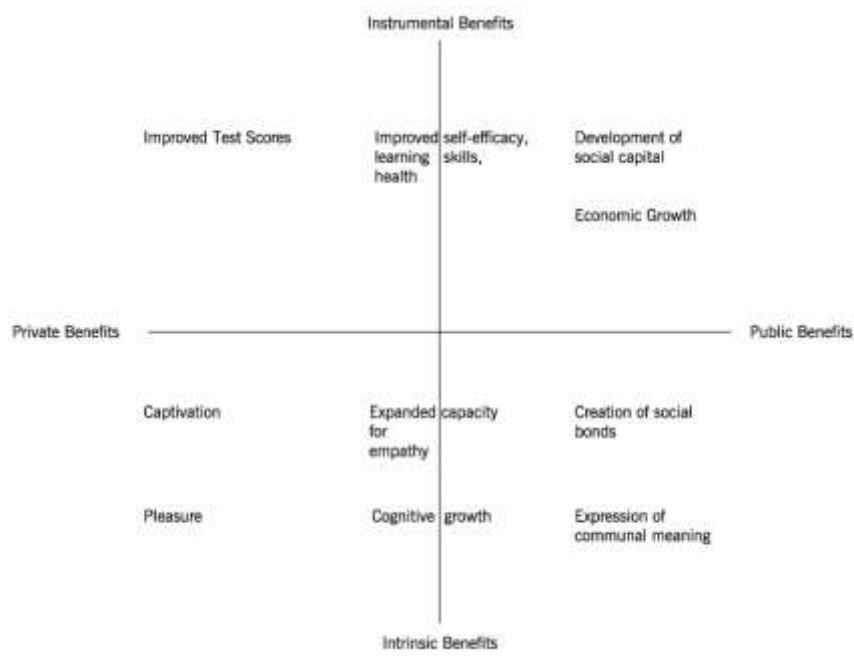


Figure 10 Four major quadrants for a similar enquiry: arts-based benefits. (Source: Hochstadt, 2014)

Hochstadt (2010, Fig.11) on arts benefits, recognizes this way the importance of the collective scale and the different ways those benefits may express themselves between the levels of analysis. Social capital features in this analysis in the public/instrumental area, related to functioning society and economic competitiveness.

The research aims to explore these interlinkages, together with the perception of what constitutes instrumental and intrinsic benefits stemming from heritage projects, through mapping and counter-posing perceptions of experts and participants on the ground.

Quantifying institutional responsiveness

- Deliberative engagements
- Consultations
- User participation
- Consumer feedback, surveys, etc
- Policy adaptation
- Leadership (from below – engaging the public)

Quantifying refined preferences

- Educational initiatives
- Information dissemination
- Transparency
- User participation
- Ongoing evaluation
- Leadership (from the front – shaping preferences)

Figure 11 Elements of the Public Value Performance Indicator (a proposal for quantifying indicators for institutional responsiveness to society and for refined preferences) proposed by HLF London conference (Source: Clark, 2006)

2.2.1.1 Impacts from volunteering and relevant variables/ conceptual frameworks and relevant methodological issues

As part of the literature review and understanding existing methodologies, types of variables and conceptual frameworks used to evaluate impacts (and relevant gaps) a number of UK evaluation studies were reviewed, aiming at:

- (i) Identifying approach, methods and how these were related with definition of wellbeing and specifically to the two core heritage-related concepts: social capital and 'sense of place'.
- (ii) Typology of participation and of activities in those studies as well as the level of analysis (individual vs communal)

A systematic review by DCMS (Taylor et al, 2015) on social impacts of culture and sports, provides a set of clear gaps in existing research on social impacts stemming from heritage, citing very few studies dealing with social impacts stemming from cultural engagement (including if: Volunteering for wellbeing, 2015 and Dodd and Jones 2014).

It differentiates between studies that used social capital related impacts and those who cited multiple impacts, with the first (as more structured and evidence based) citing impacts around social inclusion (Pendlebury, et al. 2004), underrepresented groups/social diversity via participation in heritage outreach projects (Rahim and Mavra, 2009) or sense of place for establishing rootedness to a place (Bradley et al., 2009).

The research suggests existing gaps in empirical research on social capital and heritage participation including aspects of it (bonding capital, bridging capital, linking capital) as well as how heritage might be linked to such benefits (Taylor et al, 2015).

Taking part survey studies commissioned by English Heritage, as part of the 'Heritage Counts' (EH, 2014), focuses at quantitative data and recently started looking at life satisfaction's links with visiting to heritage sites. We consider this approach to participation as visiting alone, rather simplistic, as it views communities and their units as "consumers rather than producers of heritage" (Power and Smyth, 2016 on Lowenthal, 1985; Wright, 1985; Hewison, 1987), ignoring recent shifts in heritage sector that involve community-led initiatives, volunteer-run museums and active ways of engagement advocated eg. by the new museology approach. It signifies the need to consider what type of attachment can be developed through interactions with heritage that may take multiple new forms.

2.2.2 Alternative Frameworks for evaluating heritage projects: Social impact assessment

A last body of literature reviewed as part of developing the methodological approach for the thesis, includes a practice-based methodology for performing ex-ante Social impact assessment (SIA), as

part of development plans. Similar to EIA, SIA is a core policy tool with participatory character. SIA methodologies have also been developed to function in another scale that of specific projects as opposed to planning big scale interventions and, in that sense, relevant literature has been reviewed here.

A reason for looking into this and aiming to adapt it for ex-post use in cultural heritage projects, was the ability of these tools to look into longer term impacts and indirect impacts (even on non-participants or users of the outcomes of the projects). There are different approaches to locate these types of impacts and a rigorous methodology is necessary to do so. SIA offers an indicator-based approach to evaluation and a set of tools and guidance, for defining relevant variables for each indicator in order to proceed with analysing impact types and identify their significance for the various recipients identified.

Recent evolutions offer more room to a less technical approach, which can locate the recipients of impacts by combining SIA with Social needs analysis (SNA, Esteves and Vanclay, 2009). These adopt a bottom-up approach, context-relevant and community-based participatory framework for evaluation, which is consistent with the research. This suggests that it can be applied in conjunction with assessing community values for heritage and landscape within the context.

A relevant concept developed within the SIA literature that can be linked to institutional accountability and legitimacy concepts discussed in planning literature (see ch. 1.54.), is that of social license to operate (SLO): it refers to the acceptance of a business's standard practices and operating procedures by its employees, stakeholders, and the general public as additional to the regulatory permission they may have (Dare et al, 2014). This is obtained through enhanced processes of engagement, not only strategic but also operational (Vanclay 2006; Esteves et al. 2012). The work of Dare et al (2014) recognizes that different types of communities at local, regional and maybe wider level are usually to be engaged but capacity to engage may be more restricted. It is suggesting the importance of approval especially in cases where new development is at stake-one can easily make parallels with important decision making on spatial changes where historic sites may hold a key role.

Moving back to wider applicability of SIA principles and concept, as stated earlier SIA has been traditionally applied for identifying potential impacts before the start of a development project-as a predictive project planning tool (Burgde,1996; Lockie, 2001). In the context of the thesis and within the concept of reciprocity, we consider evaluation as a formative tool: able to inform future planning approaches. One would easily object that "changing orientation of SIA from a predicting and mitigating tool" (looking at negative social consequences of development) to use it as evaluation tool (to assess positive outcomes and impacts towards social development) requires a long road (Esteves and Vanclay, 2008). However, it is consistent with the philosophy of the method as seen in the International Principles for SIA (Vanclay, 2003) and supported by the Sustainable

Livelihoods Approach (DfID, 1999) (ibid.). This indicates the potential of the methodology in informing evaluation and post- project appraisal stages, has not yet been fully explored.

2.3 Gaps and areas for contribution to knowledge

We have seen that relevant policy literature, dealing with social impacts, focuses mostly on participation as volunteering (see Bourke (2005) and Pendlebury et al (2004) or even visitors studies like Heritage counts, 2014), greatly ignoring for example those deriving from less structured or hard to define forms of participation, suggesting that stress to provide numbers may lead to a lack of focus in quality (Holden, 2004).

The speed in which the field of studies is evolving and the urgency for academic research to support a change of focus for 'cultural practice with social purpose', is visible in recent, critical academic voices like the work of Belfiore and Gibson (2019): such works examine cultural participation linkages with wider civic engagement (and also community well-being) attempting to unravel "uses of the term 'community' in relation to cultural practices" (Jancovich, 2015) and offer a novel direction for our research too. New directions for research include looking into the disciplinary definitions and understandings of cultural practices as well as the division between official and unofficial discourses around heritage and participation, which directly links the research with key questions present in critical heritage studies.

Existing social policy research in UK (Fujiwara et al, 2014) endorses a quantifiable and economic-oriented approach to measuring wellbeing impacts (through valuation approaches) which has limited potential on defining subjective experiences and collective differences in social and personal/psychological benefits of heritage. I endorse the position of Kaszynska (2015) and Walmsley (2012) aiming instead to "...refocus on qualitative empiricism through phenomenological methodologies which represent subjective experience" (Newsinger and Green, 2016).

Similarly Scott et al (2018, p.1) suggest that adopting a capabilities' oriented approach offers a broader perspective than other instrumental views of role of culture for health and economy, relating it to the conceptions of a 'good life', or what is defined as such from the rural communities themselves. These will guide the inquiry further on in defining key methodological aspects of the research around personal perceptions of aspects of social and community wellbeing but also of heritage values.

Looking at official and unofficial from the point of view of institutions, it was only lately that the discussion on cultural impact evaluation has started to critically review "the discrepancies between official discourses and those that correspond to cultural practitioners" (Newsinger and Green, 2016) working in the field with communities, showing signs of understanding the gap between the two in the process of instrumentalisation of policy (Newsinger & Green 2016, Banks 2015). On a similar track, O'Hagan (2016) reflects on the discrepancy between institutional objectives for cultural sector and societal benefits. Moreover, the discussion on identifying indicators (that could

be quantified) to measure responsiveness of institutions and refined preferences for institutional strategies (see figure 12, Clark 2006) was an early recognition of the need to delve into how institutions can improve their strategies focusing on their relation to the public and their specific audiences (Bourke, 2005, p.74).

Discussion on what consists a reflective institution, should include strategies towards inclusivity as this is a key area where specifically the heritage sector has seem to do less than expected.

This argument will be further explored and supported through the analysis, linked to aspects of daily practice and internal processes as well as decision making within institutions to support changes, in order to support wider engagement with community groups and audiences locally.

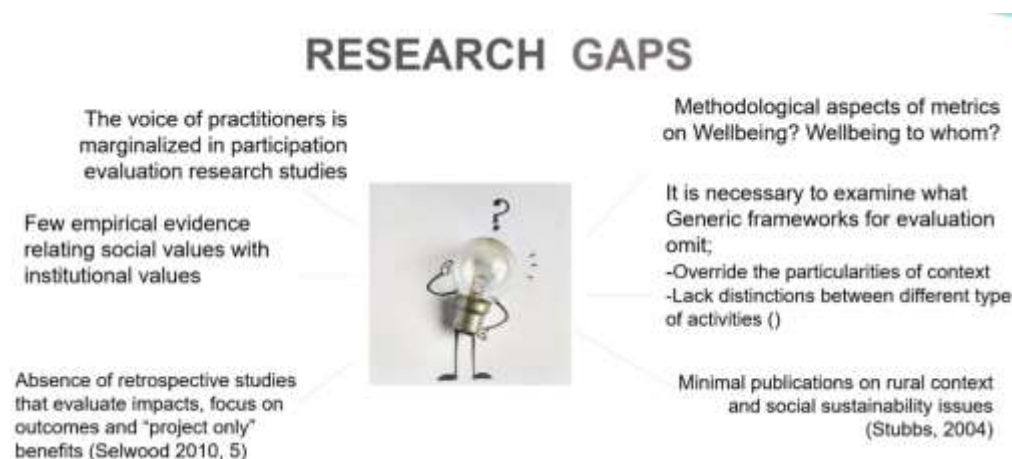


Figure 12 Research gaps in existign literature, identified by the researcher covering both methodological approaches and content of research

2.3.1 Critical comments: from language and terminology to theory –based evaluation

An aspect illuminated (related with existing approaches), is the lack of academic voices as a response to existing policy-instigated ‘evidence-based approaches’. Preference to economic valuation methods tends to restrict such reports in using easily measurable, life satisfaction indicators for looking at wellbeing. These are focusing on short-term positive emotions change, longer term impacts like changes in lifestyles or way of life are ignored: our research will cover this gap by focusing more on long-term changes in behaviours and focusing on social wellbeing (see also fig. 13 for other gaps identified).

From the review of existing evaluation reports and studies of impacts in culture and heritage, it was evident that the choice of terminology was changing a lot-sometimes using interchangeably terms like Impact / benefit while less often referring to changes. Only SIA literature offered a clearer differentiation of impact as change in processes vs impact as positive benefit. This relates with the difficulty to actually measure impacts and, therefore a focus of many studies on “**value** of culture or heritage” in contrast to fewer ones, entitled as “evaluations of impacts” [Jones, 2017;

Belfiore,2012; Crossick & Patrycja Kaszynska,2016; Bollo, 2013; Dumcke and Gnedovsky, 2013; Giraud-Labalteet al (eds), 2015; Maeer et al, 2016 for HLF).

However, we consider the value studies useful to develop methodology and define relevant variables that could inform research focusing on impacts: especially around exploring how ‘intrinsic benefits’ are perceived and even dynamically changing (looking back at Mason’s; “actual and potential”²), affected by contextual and institutional factors.

By focusing on the interrelationships between intrinsic, use value vis a vis institutional values (“The approach, attitude and processes that institutions adopt to engage with and create value for the public”, Scott, 2011, p.6) [as separated from instrumental by some authors (Holden, 2006 and 2013; White, 1996; Scott, 2006, 2011; for Pracsys see Chappell and Knell 2012)]. We can define manifestations of reciprocity between institutions and communities.

Moreover, this focus would enhance the so-wished potential of heritage to drive social change through an emancipatory approach (Belfiore, 2015): looking at impact as change of policy and practice from the bottom-up (i.e. through incorporating community’s values systems in project design and realization or adapting frameworks that can enable that) can materialize such an approach.

Another interesting methodological point is that approaches that focus on measuring impact tend to either use a pre-post-test methodology, looking at quantifying changes in preferences before and after participation: the aim of such studies (Maeer et al, 2016) is usually restricted to use of existing indicators to measure changes. Few studies deal with explaining contextual factors that could add to their explanatory power, or how the impacts are generated. Responding to this gap, defining pathways for change and providing explanations of how impacts are generated in the context of the research is also in the core of the thesis: in a way it has the potential to define a theory of reciprocal change, based on grounded and empirical evidence.

It is also interesting to look at these reflections in relation to SIA methodological framework reviewed, (Vanclay, 2003), and its ability to include value assessment and define significance for various groups involved. As a framework is also consistent with potential for institutional change (eg.include potential mitigation plans for negative impacts) but also sensitive the ‘processual nature of (heritage) project management’. It also offers a structured way to differentiate types of impacts (direct, indirect, and cumulative) increasing the level of sophistication of an evaluation framework.

It is interesting to note, that the function and role of (social) impact assessment, (which emerged next to Environmental impact basement due to needs of controlling development, has functional

² Values can be defined as socially constructed meanings and as actual or potential qualities attached to heritage (Mason, 2002)in Dragouni and Fouseki (2018)

similarities in the sense of transforming institutional strategical goals and priorities, (through process re-design) same as other approaches suggested for collaborative strategy/planning making. The suggestions of Healey (1996a) on establishing institutional audit, for example: considering 'how we do things here and now', opening a discussion that can re-shape organisational processes. These can cover aspects like existing stakeholders and arenas, routines of organising and styles of discussion but also policy arenas and wider pull factors that may shape strategies of institutions.

SIA as a framework was considered suitable to deal with heritage participation as a social process within project management and planning processes. This acted as a base for developing the methodology and the conceptual framework applied in the research. Aspects of 'institutional audit' are reflected in the methodology followed for the analysis of processes, expanded in cross-institutional level at the context of the case study chosen.

The four tables in Appendix B present some of the key findings of literature review.

2.3.2 Developing an interactionist conceptual framework for assessing multiple impacts of participation based on theory

Having explored methodological frameworks and common indicators of social impacts stemming from heritage, the research required the development of a preliminary conceptual framework to further guide the analysis. This would guide the process of establishing indicators for locating social impact areas and defining relevant variables for evaluating projects' contribution to aspects of social sustainability. Authors like Rossouw and Malan (2007) and Galloway (2009) support the need for theoretical framework in social impact monitoring and theory-based evaluation (TBE) respectively, in order to ensure clear evidence of impacts.

In our case, the adoption of a theory-based socio-spatial theoretical framework to understand impacts as post-participation behaviour changes combined with aspects of pre-participation behaviours, showing social and contextual constraints³ to participation. This provided a robust base for the analysis, allowing space for attributing causation through explanations of behaviours within their context by using the innovative, analytical tool of causal loop diagrams (a generative view to causation, considered necessary by Galloway as viewed also in Bickman, 1987; Rogers et al., 2000; Weiss, 1972, 1997).

The previous sections showed that key literature sources looking at wellbeing impacts from heritage activities tend to focus mostly on individual feelings and experiences (using for example phenomenological methods) and has not placed these bonds in the larger, socio-political context in which planners operate (Manzo and Perkins 2006), in the case of the landscape scale crucial. Conversely, the community planning and development literature, emphasizes participation and empowerment, looking at way participatory governance can work for example, but overlooks factors that affect individual and group behaviours, like emotional connections to place. A merge between the two perspectives needs to be attempted that allows for understanding socio-spatial impact development how both types of determinants affect human behavior towards heritage and wellbeing in rural context. The use of key constructs of sense of place and social capital allows for theoretically grasping of our framework as well.

2.3.2.1 A tight interdependency: Social aspects of space and spatial aspects of social behaviors and wellbeing in rural contexts

While the theoretical frame of reciprocity guided initially the focus of the research and the main question towards a socially driven conceptualization of wellbeing, viewed through the concept of social capital (SC) and looking at exchanges between social groups (Bourdieu 1984, Putnam 2000), the literature review together with first fieldwork observations revealed early on, that this conceptualization had to be reconsidered. The first set of exploratory interviews and selection of

³ Reflecting some of Moser's (1998) model aspects on constraints to sustainable livelihoods

the scheme studied on Orkney Islands showed that the interactions with the physical environment, perception of landscape and history of place as well affected significantly how participants perceived heritage for example. This suggested a framework that would allow space for exploring the effect of spatial and contextual features of heritage on the social behaviour of research participants would be more holistic. The islandic nature of the case study (Orkney islands, Scotland) also claimed for consideration of socio-contextual aspects like the observed potential of islandic kinship-based communities to “rapidly make and implement decisions based on interpersonal trust” (Kelman and Lewis, 2005), thus affecting how social capital is formed. Additionally, the frustrations produced due to marginal economies in remote island regions (Grydehøj and Hayward, 2014) and their impacts on both community or social wellbeing and heritage management had to be considered in the analysis.

From a theoretical perspective, even Robert Putnam (2000) himself early enough pointed out the potential of understanding social capital as a geographical concept, emphasizing the need to approach spatial aspects of the concept. Since then, more authors (starting from geographers like Rifkin (2001), to later territorial approaches see Wiesinger, 2007) have recognized the urgency of unveiling the socio-spatial nature of the environmental psychological concept “sense of place”(SOP), through the sub-concepts of place identity, place attachment and place dependence (as in Jorgensen & Stedman, 2011; Stedman, 2003). Sense of place, is actually a concept under scrutiny in heritage studies lately, in relation to engagement with heritage and public participation (English Heritage, 2015; Graham et al. 2009; Hawke, 2011); and rightfully enough we would say as it enables study of intangible connections (Swensen et al. 2012: 214) with heritage, making it a valuable tool for research around landscape qualities for communities.

Moreover, both concepts (SC and SOP) seem to play an important role in citizen participation and civic engagement (Jorgensen, 2010; Mihaylov & Perkins, 2013), while the concepts and their dimensions are highly related (Acedo et al.,2017).

How can we study the role of sense of place in our context?

Following these, parameters like place dependency (accessibility, use of infrastructure), identification with place (as part of personal or communal identity) and affectionate attachment to elements of place, were considered by both as formative of participants behavior towards heritage as well as affecting wellbeing related variables.

Why do we consider the role of place in relation to participation and (rural community) wellbeing?

These ideas are also, somehow reflected, in a considerably growing body of literature, that deals with health and wellbeing benefits of engagement with nature (ranging back to Di Masso, Dixon and Durrheim (2014) and support consideration of socio-spatial interactions, in a holistic conceptualization of wellbeing when we deal with interactions that involve landscape elements.

How can we approach interdependency of socio-spatial factors and their role in forming protective behavior towards rural heritage?

Social aspects of connection with place are studied here in order to disentangle the multiple pathways that may lead participants in heritage projects to enjoying positive impacts. Similarly, those connections are questioned regarding their leverage to support long-term protection of heritage assets, due to those participants commitment to support their management with their actions. Moreover we can observe the pathway of their creation: and the power of pre-existing motivations in relation to participation induced motivation.

2.3.2.2 From analytical considerations to a framework development

Taking all these into account, I argue that community-based heritage projects impacts at rural contexts need to be studied by looking at: social capital formation at community level (in relation to social wellbeing and reciprocal social behavior) and at institutional level (in relation to perceptions and behaviors showing trust and reciprocity towards cultural institutions) but also looking at sense of place reinforcement, as both may affect quality of life for local communities and behavior towards heritage assets (see table 1) .

Table 1 Aspects of community social impacts (viewed both at individual and community level) and relevant measures of indicators that were considered at the initial phase and applied in developing interviews questions. These also lead to creating impact categories in the analysis phase. Source: author. Based on synthesis of frameworks by Branch et al, 1984; Reeder,1990; Ramsey and Smit, 2002; NEF, 2009.

Main subject/scale	Central concepts/attributes/indicators	Measures of indicators
Community social impact assessment (direct)	Individual wellbeing	Behaviors: level of socializing, civic participation. Perceptions of wellbeing, focus on trust and supportive relationships
	Community social wellbeing	Perceptions and behaviours : Sense of belonging to community, trust and supportive relationships with other communities and institutions, (NEF, 2009) social cohesion, social inclusion.
	Sense of place -place identity, dependency and attachment	Behaviors: Access to resources, responsibility for caring for place Perceptions: Sense of pride, Sense of belonging to place
Rural livelihoods (indirect)(Moser, 1998; Ramsey and Smit, 2002)	Economic wellbeing	Employment, income, Touristic development and their beneficiaries
	Demographic balance	Balance between ages in one location, balance between incomers/existing residents, social integration

Such a **socio-spatial approach to analyze social impacts at community level and behaviors towards heritage as place**, based on the concepts of **social wellbeing and sense of place** guided the interviews design. It enables understanding the role of **pro-environmental** (landscape, natural heritage) and '**pro-cultural**' (tangible and intangible heritage) behaviors and their interactions in relation to perceived impacts for specific social groups.

In other words, the analysis of contextual connections of participants enables us to associate motivations to participate with perceived impacts and explain behavior change after participation with a greater confidence.

Accepting that participants may perceive community wellbeing in ways different than only the socio-spatial aspects defined by the thesis framework is helpful to see a bigger picture of social and economic impacts of heritage for communities (Fig.5; Bognar, 2005) as these may differ from personal development impacts for individuals. The focus on place-related impacts assists to understand decisions and behaviors of heritage managers in an interplay with heritage planning and place making.

The categorization and grouping of impact variables from the initial analysis was guided by the same conceptual framework. Following an 'open approach' (without a strict framework of indicators) allowed integrating in the analysis, even wider impacts relevant to rural livelihoods (an approach to studying rural community sustainability) that somehow referred to socio-economic interdependencies in the context.

Using an «interactionist» framework like this one, we can explain how understandings of places initially (leading later to engagement and further participation in heritage) is created through social interactions (within which participatory activities in social institutions lie), and unravel potential reciprocal relationships at two levels;

- between individuals and rural landscape (Brandenburg and Carroll 1995; Eisenhauer et al. 2000) /local heritage., that can be mediated by community level interactions, and social experiences around heritage elements (tangible and intangible as in Swensen et al 2012:1-19).

- between community groups and organizations, as groups of experts, based on the value of exchanges and their experience through participation

2.3.2.3 Conceptualization and mapping of social wellbeing impacts, institutional impacts as process changes

A conceptual background of an 'interactionist' framework (fig. 14) is proposed here to guide the exploratory analysis of impacts as changes in the research (based on interdependencies around social capital and sense of place explained). This is going to look for reciprocal relationships through:

- looking at changes through **processes of creating bonding, bridging and linking social capital** (Gittell and Vidal, 1998). The direct (individual level) and mostly indirect (collective-community level) wellbeing impacts that this process can bring to communities involved are in focus.

Similarly, we are looking at linking social capital for institutional impacts, in terms of identifying:

- **processes of (organizational) change for institutions**, instigated through local community's interaction with managers and subsequently their organizations. Interaction is triggering either attitude changes towards heritage institutions that is studied through the creation of partnerships or social networks. Similarly managerial responses/reactive management changes that are studied through the notion of reciprocity and relational social capital. For example, how does an institution change its policy, its internal task division or resource allocation plan responding to community-based project needs? From a social capital perspective again, these can be divided in internal (project delivery-related changes) and external processes (changes affecting strategic planning within heritage institutions and mainly development networks/relationships with communities, other institutions and social actors (Woolcock, 2001), networks, cooperation and partnerships.

- **heritage as place related impacts**: changes in actions or attitudes, around heritage protection producing outputs and reflecting changes in associations with heritage elements in the landscape (significance attribution expressed through safeguarding actions) are studied through the changes in aspects of sense of place .

All these are mapped, when described as result of the experience of participating in the projects under focus, looking at how participation affects participants' sense of place. The way they affect institutional decisions (internally, eg. allocation of resources/project definition) or externally (eg. triggering protection or designation strategic processes by institutions) is also mapped to understand interrelations.

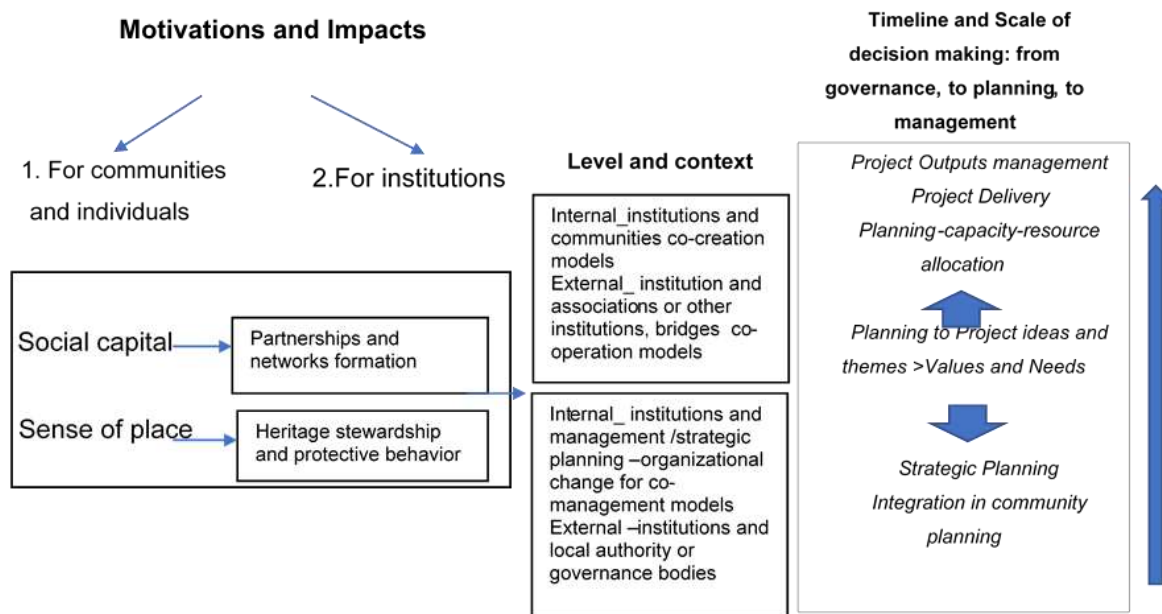


Figure 13 Depiction of conceptual framework and levels/contexts of analysis

The figure above shows the key structuring concepts of the framework. It depicts the level and focus/context of the analysis (internal and external changes mapped, between those agents and other social agents). The various scales of decision making processes and phases in the project planning/delivery process where those changes appear-are also to be observed.

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

'theorein'—to look at, to ponder, to investigate..

Davis et al. provide a definition for theory as: “..constructs linked together by propositions that have an underlying, coherent logic and related assumptions” (2007, p. 481).

Chapter 2 provided an overview of the foci in existing evaluation of participation from institutional perspectives, that tend to focus on assessing outcomes, as products and has set the aspirations of this thesis: to surpass this, by adopting a process focused evaluation model approach (studying process of participation) and pathways towards (social and institutional) impacts. In other words, the thesis aim is:

-understanding the leverage of participation to support social/collective wellbeing (viewing further than individual benefits) and changes in social structures that can these further support.

-Understanding its leverage to support long -term links and connections between communities and institutions and changes within institutional practices to support those

Aim and final outcome of this chapter is the development of a multi-level theoretical framework to understand how reciprocal links between institutions and communities may occur and how the interactions and exchanges may lead to effective community participation in heritage for both institutions and communities.

The theoretical base of the thesis relies on a large body of sociological theories around forms, types and functions of social capital: it is rooted on the hypothesis of reciprocity between institutions and community groups, which can be nourished through participation (as social exchange): mutual trust development and partnerships can be developed. This is established with greater confidence in the findings of urban planning literature, focusing on collaborative governance models and the benefits of learning for all actors engaging in management of public assets and place making. It is also indirectly supported for the level of project management, in a number of museum studies research, focusing on co-creation and in heritage studies within the body of work around public archaeology and managing the commons. Accepting this theoretical base, suggests that approaches to management are to be constantly e-defined to ensure such reciprocal links can be maintained in time.

The review of theory included existing theories around various disciplines (see also Appendix A): participatory management and sustainable development studies can assist to explain rules and obstacles to processes of co-creation (as viewed in project management literature) but also in organizational studies (focusing more eon organizational change in practices). On the other hand, theories linked to civic participation in planning level, revolve around participatory governance of

common resources (also discussed in heritage studies within stakeholder approaches-these are, delving into power relationships, negotiation and conflict, from a political science lens (Fig.15)

The proposed framework is distancing itself a bit from those, to focus mostly on explaining how links, networks and partnerships are formed between communities and institutions, through participation. A deeper focus on social psychology, environmental psychology and behaviour studies is necessary to explain changes in behaviour towards others and heritage as place. The framework therefore, reflects on social capital theory and relevant theories of practice (Bourdieu) and structuration theory (Giddens) looking into the participation's impacts at individual and systemic level. Giddens' structuration theory has been employed in similar way by scholars as Healey (2003, p.106) in order to provide 'intellectual base with which to develop a critical evaluation framework for assessing the qualities of 'interactive processes' of engagement in policy.

Such interactions involve resource exchanges around physical heritage assets; therefore impacts are mapped on processes of heritage making, interpreting, conserving (conceptualized through project management literature). On the other hand, environmental psychology theories assist in conceptualizing affectionate/cognitive links developed with physical heritage assets and physical environment. In that sense, the theory here attempts to bridge the gap between social determinism and spatial determinism-two distinct theoretical approaches- and offer a holistic explanation of behaviour change through community-level heritage participation.



Figure 14 Diagram depicting disciplinary affiliations: each brings relevant theories and concepts for studying participation in heritage from community behaviour perspective and institutional management/practices perspective.

3.1 The theoretical lens of reciprocity

The philosophical approach behind this thesis looks at socially defined aspects of wellbeing, while aims at understanding how interaction with physical environment (as heritage assets mediating social interactions, are part of places) affects those relationships.

The theoretical framework of this thesis follows philosopher Heidegger's understanding of human existence as tied to a temporal experience of reality through activity (participation) and interaction between people. That implies deeper human relations that are based on trust (Törrönen, 2015). This idea connects with the theory around the concept of reciprocity, a social norm, according to which, people maintain social contacts with people who might be able to help them in difficult situations in the future (Törrönen, 2015; Törrönen et al 2014). Reciprocity is an integral part of power relations between individuals, within communities, and within society. In terms of a definition, reciprocity has been associated with concepts like "sociability, social networks, trust, community and civic engagement" (Morrow, 1999).

The social norm of reciprocity "organizes society, ensures fulfilment of obligations and defines the moral self, thereby assuring emotional wellbeing" (Maiter et al, 2008 in Kleinman, 1995, p. 220). As Maiter et al (2008) observe however, when looking at traditional small-scale societies, formation of basic ties can be observed through the lens of reciprocity.

The way reciprocity norms may affect dynamics between heritage making stakeholders and specifically between experts and communities, despite being a fundamental form of social interaction and exchange, has not been discussed in heritage studies. In our conceptualisation of heritage as a social practice as debated earlier in this thesis, implies considering institutions as social entities which overview the way heritage is protected and safeguarded throughout networks of interaction between human actors.

While adopting an 'expert' perspective in deliberating heritage values with communities has been widely criticised through the so-called Authorised Heritage Discourse by academics in heritage studies, the "real world" adopts a rather objectivist stance to heritage project management focusing on the management and distribution of material resources, which leaves little space for social interdependencies (Boser, 2006) eg. among community and heritage managers to be considered. Moreover usually restrictions in resources within institutions tend to restrict efforts for evaluation on outputs and therefore may not cover outcomes or impacts, leaving a gap for assessing role of heritage for social sustainability, social capital and wider local development. By looking at participation processes and focusing on interactions between experts and non-experts within various forms of collaborative management and governance thesis aspires to challenge some of the existing thinking around the Authorised Heritage Discourse. A multiplicity of papers using the term participation referred to the obstacles that the current role of experts may pose in further enlarging the gap between authorised and non-authorised heritage, but fewer work has

focused on analysing ways of collaboration to provide answers and models for improvement especially for collaborative management of heritage and historic places. Lessons from collaborative governance in urban planning literature and from natural resource management of commons will inform the discussion here too.

We will now discuss the basic assumptions around reciprocity, its connection with social capital and social wellbeing which the theoretical base of the thesis is constructed.

3.1.1 Hypothesis and objectives around reciprocity and social wellbeing

Thinking of the theoretical underpinnings of reciprocity in the context of participation in heritage, heritage institutions hold a prominent role in fostering reciprocity through social networks with involvement of various actors (managers, participants, groups).

This research is concerned to finally explore if there are any reciprocal relationships created between local community and institutions through participation. Therefore, it considers two aspects of reciprocity, providing directions for the exploratory part of the study:

-Research starts with the presumption that socio-cultural resources, including *knowledge, attitudes, skills*, which individuals bring into heritage via participation, can be embedded in (Lin 1982) and transmitted via the social networks created between individuals and heritage organisations. Then those have the capacity to support or compensate for other resources. For both institutions but also for communities who build their capacity in having active role in management of heritage resources? According to the rule of reciprocity, both parties engaging in a social relationship, will return to each other the contribution received: institutions will cultivate the relationship established (develop bridging and linking social capital) 'through participation and vice versa (ie. participants will engage more consistently , as recurring participants, in the light of increased social benefits they gained). The research will focus on exploring to what extent such reciprocal links are created through processes of engagement observed and what is their relationship with the perceived social impacts of participation ; are those direct (*individual level*)/*indirect (collective-community level)* impacts linked to motivations for further engagement? The focus on process allows us to understand how social exchanges and connections (networks) between the two types of agents are materialised.

Similarly, the impacts for heritage organisations are also viewed through an extension of the theory of social capital at institutional level, through the synergy approach (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000) and the relational aspect of it, focusing on the concept of reciprocity.

The implications of such a hypothesis and the research on the Authorised heritage discourse are profound; the mechanisms under observation, if existing, can actually be utilised for supporting communication between institutional definitions of heritage and heritage values and ones defined bottom-up coming from certain local community groups. Moreover the key aspect of the theory

and the systemic perspective advocated here, suggests an interdependency between actors where actions of one affect the decision making and practices of the other, in a bidirectional way, which could be instructive in closing the gap between official and unofficial heritage discourses. By 'unpacking' processes of participation within heritage project management (as in Stringer et al, 2006) and planning the thesis aims at showing how social norms and links are key for achieving truly collaborative management and governance at local level, while discussing specificities of rural context.

A set of definitions of the terms used within the umbrella framework of reciprocity, employing aspects of social capital theory, as developed by Bourdieu and adapted by multiple followers (Putnam, Coleman, Woolcock), combined with structuration theory (as developed by Giddens) are explored-, these enables to look at systemic level interactions easier.

3.1.2 Relation between reciprocity, trust and social capital: a precondition, a product of social exchanges or both?

The relationship between reciprocity and trust-and subsequently social capital- is under the microscope, in order to understand how mechanisms of reciprocity work.

The social dimension of the concept of "reciprocity" is actually defined according to Bourdieu's (1984) idea of social capital and described as a two-fold concept: *belonging to a group* or social network and mutual recognition and legitimation.

It is evident that reciprocity is the mechanism around which expectations are formed in social exchanges: Bourdieu's theory considered that those exchanges actually reinforce existing power and structural inequalities as part of the process.

Putnam (1993, p.67) (and subsequently Woolcock, 2001) considered social capital "as features of social organizations, such as trust, norms, and networks" and defines reciprocity as: "trust and reciprocity and norms of cooperation, or a sense of obligation to help others, along with a confidence that such assistance will be returned" (Putnam, 2001, p.9; Whitely and McKenzie, 2005, p. 72). In that sense reciprocity explains how collaborations between institutional communities and local groups work, towards co-management of heritage.

Reciprocity within social psychology is considered similarly, a core part of cognitive social capital (Abbott & Freeth, 2008; Stone, 2001) ie. the set of norms and trust that guide social behaviour. Authors like Fukuyama (1995) define trust in a similar way as "the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of the community (p. 27)."The concept is admittedly, "inadequately theorized" compared to the extensive body of work on social capital (see Abbott and Freeth, 2008;

O'Brien, Burdsaland Molgaard, 2004; Stone, 2001), which provides an area or the research to develop in relation to cultural heritage and community participation.

Both notions are related to the production of cooperative behavior and exchanges between individuals and groups. Misztal(1996), sees reciprocity "as a compelling obligation that reflects the normative standards that sustain exchange" (Fu, 2004, p.20).

Viewing the multiple scholars talking about it, a core issue arises, that relates to how we can study reciprocal relationships and development of social capital:

If trust is part or by-product of social capital does growing social capital assumes also developing trust [see Woolcock (1998) and Kirkpatrick et al (2003)] or trust is "a precondition of social capital"? Which one comes first? Putnam (2001, p.19) has argued that "social trust can arise from norms of reciprocity", which suggests that trust can occur the same way as social capital does.

For the scope of the research, we consider that this dualism is not productive, as both can be valid. We consider that trust may as well exist, and therefore assist social capital formation but can also be formed and then sustained through social interactions. As Fu (2004, p.19) observes the two may have common sources (beliefs, structures, norms and social institutions) : "Social networks and norms appear to be determinants of both; calculative trust rests on shared beliefs, and the role of system trust is similar to the roles that formal rules and institutions play in the constitution of social capital."(see. fig.16 for the different levels of analysis)

As Fu suggests, an important division lies on the level of analysis and the type of interactions; them being between groups at collective level or at systemic level.

At a **collective level** various authors and thinkers have debated on the subject. Wolfe (1989, p.205) for example suggests that "individuals create their moral rules – that is, mutual obligations— through the social interactions they experience with others". In that sense he supports that rules are negotiable and formed through interaction with the groups individuals belong to.

At an **institutional level**, Fukuyama argues that "trust is a characteristic of systems" (1995, p. 33), offering an analysis of the notion in another level, similar to Fox (1974): "trust and distrust are embodied in the rules, roles and relations which some men impose on, or seek to get accepted by, others ' (p. 67). Farrell and Knight (2003) focus on institutions that have the power to develop incentives and sanctions and in that way, direct people's behavior, fostering trust. We identify with this approach that supports the meaning of our inquiry at systemic level, which views institutions (created within organizations and community groups) as powerful to affect social beliefs about trust, as they can disseminate information about expected behavior by their members or followers or participants in their projects. The author considers however that is impossible to lo at systemic level, without starting from the collective one, where interactions between individual participants or groups and managers are taking place. This is also the contribution of the thesis at theoretical level, aiming at bridging the gap between the ways of analysis employed at different levels, by

looking at key theorists that may pose different significance in the role of actors' behaviour vs structure to affect social capital (like Bourdieu and Giddens) together. At this stage, an overview of these theories and a glimpse on the wide literature on forms, types and approaches to studying social capital at collective and systemic level is necessary.

Trust Type	Belief	Structure	Norms	Social Institutions	Relevance for analysis
Individual	Belief in good intent, competence, reliability, openness (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998)				Individual participation level
Collective		Embedded with structure (Granovetter 1985); Social structure (Coleman, 1988)	Mutual obligation (Wolfe, 1989); Reciprocity (Putnam 1993; Misztal 1996);		Engage with management level
Social System				Characteristics of system (Fukuyama 1995; Fox 1974); Create rules & incentives (Farrell & Knight 2003)	Engage with governance level

Figure 15 Reciprocity as source of Trust in various levels of analysis (Source: Qianhong Fu, 2004, edited by author)

3.2 Participation, forms of capital and theory of practice

In the following part, I will explain the contribution of core theorists that worked on the extensive field of social theories, focusing on social capital and on approaches that explore the concept at different levels: exploring relationships and networks between individuals, communities, and finally institutions. The analysis focuses in two seminal theorists, Bourdieu (and his followers) and Giddens, reflecting on their contribution in relation to reciprocity and social exchanges via heritage participation. These complement and provide a sound support for the literature review in chapter 2 that started with analysing the concept of social capital and its relation with social wellbeing, trust to groups and institutions.

3.2.1 Bourdieu's theory of practice

As part of our wider focus, we will start with the 'Theory of Practice' introduced by the French theorist and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and developed also by Ortner (1984)- which is interesting for the scope of research, as it focuses on the interrelationship between individual and the (social) structure. Practice theory, studies how people as social beings, act: how they perform in the framework in a specific culture, transforming the world, by affecting the social structure in which they live, but puts the emphasis on social mechanisms, rather than on individual action to explain that. However, the theory accepts that they are also affected by it: in other words a dynamic, bi-directional relationship exists. The concept of habitus, developed by Bourdieu, represents the principles of the theory, it has been compared to a 'way of life', 'lifestyle', people's expectations activities and values of a certain social group. As Ortner (1984, p. 148 and 2006) puts it: "seeks to explain the relationship(s) that obtain between human action, on the one hand, and some global entity which we call 'the system' on the other". We will reflect on the content of 'habitus' more, through the work of Giddens who also theorized the concept of agency and systemic social structures.

Bourdieu's extensive work on capital and class, includes focus on "symbolic capital" and power, through which he saw that generalized trust and the rule of reciprocity operate (ie. They determine this way people's position and role in society). Looking further into Bourdieu's development of **forms of capital** (based on types of resources accrued, managed and exchanged by the actors) he is distinguishing between three forms: economic, social and cultural capital.

The concepts proved relevant to heritage impact related research and has been utilized by various researches in the field to assist in linking access to material resources (financial resources) with immaterial ones and specifically cultural access (knowledge and access to cultural goods) (Thorsby, 2001), while less focus has been given on the social capital that refers to networks and relationships themselves. The research takes into account the 'exchangeable' nature of different forms of capital and focuses on social capital as produced and used by actors through social interactions.

3.2.2 Followers of Bourdieu: definitions, forms and approaches to social capital

Of course Bourdieu's work on capital has been only the basis of a rich body of sociologists exploring the concept and adding to the complexity of its theorisation

for studies at different levels of analysis (individual, communal and institutional): Putnam's concept of social capital has been considered as rooted in "American theories of pluralism and system integration" (Siisiäinen, 2003) whereas Bourdieu is closer to structuralism and even conflict theories as we saw earlier (ibid.). Putnam sees capital as resources but also puts emphasis on the interplay between communities and governance to change the way these resources function.

Analyzing their approaches, Bourdieu mostly focused on an individual approach, while Putnam somehow focused on the collective capabilities of social capital. Coleman, in contrast to the focus on structural aspects, which poses emphasis on the function 'any aspect of the social structure that the actor can use as a resource for action' (Coleman, 1988, 1990), while he recognizes three dimensions in these networks: "obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness; information; and norms and sanctions" (Torche and Valenzuela, 2011, p.183)⁴

A rather common definition created through the *CONSCISE* research project (Evans, 2000 in Kay , 2005) views social capital as consisting of "resource within communities, which are created through the presence of high levels of trust, reciprocity and mutuality, shared norms of behavior, shared commitment and belonging, both formal and informal social networks, and effective information channels" (ibid, p.163)

Such common definitions (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Lin 1999; Putnam 1993, 2000) agree on that those "resources can be accessed and used to reach individual or collective goals": this lies in the base of effective collective action and even in the heart of communitarian development theories that look at collective wellbeing or well-being of social groups usually from a rights-based approach, putting emphasis on processes of empowerment. Bourdieu's definition itself is a resource-based:

"Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119).

Putnam's (2000) expands this focus on resources to conceptualize social capital in two forms: bonding or bridging, adding another widely used layer of understanding in the use of the concept in community/group level analysis, putting the focus on unravelling cohesion and inclusion effects thanks to capital development of relationships.

Key difference between them, lies in type of tie or relationship that exists between two actors. Putnam, considers bonding form to be exclusionary, assisting in bringing people together according to their similarities, "bonding social capital is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and

⁴ For impacts of Coleman' s theory on interlinkages between structural aspects see Torche and Valenzuela, (2011, p.183)" .. Thus, social capital is usually created and destroyed as a by-product or unintended consequence of individual rational action. This can lead to an imbalance between the individual and the social optimum and, hence, to under-investment. This insight has two important implications. First, social capital directly benefits individuals if its outcomes can be confined and appropriated (Dasgupta, 2000), but it can also provide indirect benefits if it emerges only at the collective level, in the standard public good form. These distinctions imply that social capital cannot be reduced to directly appropriable, purposefully sought resources managed by individuals. .."

mobilizing solidarity” (2000, p. 22). On the other, hand, bridging refers to connections outside “one’s immediate community or network” :

“[b]ridging networks...are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion” (Putnam 2000, p. 22).

The power of those ties he considers able to affect reciprocal links:

“generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrower selves” (Putnam 2000, p.22)

Woolcock added ‘linking’ social capital to these divisions, whereby individuals lever in resources through networks that include those with power, who are authorities or decision makers (Harriss, 2002, p. 100, Woolcock, 2001), establishing a differentiation that includes the subtle notion of power in it.

Tzanakis (2013) however, points out to operationalization as key to disentangle theoretical differences through the use of the concept, and we are looking at this later on in the chapter to assist in forming our theoretical framework. Utilising Putnam’s types and forms of capital (bonding, bridging and linking) enables us to actually operationalize the concept easily (see also Table 2 for operational dimensions produced and used by ONS) in a way that we can detect changes and types of relationships in group formation, between-group behaviors and so on, all rather crucial in the small island context, with the interplay between bonding and bridging being crucial in rural close-knit communities.

Table 2 The UK framework for the measurement and analysis of social capital, which reflects many aspects of Putnam's theorization, while aims to integrate network and institutional approaches. [Source: Harper, R.(ed) (2002), pp.5 Office for National Statistics, . Accessible at: www.oecd.org/unitedkingdom/2382339.pdf]

Dimension (aspect of operational definition to which the dimension relates)	Facet for which measures may be developed
Social participation (networks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of cultural, leisure, social groups belonged to - Frequency and intensity of involvement - Involvement with voluntary organisations - Frequency and intensity of involvement - Religious activity
Social networks and social support (networks)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frequency of seeing and speaking to relatives, friends or neighbours - virtual networks – frequency and intensity of contact - how many close friends or relatives live nearby - who can be relied on to provide help - who provide help to - perceived control over life - satisfaction with life
Reciprocity and trust (shared norms and values)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - trust in other people who are like you - trust in other people who are not like you - people will do favours & vice versa - perception of shared values
Civic participation (co-operation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - confidence in institutions at different levels - perceptions of ability to influence events - how well informed about local or national affairs - contact with public officials or political representatives; involvement with local action groups; frequency - propensity to vote
Views of the local area (shared norms and values)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - views of physical environment - facilities in the area - enjoyment of living in the area - fear of crime

3.2.3 Giddens theory of structuration: viewing systemic changes in a social system

The theory of structuration, proposed by sociologist Anthony Giddens, proposes seemingly contradictory to Bourdieu view of human agency: It considers it as intertwined with social structure.

“social life is more than random individual acts, but is not merely determined by social forces. There is a social structure – traditions, institutions, moral codes, and established ways of doing things; but it also means that these can be changed when people start to ignore them, replace them, or reproduce them differently” (Mouzelis, 1989, pp.509-522)

Giddens, as well as Bourdieu, dealt with the utmost issue of overcoming the structure-agency dichotomy by supporting “**a dual conception of structure**”, which:

Refers to “the patterned social arrangements in society that are both emergent from and determinant of the actions of the individuals” and

“relates to the fundamentally recursive character of social life, and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency” (Giddens, 2002, p. 238)

which is the founding moment of Giddens’ theory. For Giddens:

“structures are ..rules and resources, organized as properties of social systems” (2002, p. 237).

which ‘exist in the agents as memory traces’ (Giddens, 1984,p.377) and interpretative schemes or instantiate in social practices (Stones,2005, p.52). Agents (using their habitus or collected knowledge and way of acting) draw upon these structures, in the production of social practice. This implies a two way exchange: interactions occurring across time-space, and at the same time, structures are produced and reproduced through their use in social practice (Giddens, 1984).

“Structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute those systems” (Giddens, 2002, p. 238)⁵.

It is evident now why Giddens theory can guide our enquiry, by allowing reflections on systemic level: by conceptualizing heritage institutions as social subsystems and their local communities as another one, the interactions between agents though participation in heritage can be analyzed in their entirety through Giddens theoretical lens. His focus on “the structural properties of the system, as both medium and outcome” (ibid), he recognizes that by defining the system we can not only understand how it works (its structural properties), but describe outcomes of the practices that constitute it, in our case describe participatory processes and interactions between agents and their outcomes on its function.

Moreover, Giddens theory provides a clear focus on process analysis, offering a connection with the conceptualization of heritage (making, use etc) as a process that involves and assumes human interaction with resources (material and immaterial).

His core reference to systems, links with our methodological choice of system dynamic tools to explore further the bigger picture of the interactions within the heritage institution-local community system, identifying actions of agents in time that both define and are defined by the system structure. The interrelation of his theory with systems theory is given later.

⁵⁵ In examining social systems, structuration theory examines structure, modality, and interaction. The "modality" (discussed below) of a structural system is the means by which structures are translated into actions.

3.3.Theorizing impacts of participation as networks and relationships at multiple levels: merging Bourdieu and Giddens?

Social Capital Theory in its entirety, is looking into multiple aspects of social relationships: the nature, structure, and resources embedded in a person's network of relationships (see amongst others Seibert et al, 2001; Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 1992; Lin, Ensel, & Vaughn, 1981a, 1981b).

Various theories have been constructed around those (with somehow competing conceptualizations of social capital, like weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) or Burt's (1992) structural holes or even Lin's body of work on social resources (2000).

We consider that the theory around social capital, by combining Bourdieu and Giddens approaches, offers a theoretical base to view the bigger picture, a systemic understanding of the phenomenon of participation in multiple levels of exchanges, by looking at nature, structure and resources embeddedness within the networks and thus promises to offer the background to answer our questions. It offers a greater depth into our inquiry, by looking not only at quality of interactions (types, forms of capital and relation with practices, Bourdieu), but also in other attributes that affect it (systemic level interdependencies, Giddens).

It is useful at this point to look at various approaches that theorized it differently and produced variant operational definitions of the concept, its various types and dimensions to be studied (Claridge, 2004d).

1.Approaches

Looking at capital as a resource that can be distributed is only one of the three main theoretical conceptualizations of it. Other approaches/perspectives (see fig.19, p.111) were developed to allow study of the concept in various contexts/ settings, like: communitarian one based on work of Putnam, the network approach (based on Granovetter,1973; Burt, 1992; Lin, 1999 among others) or even the institutional approach that aim to view macro-scale issues and the role of institutions in changing community networks (see Woolcock and Narayan 2000, p.229-236). Finally the synergy approach merges network and institutional ones.

The communitarian one focuses on psycho-social mechanism and looks at reciprocity to understand how these relationships are formed; Putnam already in 1993 (as in Woolcock, for Development Research Group, OECD n.d) had identified that: "density and scope of local civic associations' are the basis for dissemination of information and social trust: thereby creating the conditions underpinning effective governance and economic development. In Putnam's view, social capital consists of "resources within communities".

The network one attempts to get out of the individual and view it from a systemic relational perspective, where multiple networks both in vertical and horizontal dimension happen simultaneously and at different levels. The synergy approach (Woolcock and Narayan 2000, p.236)

first viewed in the work of Fox (1992); Evans (1992, 1995, attempts to bring together a large body of work from network and institutional approaches and looks inquisitively into the potential negatives of social capital formation in the quality of relationships between actors. This is the approach that lies closer to the thesis questions and allows to study interlinkages between communities and institutions. (see table 25 and Appendix C).

2. Aspects or dimensions of social capital

Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) shed light on the discussion by suggesting that there are three specific aspects or dimensions of social capital to be studied in different ways: (1) the **structural dimension**, (2) the **relational dimension**, and (3) the **cognitive dimension**. (see also Appendix C).

The **structural dimension** describes simply, the existence of connections between people or the overall patterns of relationships between them, while the relational dimension describes more qualitative aspects of those links: the extent to which there is an "affective quality to these connections". The cognitive aspects looks deeper into whether these connections to see if they have a 'cognitive component', referring for example to intangible experience of social support and an individual's perceptions of social relationships and community. In that sense, looking at the nature of the relationships in social networks (i.e., is there evidence of true understanding or common perspectives, common visions between the people linked?

The theoretical development of social capital has led to important distinctions between those (Harpham et al, 2002) that direct research using the concept in different ways. Krishna and Shrader (2000) describe **cognitive social capital** "as the less tangible side of social capital; norms of trust, solidarity, and reciprocity" (Claridge, 2004a), while they define **structural social capital**, as referring to the "composition, extent, and activities of local level institutions and networks"(ibid. and Claridge, 2004b). Harpham et al (2002) provide a short, clear distinction, with structural social capital referring to what people *do*, while cognitive social capital referring to what people *feel* with regard to social relations (in Claridge , 2004a).

Finally, the third dimension, that of **relational capital**, really relevant to our research, has been defined as consisting of "the characteristics of social relationships between individuals .. including trust and trustworthiness" (Claridge, 2004a). This dimension relates to the history of social interactions, but also the nature of these relationships and the way they 'leverage' assets or flow of resources through those relationships. Key elements here are trust and trustworthiness, and the dimensions defined by Coleman (1988, 1990) that affect them: norms and sanctions, obligations and expectations, and their interplay with individual's identity. The difference with the existence of same elements in the cognitive dimension, is that in the relational dimension these relate specifically to, social relationships. The research looks at both the structural but also the cognitive

and relational aspects: while it is not counting amounts of networks, it observed how network creation is linked with expressed feelings around groups, institutions and experiences of engagement with heritage.

3.Types of social capital

Another important division that assists more in studying the structural dimension, is the identification of types of structural, based on types of networks: bonding, bridging, and linking social capital, already described as part of the seminal work of Putnam, (see also Appendix C tables 26-28) which greatly influenced operationalization for measurement (eg. survey construction, see Table2).

Bonding social capital is viewed in “the strong ties within a network that strengthen common identities and functions as a source of help and support among members” (Claridge, 2004a). While bridging in the weak ties that can nevertheless “link people from different networks together and become important sources of information and resources” (Putnam 2000, Portes 2000 in Claridge, 2004a and in Eriksson,2011). Finally, linking, (Szreter and Woolcock (2004) lies in the vertical connections ‘between people in different formal or institutionalized power hierarchies’, being in dialogue with Putnam's communitarian view but looking at macro scale, prerequisites for the development of trusting norms (Eriksson , 2011).

What is important is the differentiation between *formal (via bridging and linking) vs informal networks (via bonding)* (see Putnam, 2000 for a discussion of thick-personalized and thin trust). This allows for differentiating between studying involvement in different networks horizontally or vertically: thin trust can further be divided into ‘generalized’ – trust in people in ‘*general*’, and ‘*institutionalized*’ – trust in public institutions (Harpham et al, 2004). Involvement in different networks results in the creation of reciprocity norms as well as trust between people that can be viewed both at relationships between community members but also between them and institutions or power holders. Fig.17 shows a conceptualizations of the two core levels of analysis: micro and macro. While the first focuses on understanding how cognitive, structural and relational capital works between individuals and groups, the second aims at viewing these into wider systemic interdependencies, which include legal and governance frameworks in the context of study.

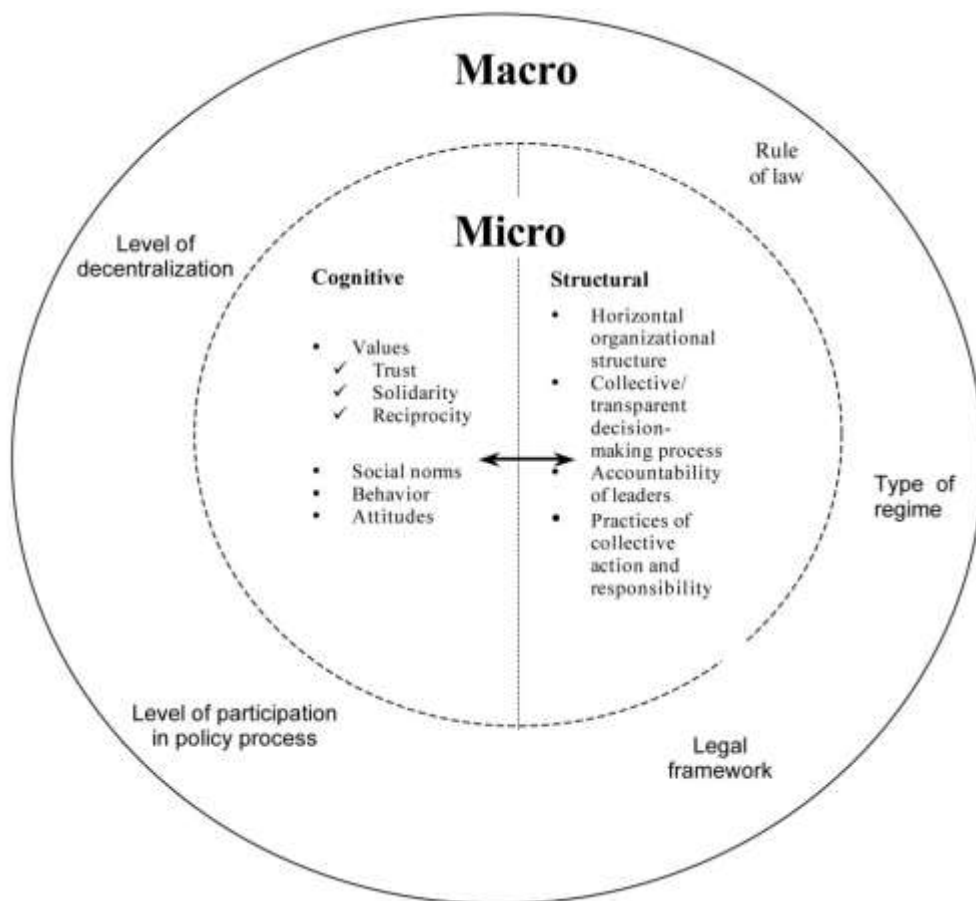


Figure 16 Levels of analysis and relevance with types of social capital, a Conceptual Framework ((Source: Claridge, 2004d, p.40 adapted from: Bain and Hicks, 1998)

How can we look for interactions between the two levels though? And how can we talk about the 'intermediate' level that of intra-community relationships that is so relevant to vitality of rural community life?

3.3.1 Individual vs communal attribute and the different foci: structural vs cognitive approaches

There is ongoing debate in the field considering whether social capital is an individual or community-level construct or a combination of the two (Bourdieu 1992, Putnam 2000) that is fired by operationalisations within the structural approach. Community social capital, has been considered, referring to the *trust and reciprocity* one has of people in their immediate community (Carpiano 2007, Bourdieu, 1984).

"Its three components (norms of reciprocity, social networks/voluntary associations, and generalized trust) depict social potentialities on a community level"

(Siisiäinen, 2013, p. 187).

Aiming to surpass this important methodological issue that the structural approach poses (choosing between individual or collective level adapted research methods), the research via this review looked further into : (a) merging the gap between the two approaches and the levels of analysis (b) establishing connections with the aspects of social capital that are actually relevant with heritage participation.

Torche and Valenzuela (2011)⁶ have claimed, after reviewing many existing studies on social capital, that controversies in use of the concept emerge due to the dualism structural versus functional dimensions. They also suggest a refocus on the “way in which social relations are experienced by those who participate in them” (ibid., p.182), that could provide new qualitative rich input to the existing conceptualizations and theorizations of the concept, something that this research applies by taking into account aspects relevant with the context (rural, island communities), but also by applying open ended questions and qualitative methodologies to induct personal experiences related to social capital aspects by research participants.

This research is based on the assumption that social capital can be created at both levels but to focus on the communal level, we anyway have to look at the individual units first and understand the way they perceive their relationship with the community. Part of our focus is also the relationship between specific communities and institutions, looking at interrelationships that affect governance and group cohesion at a broader level following Coleman’s suggestions that benefits can be spread at macro level.

Coleman views the role of social capital as ‘a public good’ suggesting that benefits can be transferred between scales: it can provide benefits that can be appropriated ‘not only by people who invest in it but by all affected or involved’ (Martikke, 2017). Coleman’s work defines social capital by its function and provides a base to consider shared social capital benefits between social institutions and individuals or groups (communities), indicating the need to use tools like social network analysis to be able to distinguish how reciprocity and social network work. His work provides also a useful basis for understanding indirect benefits to wellbeing, linked to public policy directives of public institutions.

This offers the possibility to explore the blurring boundaries that a small and tight-knit community of an island cases study offers. After all, even if we accept that social capital can be gathered at both levels, there is still interaction between them that takes place: McMillan supports that higher levels of community social capital will boost individual social capital as people’s identity and behaviour is partly shaped by their interactions with their social environment (1996).

Eriksson (2011) provides an understanding of individual and collective aspects of social capital and the approaches linked to measuring them (see Fig.18).

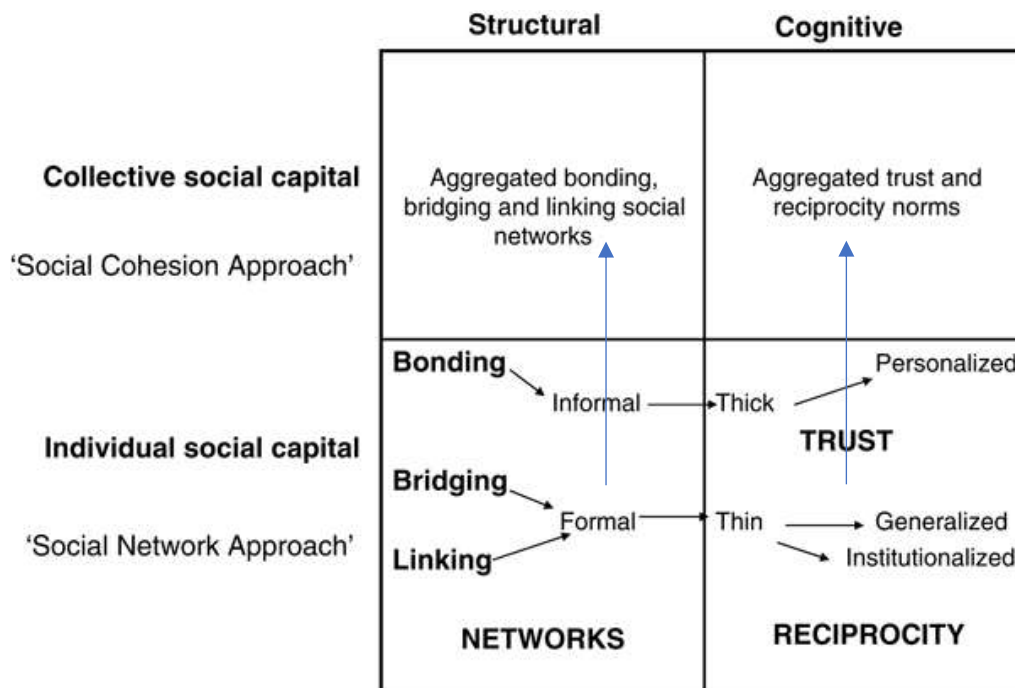


Figure 17 Individual and collective aspects of social capital and foci of different approaches (structural vs cognitive). The area of interest for the researcher lies specifically in understanding links and differences between individual and collective aspects. (Source: Eriksson, 2011, edited by author)

The researcher considers the structural aspect of social capital expressed as networks important as a basis to also explore its cognitive aspects-issues of trust.

The researcher aims to understand reciprocity by viewing how interpersonal trust diffuses from individuals to community through those networks, transcending borders between collective cognitive and cognitive individual aspects of social capital. The exploration of networks of trust is acquiring central importance for the research as it provides a framework to respond to the main aim of the thesis: relationships and networks based on trust are the bearers of long term connections and links between heritage institutions and communities. Those can ensure heritage safeguarding and social sustainability through increasing social support.

Rose (2007, p. 36) writes on the relation between individual, aggregate Social capital and trust:

«..To the extent that networks are based on trust, aggregate social capital is indirectly based on individual social capital in the form of the personal characteristic of unconditional trustworthiness. In this way trustworthiness connects human capital to individual social capital to aggregate social capital.»

3.4 Theoretical approaches to analyse institutionalised and community-led participation

3.4.1 Synergy approach to social capital and institutionalised participation as collaboration

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) in their seminal work, have identified four distinct approaches in social capital research useful for researching interactions between communities and institutions. These are: communitarian, networks, institutional, and synergy approach (see figure 19 below, and Table 25-Appendix C).

While the network approach is relevant as it looks at co-existence of vertical and horizontal associations between people and “of relations within and among such organizational entities as community groups and firms” (Woolcock and Narayan 2000, p. 230), the Synergy Approach (that resulted as a merge of network with institutional approaches see also Fox (1992); Evans (1992, 1995, 1996); Rose (1998); Woolcock (1998); Narayan (1999); and Fox and Brown (1998), is also extremely relevant to our research question.

It achieves this integration through including previous work on interpersonal level assessments on social capital. This way the synergy approach can offers the basis for this research to understand how ‘social capital may denote resource and knowledge transfer between individuals, groups and institutions and deliver various benefits and understand this way how such exchanges may work and be perceived by agents.

Moreover, the synergy approach offers a comprehensive lens to view changing policies and institutional approaches (ie.in our case institutional approaches to participation and relevant norms within organisations), as it focuses on incorporating multiple levels and dimensions of social capital while it also observes critically both positive and negative outcomes stemming from it (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p.225)

The authors offer some suggestions for directing research working within this approach: it should “identify the nature and extent of a community’s social relationships and formal institutions, and the interaction between them” (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p.238), while institutional strategies should be based on these social relations, while care should be given to examine how the positive aspects like “cooperation, trust and institutional efficiency” may have negative effects by offsetting “sectarianism, isolationism and corruption” (ibid.) (see also Misztal, 2001 on trust and cooperation).

In their operationalization of the synergy approach, they also identify six categories for questions that can be used to explore all aspects of social capital in multiple levels (see Table 25, Appendix C):

-from the interactions of individuals with their close ones or to their community (categories a, b), to

- the interaction between various communities and the conflict that may arise from different access to resources provided to each of them within a defined context (category e) (ibid.)

-They also consider the level of participation in group projects (Category c), something that multiple authors have pointed out as important factor affecting motivation to participate in group activities or joint ventures, but also their impacts.

In that sense, the synergy approach absorbs aspects of the communitarian view and can be useful to study behaviours and links between community groups but also between their interrelationships with public/ state agents. Based on this the researcher developed key questions for the interviews and to a certain extent conceptualizes the complexity of the phenomenon. It also allowed to explain answers within the wider themes that the synergy approach proposes in some cases. The ideas of complementarity and enhanced capacity that the approach contains, will be furtherly discussed later in the analysis.

Table 3. Four views of social capital (Source: Woolcock and Narayan 2000)		
Perspective	Actors	Policy prescriptions
<i>Communitarian view</i>		
Local associations	Community groups Voluntary organizations	Small is beautiful Recognize social assets of the poor
<i>Network view</i>		
Bonding and bridging community ties	Entrepreneurs Business groups Information brokers	Decentralize Create enterprise zones Bridging social divides
<i>Institutional view</i>		
Political and legal institutions	Private and public sectors	Grant civil and political liberties Institute transparency, accountability
<i>Synergy view</i>		
Community networks and state-society relations	Community groups, civil society, firms, states	Coproduction, complementarity Participation, linkages Enhance capacity and scale of local organizations

Figure 18 Four views of social capital (Source: Woolcock and Narayan, 2000)

The very nature of participatory projects that bring together official institutions and community groups, suggests that in order for participation to occur (and subsequently yield impacts or talk about effectiveness of it) common articulation of goals between participants and institutions are set and they actively collaborate with the practitioners or 'staff members' (who belong to an organizational community) who may be in charge of managing the process.

Moreover, they imply that changes may occur for all contributing parties: this allows us to think on participation as bringing and stimulating institutional change.

- Looking into impacts of (volunteering) participatory processes for institutions, impacts can be defined both at internal processes and practices but also at institutional level affecting policy formation: especially relating goals and vision to community needs and expectations from institutions.
- On the other hand, looking at how social impacts may affect and shape institutional goals and processes through a reciprocal hypothesis, suggests use of theoretical models that can more meticulously explain interdependencies between institutional decision-making processes and project management approaches and (expected and realised) outcomes for participants

Considering that participatory approaches to project delivery are rather innovative and not the norm today, managers delivering such projects can be considered advocating change in current project management approaches and process of heritage management, within organisational settings.

Theories linking individual behaviour with agency (like Bourdieu's), while looking at the context-agency relationship //or accept influence of context into driving individual behaviour/ change, enable us to study in depth how institutional impacts may occur within organisations, and potentially how/why practices are diffused internally (with key attributes like power, institutional structure and culture eg. managers position in their organisation and relative freedom of decision making are key parameters).

3.4.2 Community-led participation and social capital: from empowerment to community development

Looking at the second part of our initial question "how community groups manage to sustain actions related to engagement with heritage", it is useful to see how theoretical insights from social capital theory can explain processes of group empowerment but also civic participation for community development that can indirectly support community wellbeing. Some theoretical insights can emerge from models looking at participation that development organizations engage while interacting with partners or subjects (cf. Röling, 1988; Pretty, 1995b; World Neighbors, 1999), developed to describe changes in social or organizational structures.

These can complete the insights of Woolcock and Narayan presented earlier (synergy approach) and can be especially useful for analysing impacts of processes of community-led participation, where institutions may be only indirectly engaged and affected.

Most of these models are commonly characterizing diversity in structure and performance according to stages or phases, offering thus a processual analytical background to look at participation as a process that can create stronger relationships but also direct these new

resources towards achieving development goals. Through an interpretative lens, locating social capital typologies and forms and mapping their creation and sustaining is not an aim in itself: the approach allows for focus on the types of social capital that “enhance capacities to solve public problems and empower communities” rather than just quantitative increases or decreases in social capital (Pretty and Ward, 2001) , enabling propositions related to contribution of heritage to the challenges of sustainable development.

Finally many researchers agree upon the significance of relations of trust and common values for collective action, (Harris & Renzo, 1997; Lyon, 2000; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Uphoff, 2000), which lies in the heart of instigating and sustaining community-led projects that can valorize and utilize heritage as vehicle for local Development. Work on social development, participation, institutions and governance sets the base to understand how social capital can form a component of development and consequently how to integrate it in the design and implementation of projects. Research suggests that “where poor communities have direct input into the design, implementation, management, and evaluation of projects, returns on investments and the sustainability of the project are enhanced” (Esman and Uphoff, 1984; see also later Uphoff’s work,).

A wide body of literature on rural development is useful to examine, as it draws parallel lines, focusing a lot on the pivotal role of community-led approaches and deliberative methods for supporting rural development both through the process of mutual learning for all actors involved in exchanges, but also through empowerment and formulation of basis for further collaborations and informed decision making (see Innes, 1996, Healey, 1997 amongst others). McAreavey (2006) specifically studies the challenges at micro-level due to micro-politics, that may dynamitise the exchanges between sub-groups with different levels of power and personal perceptions, suggesting that a focus on process and a close-up lens may be needed to understand how outcomes are achieved in such contexts.

The very relevant critical work of Healey (1997, p. 67) on collaborative planning makes further links with both Giddens structuration theory and the notion of reciprocity, talking about reciprocal respect development via processes of participation in policy debates: a process of exchange allowing policy agents to obtain critical awareness ‘of their own and others’ cultural practices, experiences, views, needs and aspirations’, thus which can guide informed decisions

Moreover, Hayward et al looking specifically at rural development, (2004) locate multiple intangible benefits of participatory initiatives, like the development of leadership or public-speaking skills and the acquisition of novel networks by community members, pointing back to structural aspects of social capital. Such outputs complement tangible outputs achieved (eg. employment), These underline that common aspect of rural development activities is social

interaction with other people, with underlying shared interests in affecting local or regional change.

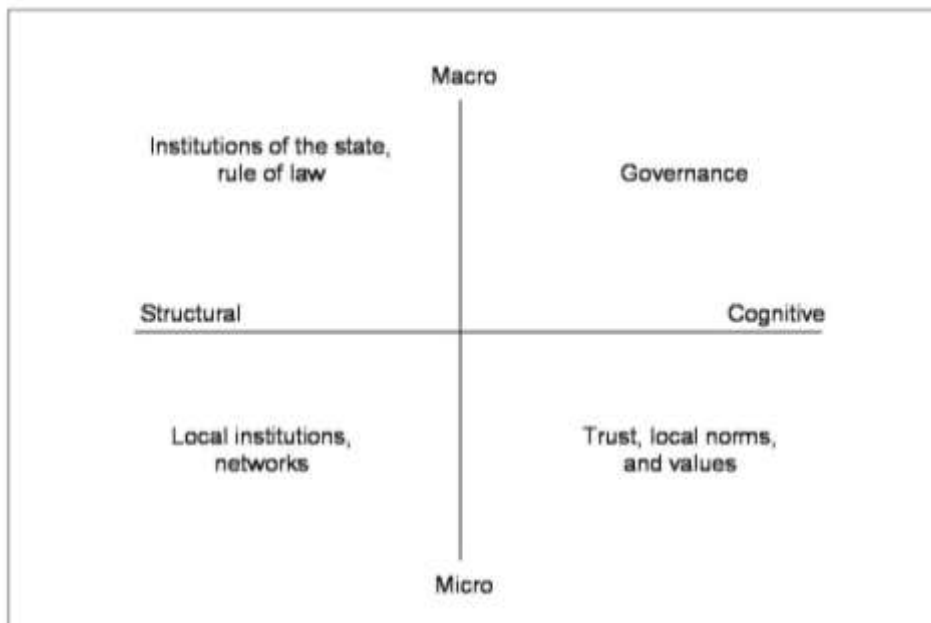


Figure 19 Conceptualization of social capital in the context of international organisations (Source: Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2002)

Some relevant work linking social capital with organisational goals and instrumental objectives of institutions provides key links for how heritage institutions can use it and which forms and levels are relevant to their work. Attempting to conceptualize social capital in the context of international organisations, Grootaert and Van Bastelaer (2002) (fig. 20, having worked for World Bank on 2001) building upon Uphoff (2000) focused on: “the level of analysis from micro to macro; and the continuum from cognitive to structural” (ibid.) (see fig. 17). Bain and Hicks describe the macro level showing towards the context of institutions of the state while the micro level deals with the contribution that NGO’s, community or “horizontal” organizations and their social networks can make to development (1998).

A set of authors working in natural resource and environmental management also dealt with the concept linking it to dynamics of participation and community-led action. Reed (2008) suggests specific approaches like scenario making are enabling stakeholders to engage in informed decision-making, while empowering the agents engaged, allowing for testing of more consistent and robust scenarios that are key for dealing with change (eg. Resource related restrictions may affect management of natural resources). Pretty and Ward (2001) developed a new typology to describe the evolution of social and human capital manifested in groups that is relevant and useful when looking at group level dynamics and impacts of participation as community-led action. They specifically propose that groups can be found to be at one of three evolutionary stages in their progress: Reactive-Dependence; Realization-Independence; and Awareness-Independence, and

that these stages can be differentiated according to some criteria clustered in five themes, namely: *worldviews of members, internal norms and trust, External linkages and networks, Technologies and improvements and group lifespan*. Two of those directly refer to social capital, trust and norm of reciprocity within the group while rest suggest that we should also examine the resources and beliefs of community members that may lead to social capital formation and sustain links between the group and other groups/institutions.

Moreover the research achieves to reflect on issues discussed in critical literature around social capital's role: the notion of *path-dependence* (a term used by Putnam, to imply a degree of historical determinism), suggests that apart from the *self-reinforcing effect of social capital* through use, this can also occur when reciprocity increases connectedness between people, leading to greater trust, confidence and capacity to innovate and subsequently produce positive systemic change. Path dependence explains how the set of decisions one faces for any given circumstance is limited by the decisions one has made in the past or by the events that one has experienced. Putnam's work has been exemplary in demonstrating how social capital through path dependence may affect expected economic development outcomes (and other capitals) putting emphasis on past culture and government structures as enhancing the milieu necessary for supporting development. This concept will be empirically explored here (through the use of causal loop diagrams in ch.7), showing how social relationships may affect both actors' behaviours that support wider spatial rural development but also reinforce knowledge exchanges and the social outcomes of projects.

3.5 Theorising distinct impacts of distinct processes?

3.5.1 Interdependencies between social and institutional impacts and the role of sense of place for both

Referring back to the thesis aims, it becomes clear that the focus is on looking at interdependencies between social and institutional impacts and how one agent affects the other. I argue that the role of institutions in shaping community behaviours and vice-versa has been underestimated in existing studies: traditionally, studies on evaluation of impacts of participation within cultural studies, were focusing on analysis of learning objectives, supported by educational and learning theories (eg. putting emphasis on mono-directional transmission of knowledge about heritage through activities, from experts and institutions to lay people).

I argue that those are inadequate to develop any understanding of social impacts stemming from participation in heritage or its role to community-level social sustainable development, due to the fact that they ignore the bi-directional nature of social interactions and interdependencies in practices of agents engaged in social relationships, that affects impacts (as changes in practices)

for both communities and institutions. The research aims to cover this gap and theorize the nature of those links also at a systemic level to do that.

Moreover through their focus on the individual, they only provide a solid basis to understand change and impact in individual capabilities but ignore the social aspects of the activity itself, as a two-sided process of exchange (aspect of interactive-ness) and thus undermine the potential to understand how it can mediate in developing links and long term connections between institutions and communities.

The fact that similar approaches have been predominantly developed within the field of museum studies, has gradually increased the distance between philosophical conceptualizations of heritage as an object-artefact- and thus reduced the applicability of those (methodologies for evaluation) when aiming at looking at interactions and participation with heritage sites or landscapes (Vakhitova, 2015). The different epistemological stance adopted by disciplines like human geography, when looking at interactions of human with place or spatial attributes of heritage, has increased the distance between those two ways of thinking (see also Appendix A for different foci of theories).

This research aims to bridge the gap between the two by considering a wide conceptualization of heritage including tangible and intangible elements in place which take place through social interactions (with managers other community members of fellow local groups). I argued that a theoretical framework, solidly based on social theories but rather open to consider other epistemological stances, is deemed ideal to adequately assess impacts of participation for both heritage management and local community wellbeing (as institutional impacts relate to heritage conservation goals, direction of resources to deal with physical aspects of place and relation of people with historic places).

By adopting such a systemic tri-partite approach to considering the interactions *people-place - institution*, we insert a novel lens to look at the process of participation itself, the approach to it and we can make valid claims on behavioural changes that may occur post-process, enabling us to look at attitudes to institutions but also to heritage as place.

Based on the discussion and theorization of social capital and the background of participation as a social process which includes spatial interactions, we can describe the basis of the theoretical framework for the thesis that conceptualizes participation both as:

1. Participation as social interaction, civic engagement supporting social wellbeing and contributing to communal goals (structural capital at community level)

This happens through social networks development (social capital structural aspects) but also resource exchange between practitioners/planners and community members: networks and knowledge exchange between professionals and community.

2. Participation as social interaction, leading to links and trust formation between experts and non-experts: reciprocity through social capital theory (structural, cognitive and relational aspects)

Approaches to impacts of participation for communities and institutions are to be studied, conceptualized as stemming from differentiated participatory processes:

- a. Participation as heritage volunteering-institutionally led (direct impacts for institutions and individuals, indirect for communities)
- b. Participation as bottom-up heritage project development, community-led (direct for community wellbeing, indirect for institutions and individuals)
- c. Alternatively participation as partnership creation: institutionally led or local government led, collaborations with groups (relationships, relational social capital)

The researcher assumes that these do not necessarily oppose each other, but rather co-exist within a defined social/heritage management and governance setting.

3. Participation as interaction with heritage places: the role of sense of place for instigating participation and heritage safeguarding behaviors

Looking at social construction of place theories, in the light of environmental behavior change theories makes evident that interactions between individual and heritage, affectionate and cognitive connections with place, also play a role in shaping social relationships between them and subsequently them and heritage professionals/institutions. We suggest considering the way interactions with physical heritage assets and specifically the landscape that surround them as an important factor that may alter the way social relationships are shaped but also the other way around: heritage places are shaped according to values attributes by groups of people with different associations to those places and communities who live their lives around them.

Chapter 4: Case Study, Orkney islands social, institutional and cultural context

4.1 Case study, the rationale

Cultural heritage projects in peripheral, remote rural areas may face issues due to restricted resources and physical isolation, both underlining the necessity for active local participation in heritage management to counterbalance this. Island communities experience frequently exacerbated environmental and social vulnerabilities (Lewis, 1999; Pelling & Uitto, 2001; Kelman, 2005) often attributed to common contextual properties; distance, configurational and area effects (Keegan & Diamond, 1987, p.49).

On the other hand, certain authors elaborated on the particularities due to scale; the potential of kinship-based communities to “rapidly make and implement decisions based on interpersonal trust” (Kelman, 2005), providing alternative scenarios for public participation and management.

Within rurality and heritage studies, islands are often considered ideal "laboratories" for experimental study of human development, societies and culture within archaeology (Evans, 1973, Tsai et al., 2013). Islands represent a rather rural and isolated context for research, which brings with it communities with increased connections with natural environment but also strong traditional skills and cultural attributes, developed through years (Petzold, 2017; Fitzpatrick and Anderson, 2008). Social studies focusing on trust and reciprocity found here a ripe ground to focus on interpersonal relationships.

Subsequently, the island context suggests certain strengths/opportunities and challenges (see Fig.21) for sustaining livability of local communities (Clark, 2013, p.129)-those that need to be considered while analyzing the case study:

- Risk and climate- natural vulnerability challenges
- Local populations with great traditional knowledge
- Strong bonds between natural and cultural heritage
- Small communities, defined by parishes-introvert focus
- Destination related challenges- tourism and capacity challenges
- Insularity, remoteness, rurality socio-spatial effects: ageing, depopulation and accessibility challenges

The rural context, provides one of the less examined areas in academic literature in terms of the relation between historic environment and social issues (Stubbs, 2004) and is therefore offering space for exploration (as in recent work of Di Fazio, 2018, ICOMOS iFLA on rural landscapes, 2017).

The researcher has already opined that social impacts of participation are usually assessed based on generic standards and based indicators, thus ignoring local specificities and community particularities. As a result local needs may be ignored and social issues in vulnerable contexts exacerbated. The research will therefore address this gap, aiming to set light into local specificities following a bottom up approach and focusing on a case study that is considered a suitable example regarding use of community participation to adverse those vulnerabilities.



Figure 20 A preliminary mapping of challenges and opportunities prevalent in the social and regional context of the case study

4.2 Orkney islands: context and demographics

The thesis focuses specifically in Orkney Islands, Scotland, and UK in order to explore the multi-faceted wellbeing impacts from participation in a specific rural community. Some of the contextual and demographic characteristics explain why it is ideal for the study.

The author had initially intended to work on more island case studies through a comparative approach that would allow to compare challenges they face and role of heritage in each (eg. exacerbated socio-economic challenges due to seasonality, resource restriction, local capacity due to insularity combined with social problems that geographic isolation and small scale communities with strong identities may bring with them. This would have faced serious issues due to challenges of cross-cultural perceptions of heritage values but also statutory definitions of it. Having worked in Greece, the author had experienced those challenges affected the quality of outcomes and the feasibility of heritage projects in such areas. However the missing element in Greece, was a lack in best practices for collaborative management and participation in heritage, creating questions on how different management models may operate to respond to challenges through different engagement approaches. Therefore the study was finally oriented towards locating good practice

from the UK, looking into island and remote communities with rich heritage resources which also feature models of engagement worth of being analysed as processes.

The specific reasons for the choice of Orkney as a rich in information case, include its rich cultural heritage assets and sector, supported by multiple public institutions, private and community-run culture and heritage organisations (see sections 4.3 and 4.5, 4.6 following) operating locally. The existing participatory culture present on the islands, praised by Matarasso (2012), suggested a multiplicity of existing forms and level of participation that allowed opportunity to study the phenomenon of interest and its variations or various modalities at the same context. The existence of an Orkney Community Directory⁷ and multiple information available on activities of community trusts, heritage trusts and relevant charities also led to the choice of Orkney as a rich in information case study (including bottom-up and top down initiatives at place) to study processes of participation and collaboration between institutions and communities.

The level of activity observed suggested an interesting community/heritage interplay that can potentially act as a role-model for developing suggestions for other island areas with similar resources.

The thesis also chose to specifically focus on projects delivered as part of a specific programme (the SFLPS scheme analysed later) focusing on heritage within landscapes as this allowed to harness information on the complex nexus of stakeholders involved (which represents most of the existing ones in place) and the processes developed around it. Another key reason was the broad conceptualisation of heritage within it: a combination of official heritage (including natural and cultural heritage, listed buildings, protected areas and archaeological sites) with buildings of local significance and even intangible heritage, traditions and stories about place was part of the activities the projects focused on. This was unique and allowed for an exploration of links between individuals with various typologies of heritage enriching the potential of the exploratory case study approach to describe the values attributed to those heritage assets (tangible and intangible) and behaviours towards participation in both.

An initial longer list of landscape schemes was collated at the start of the research, based on the data provided by relevant evaluation report commissioned by HLF⁸, that allowed to locate which of those were linked with islands or remote rural areas and which had realised rich programme of engagement activities. The island of Bute programme⁹, which was completed on a similar timeline, was also considered in the phase of data collection but after the first fieldwork in Orkney,

⁷ <https://www.orkneycommunities.co.uk/>

⁸

https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/sites/default/files/media/research/landscapepartnerships_summary2011.pdf

⁹ https://issuu.com/brandaniiarchaeologyandheritage5/docs/research_frameworkfinalweb2

the richness of information suggested that multi-project approach in one context would be ideal for the research aims.

Orkney, an archipelago of 20 inhabited islands (and another 50 uninhabited) off the north-eastern coast of Scotland, featuring a rich rural landscape. With its Scandinavian connections, which is often perceived as being remote and unusual (see McClanahan, 2004)¹⁰.

Orkney's island communities comprise 20,110 people (Census, 2011), with almost half of it residing in the mainland. However, this increase is attributed to high in-migration, (as deaths exceed births among existing residents for the period covered by Census) an important attribute for communities' cohesion. Pilot study and field work confirmed Orkney faces some issues common for most rural and remote contexts; seasonality combined with a certain lack of (physical) accessibility especially the winter months, which may escalate physical and social isolation for its residents (Teuton, 2018). Restricted resources and scale (a geographically bounded small area) also suggested restricted opportunities for personal development locally that encourage increased outward migration and residential mobility resulting to an increasingly ageing population. In Orkney, a recent increase in population (OIC, 2017) is attributed to high in-migration (see fig.22, 23), an important attribute altering local communities' structure (by changing the percentage of locals or "born and bred" in comparison to incomers that relocate themselves there usually during the later stages of their lives). (the phenomenon of residential mobility has been studied in few studies like Stockdale et al (2017) and described the complexity of island socio-demographics, being at a state of flux, affecting also attachment to rural place) .The seasonality in most of the commercial activities and professional job offers combined with a certain lack of (physical) accessibility especially the winter months, may escalate issues of physical and social isolation for the residents. Restricted resources and scale (a geographically bounded small area) also suggested restricted opportunities that encourage increased outward migration especially from younger residents and thus increasing numbers of aged population within the permanent residents (ageing data confirmed by 2011 Census).

In the following part of this chapter, the steps taken for analysing the cases study are described and illustrated with findings to show how certain aspects of context were studied and how they may influence heritage participation behaviours in the context.

¹⁰ McClanahan refers to perceptions of highlands and Scottish islands as representing 'traditional' aspects of Scottish culture despite being largely imagined, romanticised inventions of nineteenth-century authors and historians; (Macdonald 1997; McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1995; Schoene-Harwood 1995).

Statistical Information

Area: 990km²

Electorate: 17,232 (at 1 April 2017)

Population (at last census date – 2011)

Age Group	Population	% Population
Aged under 15	3,316	15
15-64	13,814	64
65+	4,219	19
85+	479	2
Total	21,349	100
Scotland	5,327,000	

By 2037, the population is expected to rise to 22,724.

Equality Census Data

Equality Census Data	Orkney Islands 2011
Population living on the Orkney mainland	17,162
Population living on the isles	4,187
Total male population	10,566
Total female population	10,783
Children (under 16)	3,626
Retirement age and over (65 and over)	4,219
Average (medium) age of the total population	42.6
People with a limiting long-term illness	4,029
Carers (people who provide unpaid care)	1,978
Total population	21,349

Figure 21 Basic demographic data on Orcadian population and age groups (Source: National Records of Scotland. 2013,data from Census,2011)

On average in 2013-15 there was a net inflow of 83 people into Orkney Islands per year, meaning that more people entered Orkney Islands (742 per year) than left (659 per year). The 16 to 29 year olds age group accounted for the largest group of in-migrants into Orkney Islands. The largest group of out-migrants was also the 16 to 29 year olds.

Average migration in and out of Orkney Islands, 2013-15*

Age Group	In	Out	Net
0-15	117	79	38
16-29	220	270	-50
30-44	157	123	34
45-64	183	127	56
65+	65	60	5
All ages	742	659	83

Migration, in, out, and net, Orkney Islands, annual average 2013-15*

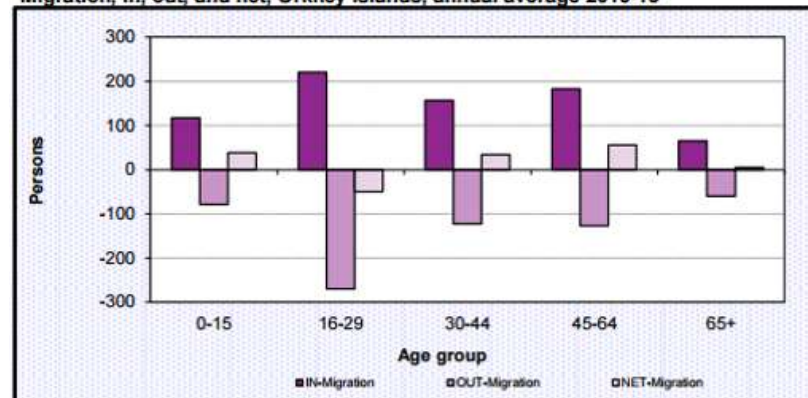


Figure 22 Key information on types of migration(in, out) and age groups affected (mainly young people 16-29, and potentially new retirees within the 46-64 group) (Source: National Records of Scotland. 2013,Data from Census, 2011)

4.3 Type of heritage and institutions in context

Orkney provides an exceptionally rich heritage landscape, with outstanding Neolithic archaeology relics all over the islands of the archipelago, usually combined with outstanding natural landscapes and protected species conservation areas (Jones, 1998). It also hosts recently re-discovered II World War wartime naval bases and vernacular architecture samples representative of local traditional skills, while aspects of the maritime and agricultural ("fishermen and crofters") life are predominant cultural elements (Lindquist, 1994). Orkney's intangible heritage is vastly appreciated by local populations with the Orkney dialect being at the heart of it and arts and crafts gaining prominence in the everyday and professional occupation of residents (McAuley & Fillis, 2005).

With its wealth of archaeological monuments, Orkney's archaeology is so rich that sometimes considered overshadowing other parts of the islands' heritage (Matarasso, 2012), like the recently recognised by the community wartime heritage ; Orkney's history is connected with both World Wars, serving as an important naval base during WW2(see Littlewood, 2017 and Orkney.com,2014-2019).

Heritage institutions managing it in Orkney fall under three main categories; local museum and visitor's centres under the supervision and managed by the Orkney Islands council (called 'Orkney Heritage'), sites/visitor centres functioning under Historic Environment Scotland and independent museums or centres run by a board of trustees/community associations under the constitution of charitable trust. The local university archaeology branch department of UHI-University of Highlands, collaborates scientifically and through the Orkney Research Centre for Archaeology (ORCA) in management of archaeology. A huge force is the Orkney College with its culture and archaeology strand, and Islands with ORCA being its commercial archaeology partner. Moreover, a strong cultural sector is supported by the international standards Pier Arts centre & St Magnus Festival and a multiplicity of stakeholders involved in festivals management on the islands.

The preliminary desktop research together with the first field visit and set of interviews in Orkney resulted in a basic mapping of key elements of the island context (reflecting upon challenges in the literature, described in Ch. 4.1); certain key vulnerabilities for heritage management in context, were located together with specific vulnerabilities faced by the rural communities (as expressed by the first round interviewees) and observation during fieldwork. These are depicted in Fig.24 which completes the picture by locating certain strengths that characterise the place and its community. The last part of the diagram is a contemplation of how heritage management contributes to community wellbeing, based on the findings of this preliminary analysis; showing the double emphasis on developing and utilising both social capital and strong sense of place

(connection with the outdoors) to support community need sin contexts and connection with heritage.

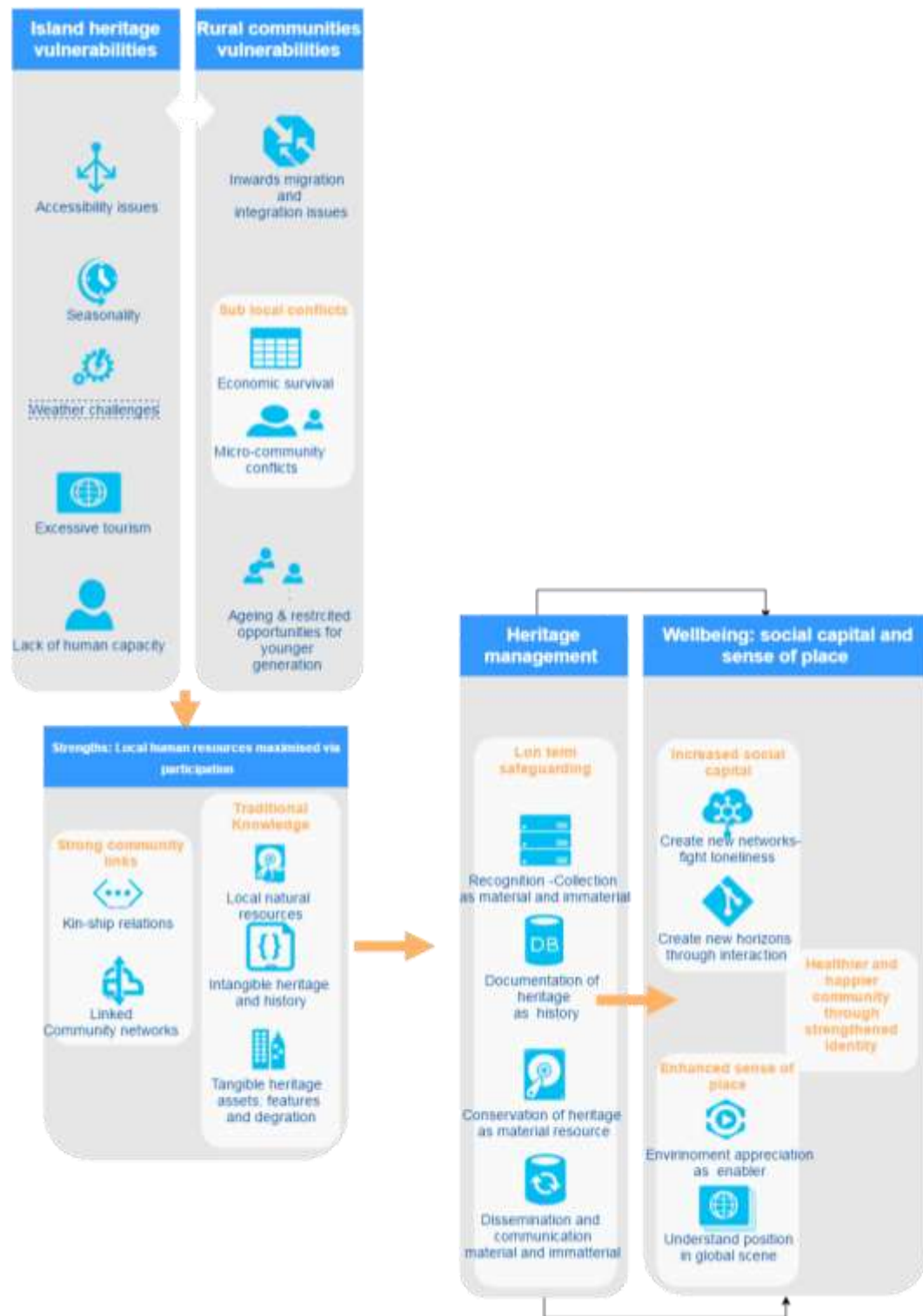


Figure 23 Mapping island vulnerabilities and strengths in terms of community and heritage management and developing a first analytical understanding of how the strengths can be used for supporting reciprocal links between community and heritage in context

4.4 The landscape partnership heritage projects

The researcher is using the case of a landscape partnership heritage scheme -Scapa Flow landscape Partnership¹¹- realized between 2009-2013 in Orkney Islands (see.fig.25 for a timeline) and analysing social and institutional impacts of participation in the scheme. Thanks to the case study that focuses on heritage projects on landscape level, we are able to capture a multiplicity of impact types appearing in various heritage project types, as well as cover multiple types of engagement in heritage, thus increasing the applicability of findings to different sub-cases within heritage sector and generalizability of findings (Ragin, 1992; Rosch, 1978).

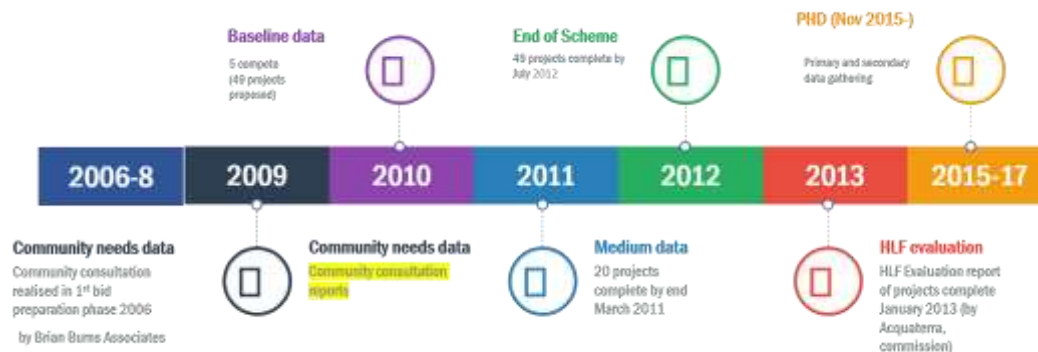


Figure 24 A simple timeline of the SFL Scheme by the researcher, identifying when consultations happened to define project themes and contents and how projects evolved

The area of Scapa Flow Landscape partnership scheme, includes a variety of heritage sites (see also Fig. 35, 36, 37 –at the end of chapter, for types of heritage sites mapped as part of the Scheme) for example the World heritage site of HONO (Heart of Neolithic Orkney, see fig.26)¹² with its adjacent Special areas for conservation (SAC)¹³, sustaining both people’s livelihoods and rich biodiversity. At the same time, rich intangible heritage of the area includes traditional dialect, music and customs

¹¹ A review of the projects within the scheme was available until November 2017 through this site: <http://www.scapafLOW.co>.

¹² The management plan for 2014-19 for HONO is available here: <https://pub-prod-sdk.azurewebsites.net/api/file/4f59bed4-84a6-4410-a85b-a603008f7f8d>

¹³ Information on SAC all over Orkney are available via OIC here: <http://www.orkney.gov.uk/Service-Directory/S/SAC.htm>

unique for the locality and the projects within the scheme focus on both tangible and intangible aspects of heritage.



Figure 25 the ring of Brodgar, part of the complex of Heart of Neolithic Orkney WH sites, lies in a peninsula next to the one that hosts Stones of Stenness and is surrounded by lochs and a rural farming area next to the boundaries of the buffer zone Photo source: Wiztours

The scheme was realized in the area of Scapa between the mainland (Kirkwall area with a population of around 10,000) and the smaller islands of Hoy, Gramsey, Flotta, South Ronaldsay and Burray where projects were realized- see for example wartime sites in Fig.27a,b). A development plan for Lyness area was available through the local council (OIC, 2010).



Figure 26 a,b The Ness Battery in the west shore of Stromness, and was a coastal defense battery in both wars and the Holm Battery looks across to the first Churchill Barriers, in the eastern entrance of Scapa flow Source: M.Dixon, Available at <https://www.northlinkferries.co.uk/orkney-blog/orkneys-wartime-history/>

The areas where the scheme was realized include dispersed rural communities (see fig. 28), organized around parishes, inhabiting the flat landscape with maximum 1000 people residing in the adjacent island of Hoy, in the island of Flotta and around 1500 in the connected with mainland islands of Burray and South Ronaldsay.

Mapping living communities in areas of projects:



Scale of populated areas related with projects:





-  Hoy (Parish) ~50 people
-  Lyness (Longhope) ~250-300 people(419 whole island)
-  South Ronaldsay ~550 (909 whole island)
-  Stromness~2190

Figure 27 As part of the analysis the researcher looked at demographic data in the specific localities where key projects happened and most of the interviewees resided in (Source: Author, using as baseline area map available from the Scheme website: http://www.scapaflow.co/index.php/on_the_map)

Scapa Flow Scheme HLF and participation

The researcher studies projects realized as part of Scapa Flow landscape Partnership Scheme, considered one of recent Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF, 2013) flagship projects aiming to increase local involvement in heritage.

Aims of the scheme involved conserving islanders' cultural knowledge and identity, but also equipping island communities to pro-actively manage their heritage, providing a scope that aligns with the research aims, for evaluating long term impacts. However,

there was no explicit reference to social impacts, nor social wellbeing aspects, in the objectives of the Scheme and the specific projects. Despite that, as referred in the Scheme descriptive reports (unpublished but made available to the researcher through research participants for review), it

covered aspects of engaging communities with heritage from the planning to delivery phase of the projects (see Fig.25 and fig.30 later for types of participation in the various phases). The projects were chosen keeping in mind their potential to engage with the priority audiences (defined in the Scheme planning reports as: *Young people and families, People dependent on public transport, People with disabilities, Local residents, Tourism businesses*). Moreover, objectives of the two core areas of the programme (which were Landscapes of War and of Peace, including many wartime sites and many natural heritage/archaeological sites), include development of civic engagement activities and improvements in public access to sites, which are expected to affect lives of people in the surrounding areas in a greater sense (eg. ‘To develop interpretation that will raise awareness of the Scapa Flow area’s cultural heritage/ To develop public access to peacetime heritage sites, such as lighthouses’).

The timeline of the Scheme (realised between 2009-2012-see fig. 24 for a timeline of planning and delivery) also consists a criterion for selection, as the time from completion, allows enough time for social bonds and relationships to evolve, and makes meaningful a qualitative retrospective assessment.

One crucial reason for focusing on this scheme and its sub-projects is the conceptualisation of wider heritage adopted by it and the positive effects on increasing local engagement reported (by the Scheme steering group and delivery bodies) in the planning reports on aims, objectives and planning of projects.(see fig.29 below)

Appendix 2a Project Selection Matrix						
Themes & objectives	access	interpretation	biodiversity	marine environment	history, culture, nature	education, training,
Conserve & restore built & natural heritage	LW 1, LW5, LW6	LW4,				LW3
Conserve & celebrate cultural history, events & other activity	OC2, OC7	LW6, LW7, LW9, LP 14, LP		NL3	CC1, CC3, CC4	CC5, CC6
Encourage more people to access, learn about & become involved with the heritage	LP1, NL1/2, NL12	LW8, LP2, LP3, LP4, LP7, LP16, LP17,	NL5, NL6, NL9, NL10	LP20, NL4, NL8	LP5, LP13, LP14, CC2	NL7, NL11, LP6
Support continuation of local crafts & other skills through					LP15, LP16	LW3, LP8, LP9, LP10, LP11,

Figure 28 Themes and Objectives of the Scapa flow scheme and categorisation of all projects in the 6 thematic areas that indicate activity types undertaken and key objectives (Source: Made available by the Scheme Manager, original file name: Appendix 2a, Project selection matrix)

The 48 projects of the scheme, explored various heritage types, and included various projects from training in archaeology to wartime heritage sites, oral history and traditions focusing equally on tangible and intangible aspects of local heritage, connecting those through the landscape around the area of Scapa Flow. This includes part of the mainland, and the smaller islands Hoy, Flotta, and St Margaret’s Hope. Therefore, the Scheme is considered rather successful in engaging with a wider part of local community (that may have proven immune to community archaeology

calls, vividly pre-existing on the island’s WH site area, supported by UHI) and thus providing a larger sample, also representative of many community groups.

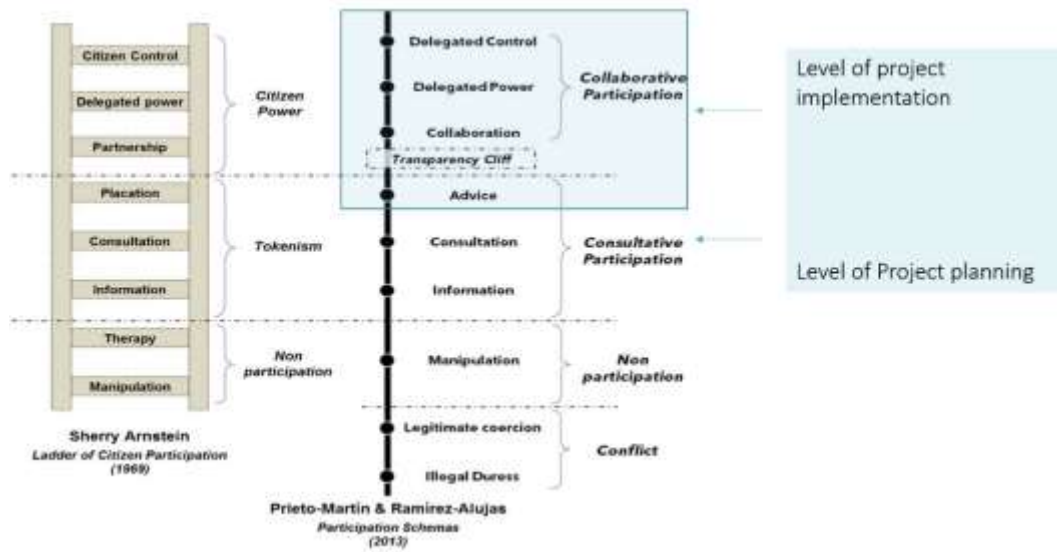


Figure 29 The relevance of ladder of Citizen participation by Arnstein (1969) and its modification by Martin-Alujas (2013) for mapping impacts stemming from various stages: from planning to delivery

4.5 Identifying heritage project types and mapping stakeholders operating in context

The ‘**stakeholders mapping**’ for the research (see Fig. 31), involved firstly identifying existing cultural and heritage infrastructure in the whole area of study (Orkney), or realizing a cultural mapping of institutions in the area, understanding their foci around heritage management and key networks between them. This was based initially on desktop research.

Heritage institutions managing heritage assets in Orkney fall under three main categories;

- (i) local museum and visitors centres under the supervision and managed by the Orkney Islands council , called ‘Orkney Heritage’,
- (ii) sites/visitor centres functioning most of the times under Historic Scotland (renamed to HE Scotland) and
- (iii) Independent museums or heritage centres run by a board of trustees under a charitable trust. Moreover a huge force is the Orkney college with its culture and archaeology strand, department of UHI-University of Highlands and Islands with ORCA (Orkney Research Centre for Archaeology) being its commercial archaeology partner. A strong cultural sector is supported by the international standards Pier Arts centre & St Magnus Festival and a multiplicity of stakeholders involved in festivals management on the islands.



Figure 30 Inter-linked local stakeholders including official and unofficial institutions involved in the various projects: local museums, community trusts under Charity registries both delivered projects within the scheme and collaborated

Mapping organizations involved in the Scheme and their roles within it, was realized later on (fig. 32 for Steering group members): management of projects was realized by the same local institutions that regularly deal with the specific heritage typologies in the area.

A purposeful sampling process to ensure interviews with local heritage managers represent most relevant stakeholders involved in the scheme, while understanding their interconnections and networks (see Fig.43 and 44, in Ch.5.5.2 ,how choosing projects realized by specific institutions, led the sampling process and defined types of professionals interviewed). Based on program reports shared by managers, the roles for the steering committee members could be described and list of further stakeholders affected by the scheme/contributing to projects development were identified .

Several projects were delivered by local heritage groups/charities offering the opportunity to realize an assessment of impacts stemming from: various project delivery modes and enabling comparative understanding of impacts produced by different projects (within the same scheme and same planning framework, including a common consultation process included in the planning process). In that sense the case study with its multiple sub-cases (community-led and local council-led projects) allows for assessing actually community involvement as it evolved from the planning and project formation phase to the project delivery phase-looking into collaborative participation as seen in Fig.30 where groups delegated power and control over projects to deliver outcomes- which was the main focus of the inquiry.



Figure 31 The organizational plan of the Scheme's Steering committee and key stakeholders involved (Source: Author)

The Scheme (from now on SFLP) involved a series of engagement activities for local populations. The projects selected include various heritage interpretation and celebration activities (from archaeological excavations to museum exhibitions) covering a range of institutions who delivered them in local level and an array of heritage assets / heritage typologies ranging from:

an archaeological excavation project and documentation in Hoy and South Ronaldsay (Iron age/Neolithic), a War Battery-WWII site Restoration project, a vernacular “crofter” house restoration and reuse as a museum Rackwick Craa’s Nest and a parish church reuse (Hoy Kirk) into a community center and archive.

(see **Appendix E** for full table of projects). What is interesting is that the different types of projects were also related with specific, distinct processes of participation, usually led by institutions involved: with the archaeological ones offering more institutionalized volunteering opportunities, while the ones related with unofficial heritage being delivered through a bottom-up community-led process.

These projects involved heritage assets in close proximity with at least three different local communities; the communities of North and South Hoy (Hoy island), the community of South Ronaldsay- one of the southern islands and the bigger community living in Stromness (a town in mainland Orkney of around 2, 200 residents). Appendix E, provides information on the background of the interviewees, with basic demographic data and their relevance with the projects and the locations mentioned above.

Within the 48 projects developed as part of Scheme, the research focused on few for the first phase of interviews (interviewees from 6 projects were initially approached in the first phase, see fig.33, providing information finally relevant for 10 projects in total)¹⁴ . This choice was due to existing

¹⁴ The projects entitled : LP6 Get involved in archaeology training, LW6 Restoration & interpretation of Ness Battery, LP11 Traditional skills, LP 14 Hoy Heritage Film, LP16 Rackwick’s cultural heritage, NLS LNR Happy
[122]

adequate baseline data for those projects. That supported the element of participation in those but also further data on process and activities realized (interviews or project outcomes report document / unpublished, available to the author via personal contact with the project team). The criteria for selecting final projects to focus on were: alignment with research scope ie. including proof for sufficient levels of participation by local community members for as long as possible, and perception of efficiency of projects in terms of impacts for both, making them worthy of exploration for the second stage.

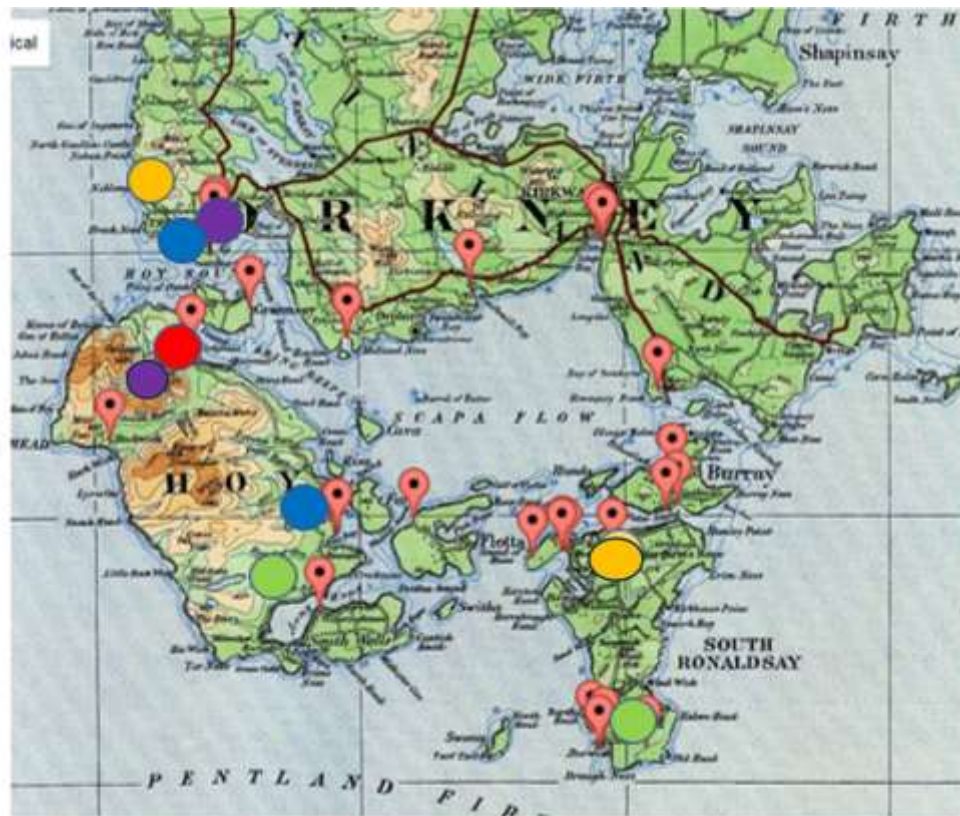








Figure 32 The typologies of heritage assets of the projects studied (see table project themes), the relevant activities realized around them and the typology of participation varies, (community-led projects or institutionalized volunteering projects) (Source: Author, using as baseline area map available from the Scheme website: http://www.scapaflow.co/index.php/on_the_map)

Valley, LP8 Ploughing Match training LP10 Traditional building techniques, LP11 Traditional skills, LW4 Wartime Interpretation, see also Appendix E.

Project symbol	Project Theme	Project IDs (see Appendix E)	Number of interviewees
1 	Oral History -community heritage archive and exhibitions in Parish church /reuse project//Music events//Crafts//Cottage restoration)	Projects 4 and 3/Codes: Lp14, 15, 16- NL13, 1,2	10
2 	Boat restoration -traditional craftsmanship skills	Project 9- Codes: LP9, 11	2
3 	Training in archaeology	Project 1- Lp6,5	1
4 	War heritage Battery restoration	Project 2- LW6,3	2
5 	Folklore festival (Boy's ploughing match)and co-curated exhibition	Project 6- Lp8	2
6 	Film- Wartime lives, heritage archive interpretation	Project 8- Lp14	2
	St Magnus Cathedral (Kirkwall) Volunteers- celebrations of intangible	Project 7- CC1	3

4.6 Roles and identities of stakeholders in planning and delivering projects

A more complex understanding of the roles of each stakeholder and specifically the differences between organizations and participants was only visible once the initial analysis was completed. A set of codes through Nvivo described roles attributed to each to ensure smooth planning and delivery of the projects. This was key to understand mutual expectations (that form the base of reciprocal behaviours) and mostly because of the role of community-led schemes.

While some roles were defined by the funders' structure for planning and delivery of HLF projects (steering group, stakeholders-touristic advisors, businesses, training operators etc) there were also key players that reflect the 'cultural ecology' in Orkney, such as:

- local authority's key departments (planning department, with a role in managing the consultations in preliminary stages of the projects) and museum-education and services department, which oversee the delivery of many projects through its personnel working for local council-run visitor centers .It also offered informal advice to community groups and heritage trusts that wanted to increase their capacity in managing projects themselves.

- other heritage management bodies (HES, university that also delivered training thanks to their capacity to develop learning packages or developed volunteering projects related to archaeology mostly and recruited participants

- One or two family visitor centres, who undertook projects for new exhibitions redesign and recruited volunteers and hired local businessmen to deliver them

-local associations-societies that contributed to archiving projects by crowdsourcing or sharing knowledge. Their members also usually were belonging to various other groups that actively contributed to project delivery.

-heritage trusts, charities or heritage associations, the members of which in some cases undertook project delivery or co-delivery (in cases where they collaborated with museum, which led the projects)

4.7 Identifying community profiles and mapping social needs in context

The researcher followed a protocol/methodology for organizing data on community profiles active in the context at the stage of desktop research and reviewing them when the raw qualitative data were gathered and specific social needs were associated with specific groups. The first stage, allowed for mapping community groups in the form of Heritage/community trusts and understand their role and geographical area of operations, mostly through the Orkney Community Directory¹⁵.

Community profiling enabled to identify local groups on the basis of their socio-demographical characteristics and relate those to the needs but also heritage values (eg. different age groups holding different needs and relation with heritage and place) at the stage of data collection:

-an increasingly high number of retirees consists the majority of residents in the most remote parts and the percentage of incomers (in-migrants usually form other areas within the UK) reaches as high as 50% in certain islands.

-Numbers of young people in parallel are decreasing as they tend to leave the islands for studying elsewhere and going after career opportunities to improve their prospects.

-Young families with children between 5-12 years old are also a dynamic group in all the communities, with busy parents working commonly in agriculture or public services

While this describes the general picture on all three sub communities under research, there are significant differences in the consistency and the dynamics: Hoy community has been gradually decreasing with a population of 500 people residing on the island, while Stromness and South Ronaldsay are rather thriving, with populations of 2,200 and 1,200 people respectively and a more balanced mix between incomers and born and bred residents.

Viewing the average audiences for the institutions , whose representatives were interviewed, suggests that children, young individuals and especially elderly were the main beneficiaries of heritage projects in Orkney: the first two groups gaining experiences and confidence via formal volunteering, while the second gaining interests for a healthy retirement life and socialization opportunities.

Groups receiving indirect wellbeing impacts (as for the research scope direct ones focus on social life) include professionals (craftsmen, artists, builders and tourism operators) that receive commissioned work through these heritage projects and enlarge their networks. As these groups cover the majority of professional occupations in Orkney the impact seems to have spreaded extensively to boost socio-economic improvements in local livelihoods. Moreover landowners and agriculture professionals received training via the scheme and benefited indirectly through the outcomes of the physical restoration work realized through the projects.

¹⁵ <https://www.orkneycommunities.co.uk/>

It is this profiling that can assist the analysis to evaluate the effectiveness of projects towards social (wellbeing) change, suggesting areas of relevance of project impacts with existing social needs. In order to realize an evaluation of social wellbeing impacts accrued through the specific projects we are in need of establishing a baseline regarding community's current 'wellbeing status' as well as community-grounded definitions of what consists wellbeing for them. This was realized as part of a **social needs analysis matching the community profiles** already identified: the step provided a baseline of current needs/vulnerabilities of communities (fig. 34) that when covered could enhance wellbeing for communities for the rural and remote context (see social development needs analysis recommendations developed by Vanclay, 2003 In Esteves, Vanclay, 2009).



Figure 33 Context understanding –a 'social needs' assessment focused on mapping community vulnerabilities, integrating resilience perspectives and focusing on social wellbeing issues (Source: Author)

To achieve this integration of 'community profiling' with the 'social need analysis', a set of questions were designed crucial for understanding the context of the research, the various sub-groups in the population and their current needs. The interview questions covering this part aimed at: identifying which are the priority social issues that should be addressed in order for heritage institutions to then contribute to sustainable development of the community and create socially-relevant projects.

During the second phase the purposeful sample chosen (participants in selected projects) shed light on the needs of specific communities (in localities like Hoy, south Ronaldsey, Stromness and Flotta) and highly focused on elderly people (see Ch.55.3 on sampling strategy). Having understood the context, it was possible to identify under-represented groups (like young adults in the case study) that were absent from the first phase sampling and attempt to recruit them later.

This process is able to create crucial baseline information for further analysis: for the specific case study here.

The understanding of core issues at individual level (like loneliness, depression and low levels of social integration) and at community level (like common identification of access or social segregation, supported by social norms in various small parishes) provided a great base to locate changes later.

The results from the NVivo performed thematic analysis of the data collected (see chapter 5, for 1st phase interviews findings) revealed certain inherent vulnerabilities of the context expressing social needs. Those were mapped at different levels:

- a community level related to social cohesion (needs associated with non-integrated, migrant groups of “incomers-outsiders” from UK),
- an individual level relating to mental wellbeing (needs associated to combatting loneliness, mentioned mostly regarding elderly and lack of interests related to minor opportunities for personal development for young adults existing on the island as well as due to the physical distance/ dispersed nature of local parishes) and
- an individual level relating to social wellbeing (needs associated to the effect of overlapping and tight social networks that create isolation, as a protective measure from the curiosity of locals in a rural context. Associated with relatively healthy, middle-aged individuals).

Some of these data and specifically the community profiling process, were corroborated and combined with demographic information for the whole of population in Orkney and sometimes on specific islands whenever available (National Records Scotland, 2011) allowing for identifying vulnerable population sub-groups and verify wider trends when such systemic issues (like accessibility of social infrastructure for some local groups, high immigration pressures, high young outmigration or even issues due to touristic influx on community identity etc) (see also figure 24 for some early findings). Issues common for most rural and remote contexts; seasonality combined with a certain lack of (physical) accessibility especially the winter months, which may escalate physical and social isolation for its residents. Restricted resources and scale (a geographically bounded small area) also suggested restricted opportunities that encourage increased outward migration and increased ageing population (ageing data confirmed by Census 2011- National Records Scotland, 2013). A relative increase in population is attributed to high in-migration, (as

deaths exceed births among existing residents for the period covered by Census) an important attribute for communities' cohesion.

(ii) Another type of information collected for corroboration was statistics and reports VAO of participation in Orkney: these showed also who are often participants of heritage projects and allowed to judge how representative the results of this thesis are in relation to the 'average situation' in Orkney. Scotland as a whole, is known for the vivid role of the third sector and the amount of initiatives undertaken by community organizations / charities next to bigger non-governmental organizations (Christie Commission, 2011). The 'cultural norms' and 'social' effects' of these functions on Orkney itself were evident, with the islands holding a rich community network in relation to its geographical size. At the same time Orkney holds a 91% (87%) of residents aged 60+ with a very or fairly strong feeling of belonging to a community (Scottish Government, Scottish Household Survey, 2015) with positive projections for keeping it or improving it within the next 3 years.

Orkney is served by extremely active local communities: has over 600 community groups and 234 registered charities - one of the highest number of registered charities per head of population in Scotland (VAO, Volunteering action Orkney Records, n.a.¹⁶). In the current VAO database, 56 are registered under arts and culture while 31 under 'Heritage interests', this forms almost one third of the whole community initiatives at place.

Orkney also has one of the highest number of volunteers in Scotland i.e. 17% higher than the Scottish average (Scottish Government- Scottish Household Survey, 2015). In the context of research looking at community activities and the third sector, was anyway inherently part of the inquiry as those are considered important indicators of social capital (van Deth, 2003; Westlund and Adam, 2010).

These numbers also confirm what was already known to the researcher, that while Orkney as a canvas context, chosen was fruitful for looking at realized participatory projects, the inhibiting factors for participating dependent on social life (and subsequently appreciating the positive impacts through the development of social networks for the participants) may not be reproduced even in other rural contexts (eg. that may feature very different characteristics in terms of role of non-governmental organization the cultural sector. Similarly, other cases with different cultural context (including how sense of community and history of community-led initiatives are perceived by locals) may feature different behavior towards heritage participation, as such variables can affect the degree to which local residents perceive trust to central governing bodies and

¹⁶ Available here: <http://vaorkney.org.uk/information/orkney-information-hub/1713-test-search-2>

authorities¹⁷ . These suggest that the results can be applied with greater confidence in rural, remote and specifically island contexts, which feature similar cultural attributes as the case study explored here.



Figure 34 Visitor facilities on the Scapa Flow area, visible density with facilities mapped (Area of water in Scapa Flow is calculated at 324.5 square kilometres). Islands of Hoy on the west and South Ronaldsay on the right (Source: SFLPS, http://www.scapaflow.co/index.php/on_the_map)

¹⁷ Wilson (1997, p. 746) points to the fact that social capital does not easily succumb to large-scale social engineering, and rather “is built in a very humble, piecemeal way through countless decisions of individuals about whether or not to get involved, and once involved how to proceed”



Figure 35 War memorials on the Scapa Flow area, visible density and positions of sits mapped as part of SFLPS. (Source: SFLPS, http://www.scapaflow.co/index.php/on_the_map)



Figure 36 Archaeology on Scapa Flow area mapped as part of the Scheme: position of chambered cairns (Note: only one out of 4 types of archaeological interest sites and monuments mapped) (Source: http://www.scapaflow.co/index.php/on_the_map. Note: the website with the presentation of the Scheme stopped being active in 2018)

Chapter 5: Research Methodology

5.1 Research paradigm: Ontology, epistemology, theoretical framework and methodology

A research paradigm is defined as a “set of common beliefs and agreements” between researchers, regarding how problems should be understood and addressed (Kuhn, 1962). This way of perceiving the world is considered shaping how we go about seeking answers to our research questions. (Edirisingha, 2012). Guba (1990) defines the core elements of a research paradigm as its ontological, epistemological and methodological dispositions.

Ontology is defined as the nature of reality (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988), while epistemology can be defined as the researcher’s ways of capturing reality (Carson et al., 2001 in Edirisingha, 2012). Following, key assumptions and the approach taken to research perceived impacts through processes of participation, will be presented, together with how they informed design of the research.

5.1.1 Merging structural functionalism with social constructivism to study processes of participation and their outcomes

Structural functionalism is a framework for developing theories, a stance developed by sociologists (based on Spence and Durkheim) supporting that various social institutions in a society work to support each other and the functionality of the system as a whole. The work of Giddens on studying structure and agency in social systems is linked with the stance. It offers a lens to view at the social relationships between actors in place and analyse them, but also adopting a systemic perspective of the wider role of various agents in the social eco-system they operate in, that guides their practices. It suggests a focus on explaining social behaviours based on how social institutions, or patterns of beliefs and behaviours focus on meeting social needs for different actors. There are close links in the analytical approaches followed by structural functionalist and the systemic approach undertaken here, with an additional common focus on what can consequences of a social processes (either sought or anticipated or simply emergent). Similarly, there is focus on understanding repetitive behaviour patterns and exploring their potential functions, adding the element of interdependency between them.

To reach my research aims (ie. explain positive impacts of participation for communities and heritage institutions, their links and how they may influence post project behaviors towards heritage) I was therefore looking at participation as experience of a process of interaction while mapping behaviours and interactions between the different actors to view how they affect each other and the outcomes described.

Subjectivity includes looking at experiences as time and context bound, thus putting more emphasis on the conditions that generate them (Neuman, 2000; Hudson and Ozanne, 1988).

Explanations to individual and group behavior were attempted in this thesis subsequently, taking into account their contextual factors (eg. In thematic analysis pro-social and pro-place behaviors stated by interviewees were mapped to explain their motivations and ability to engage in participation). Moreover bottom-up definitions of terms participation and specifically heritage, as well its role for local development were mapped.

Social constructionism's premise is that "all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998, p.42). It suggests that individuals act, driven by their own interpretations of reality but those are being shaped by social interactions within cultural contexts. Social constructivism theory (Dewey, 1933) suggest that communities or groups share traits and values that suggest similarities in actions. The research questions were framed in order to unravel perceived impacts as individual and collective experiences but also position them within the practices of the actors. The analytical framework adopted looked at impacts as different types of relationships and social behaviours of the actors, focusing on the social interactions between participants and heritage organizations, or official institutions. It analysed separately the perspective so different actors, endorsing the basic premise that their stance is rooted in their social position and world view (eg their motivations were different and for managers for example the social milieu within the organization may affect their practices and behaviors).

There are certain aspects of the epistemological foundation of the research that seem to pertain to the wider interpretivist tradition (as opposed to that of positivism): as Creswell (2003, p.8) supports, adoption of a bottom-up understanding of the phenomenon was key in my work, relying upon the "participants' views of the situation being studied". The researcher remains open to new knowledge throughout the study and lets it develop with the help of informants. Accepting the multiplicity of interpretations that can be given to perceived impacts, the research methodology avoided to adopt from the start a rigid structural framework (in contrast to what a positivist stance to research dictates). Instead, I followed a rather flexible structure, which allowed to capture different meanings of what constitutes positive perceived impacts for the participants while interviewing through human interaction (Black, 2006). Focus was on the different factors identified by those groups that may affect how successful participatory projects were for them, in relation to their perceptions of the role of heritage organisations and social institutions but also their pre-existing connections with heritage and place (affective and cognitive) and their social role in the local system of actors.

While participation is considered able to change and transform existing institutional practices, but also lead to social transformation on community (le Hickey & Mohan, 2004) literature notes also some hindering factors including social relations between actors and capacity issues that may "divide" communities (ibid.) in (Dragouni, 2016, p.76).

During the start of the millennium participatory approaches have been criticised (e.g. Cooke and Kothari, 2001), “on the basis that have often failed to achieve meaningful social change, largely due to a failure to engage with issues of power and politics” (Hickey & Mohan, 2004, p.2). These claims suggest that there is still need to understand why and how participation works or fails by looking at perspectives of different actors engaged and mapping contradictory beliefs and expectations that may exist through employing the tools of thematic analysis. It was also necessary to locate what is considered ‘effective participation’ for different actors, contrast those beliefs, and how do these link to their pragmatic ability to deliver this-therefore the thesis will look at understanding work practices, objectives and motivations to engage in participatory projects.

In order to do that, the research adopts a complementary focus on social structure and process analysis, looking at the meso and micro-level dynamics between groups of actors and how behaviours of actors are interlinked and affect the process. Methods adopted from system dynamics and assumptions of systemic links (see 5.2.1) allow to embrace the complexity of interactions at different levels, and understand the linkages between heritage management with planning and governance practices.

Considering the role of participation in local governance level, Bevir suggests that bottom -up as well as top-down approaches should be studied to provide holistic view of the beliefs that shape actions within a context (2013) and the research incorporates both to enrich its potential of understanding how the different modalities of participation adopted fit with the practices of the professionals that employ them and the ‘community’ of professionals they belong to.

5.2 Research approach

The researcher followed an open and grounded approach (Creswell, 2007; Glaser and Strauss, 1967) to inquiry to respond to the first two research questions (what are the social and institutional impacts emerging from participatory projects in the context and how does participation lead to them), enabling emerging definitions of social impacts and social wellbeing to emerge and disentangle this way perceptions of social (vis a vis economical or environmental impacts) expressed by research participants. This approach does not mean that the researcher was oblivious to pre-existing studies, that aimed at defining or even measuring social impacts of heritage or institutional impacts of certain professional practices (eg.Scott’s indicators list, 2006). Instead it aims at covering gaps in those and linking them, through:

(i) a recognition of the relevance of context to defining social benefits and the various contextual factors that may contribute to it except for the action of participation in heritage itself

(ii) The subjectivity of the concept (perceived aspects of positive social impacts are relevant to current personal and social wellbeing and what is perceived as missing, not covered social needs)

(iii)the nature of the phenomenon of participation: the multiplicity of activities that fall under heritage participation, that claimed for a bottom -up framework /typologies of participation to allow deeper understanding of difference between them referring to stemming social wellbeing impacts. Similarly, heritage institutional structures and governance systems differ significantly, even within one geographical context, and this affects the ways professionals design and realize participatory projects in the sector. The interdependency between those two spheres of action is not fully understood or studied within the sector, whilst the limitations of methods of inquiry to view systemic interrelationships are considered by the author the main reason for this gap.

In this light, the research looks at understanding the types and path of creation of impacts as well as their relation with the process of participation, rather than attempting to count or measure social and institutional impacts. The following part will explain how conceptualizing community and institutions as a system allowed for further structuring the inquiry and linking different impacts as perceived by the different actors.

5.2.1 Epistemological and conceptual assumptions: understanding community and heritage institutions as a system

Firstly, the research focus on reciprocity, linking community and institutional behavior /attitudinal change via participation is structured through the lens of systems thinking, inspired by previous heritage research by Meadows (2008) and Avrami (2012), as well as by the recently published work of Fouseki and Bobrova (2018) and Fouseki and Nicolau (2018).

The research contends with Houghton's critique (2009): " a 'systemic' epistemology should reveal multiple perspectives, conflicting realities and various other contexts due to its inherent pluralistic nature" . Houghton supports that generalization can only occur through crossing multiple, conflicting conceptual framework or "dialectal realities" (ibid.). In the recent work of Haynes (2001), this dialectal systems approach, is described in epistemological level as relying on admitting conflicting perspectives and reporting them from a strategic point of view.

In that's sense it is rather pointless to search for "linear, singular and non-conflicting versions of events" (Houghton, 2009) in the quest for a 'mega concept' or truth that can explain general truths, as this may not be the reality. This is also how the research uses tools from systems thinking to expand and challenge findings from qualitative, thematic analysis.

Jackson links Haynes' strategic viewpoint, with *making sense of causality* as it emerges from multiple perspectives (Jackson, 2006). These suggest that systems research should be judged for its validity, for how well it is accounting for these different perspectives (Haynes, 2009) or "competing descriptions of reality" (Grint, 2003).

The research, is following these epistemological foundations for systemic inquiry, conceptualizing heritage institutions and community members as social actors, both having a stake in heritage

management and interacting with each other through processes of participation. It sets to understand the interactions between those and identify other variables that may be elements of the research problem and affect participation (Rittel, 1972).

Institutions are considered as having social responsibility towards public heritage management, managing public money, delegate and collaborate with communities through participatory processes. Participation in heritage is considered good practice in conservation projects, with international bodies like WH centre and ICCROM (Wijesuriya and Court (eds), 2015) advocating for 'people-centered approaches' as the future. It has been praised for its potential to counter act conflicts and contribute to sustainable heritage management (Interreg, 2017; Spiridon and Sandu, 2015; Unesco, 2010) .Its contribution to institutional goals through achieving instrumental and institutional benefits has only been indirectly discussed (Clark, 2006; Scott, 2006).

Participation has been considered assisting towards effective, sustainable development (Hickey and Mohan, 2005) while contributing to community empowerment but has been also critically viewed (White, 1996) regarding the way it can be employed by various actors to achieve their missions (fig.38). Parallel, the increasingly recognized potential of participation in heritage to affect human wellbeing (mental, psychological, social as well las physical aspects of it-as seen in Ch.2) can be further investigated by looking at it as a process. These various potentials of participation to provide both instrumental and intrinsic, can lead to tension and ineffective applications of it (not to mention the political manipulation of participation at governance level, resulting to tokenistic approaches (White, 1996; Monno and Khakee, 2012). The various actors (heritage managers and community members have their own opinions and angle of viewing this issue (see figure by White). However the views and values of heritage managers or experts have been considered traditionally different from those of non-experts / communities' perceptions of heritage, as well developed and supported by the Authorized Heritage discourse (AHD).

Figure 1 The politics of participation

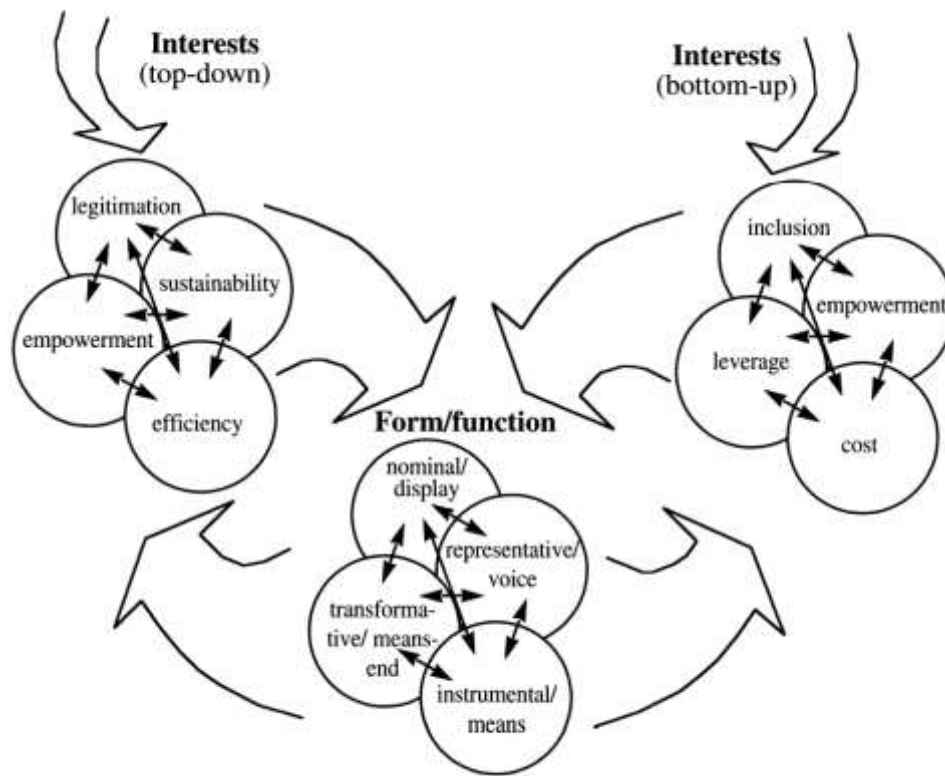


Table 1 Interests in participation

Form	Top-Down	Bottom-Up	Function
Nominal	Legitimation	Inclusion	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency	Cost	Means
Representative	Sustainability	Leverage	Voice
Transformative	Empowerment	Empowerment	Means/End

Figure 37 The relation between typologies (forms), function and interest in participation identified by different actors employing it (Source: White, 1996)

‘A research project that uses a ‘systemic epistemology’ should therefore refer to a strategy of variegation, synthesis and perspectivalism. ..and be able to generalize by learning across various methodological and epistemological frameworks (Metcalf, 2005)’(in Houghton, 2009)

The research aims at understanding community behavior towards heritage institutions and institutional response to community needs as a system of social exchanges, viewed through the theoretical lens of social capital and laws of socially reciprocal behavior.

Giddens theory of structuration (1985,1991) and Bourdieu's theory of social capital (1984) are both used to develop a robust theoretical framework (Chapter 3), informed also by theoretical insights on human-place relationships (concept of sense of place) that supports a systemic understanding of the interrelations between participants/community and heritage managers/institutions as mediated by the relationships with heritage places themselves. Any change in the system may change the balance between social structures and shapes the behavior of both actors. In that sense, it connects participation with formation of institutional objectives, and subsequently to institutional change (additional to its assumed role in promoting social wellbeing that is explored further). This framework guides the analysis and the way data are explained later.

5.2.2 Synthesising a theory of reciprocal links at systemic level

For Giddens, social systems are reproduced interactions between individual or collective agents through recurrent and regular social practices always situated in space and time. Social systems are neither things-in-themselves, independent and above agents and their practices, nor static or frozen in time, they are evolutionary and dynamic as agents' behaviors evolve through interactions.

Specifically, the use of causal loop diagrams enables us to map interaction between actors in the process of participatory project making, following the various stages of its development (from planning to delivery to impacts) and enables us to view interrelationships between impacts to communities and to heritage and institutions easier. This is in contrast to the linear analytical process of thematic analysis- towards identifying impacts only for communities (social wellbeing) or only for heritage (institutional change/changes related to resource protection). Keeping our theoretical lens close to Giddens (theory of structuration), we look at relationships between structure and social behavior: how does one affect the other in shaping participation and its impacts?

Giddens sees agents not simply as "bearers" of structures, but as *active participants*, having the *power to change the structure*. While we accept that Bourdieu's and Giddens theory cannot be merged, we accept they are not incompatible. Bourdieu's work on social capital offers a practical tool to explain how this agency is formed and expressed, while Woolcock's synergy approach provides a basis to look at interactions between individual and institutions as well as groups and institutions.

5.3 Research methodology and research design

5.3.1 Research questions

The thesis aims at disentangling **how** reciprocal links between community and institutional impacts of participation **are created during participation**, as a social interactive **process while is affected by connections with place and spatial elements**. I aim at looking at these complex interrelations in a specific geographic and social context, that of a rural community setting.

The core research question guiding the research is:

- Are there any reciprocal links between social and institutional impacts of participation in heritage in rural context? If there are interrelationships/links between the two, how do they manifest themselves? What are the conditions of their creation?

This suggested answering first the following sub-questions:

- What are the core social wellbeing impacts that derive from participation in heritage for individual participants and their communities?
 - How do they shape behaviors towards future engagement with heritage and collaboration with institutions, if so?
 - What other factors may affect community wellbeing apart from heritage participation?
- What are the core positive impacts for institutions from engaging in participatory projects with local communities (as perceived by professionals)? Aspects of this include:
 - How do they shape the institutional behaviors and strategies towards collaboration with communities in management and planning?
 - Do the perceived benefits instigate organizational change? What other factors may affect institutional behaviour and attitudes towards communities?

As it will be explained later on, within qualitative inquiry, only during the course of research the research questions are redefined (see also Appendix F for links between questions and objectives), some prove feasible and relevant and other prove impossible to answer through the fieldwork observations (Lueger, 2000, p.51) For example in my case, a closer definition of typologies of participation needed to be part of the inquiry and unraveled via the analysis.

In order to answer these questions, my methods needed to answer first of all, some descriptive questions that defined the case study context:

What types of participation exist in context? What is the role of each of the two groups (community members and heritage managers) in each of those and what type of exchanges occur between them? These suggested that finally exploring the relation of different processes/ types of

participation with the perceived impacts by participants and managers should be the core focus, if I wanted to study existence of links between impacts in a robust way.

5.3.2 Case study

The overlaying method used in this thesis for data collection and analysis is the case study. I will hereby explain the reasons for choosing case study as a research approach and how the research question itself guided my choice further on to set boundaries, develop sub-cases and set the conceptual framework of the analysis.

The case study approach has been described as “providing a multi-dimensional perspective that may be used to create a shared view of the situation being studied” (Remenyi et al., 2002, p.5). This is why case studies are chosen to provide “a holistic view of a process” (Patton & Appelbaum, 2003, p.63 in Kohlbacher, 2006) as they occur in their context (Hartley, 1994, pp.227) and therefore can be considered ideal for the scope of the research.

Yin (2009, p. 18) suggests that the case study “investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. I support that for understanding the complexity of the phenomenon of participation in heritage as social interaction (between communities and institutions) which may be affected or mediated by spatial associations, the case study approach is needed to observe the multiple parameters that affect these relationships. Moreover any study of community and its behavior, suggests a high level of overlap between the phenomenon (participation as interaction and community behavior towards heritage) and its context (who is this community and what values and beliefs its members hold towards heritage and institutions). The same counts for studying heritage institutions, as communities of experts, and participatory approaches adopted by them: their practices are shaped by their perceptions and visions, and subsequently understanding how they may influence community’s behaviors can only be realized by observing this wider context of socio-spatial interaction.

Concluding, the reason why I did choose the case study as a method is almost evident if one looks at the research question itself: This study investigates questions of ‘how’, aiming to analyse phenomena in their contemporary settings as they happen looking to establish and explain patterns of behavior (Nieto and Perez, 2000). The existing amount of knowledge on how participation affects institutional practices was restricted, which suggested adopting a qualitative stance [even compared to few basic studies on social impacts of participation for communities in UK, that define at least impact areas of interest (BOP, 2011); (Hawke, 2010) and similar]. In that sense any attempt to look for quantification, before establishing the key variables of interest that affect the evolution of the phenomenon (looking at mere *frequencies or incidence* as Yin puts it) would be condemned to fail.

5.3.2.1 The unit of analysis and setting the boundaries of the case

Determining what the unit of analysis (case) can be a challenge (Baxter and Jack, 2008). Miles and Huberman (1994) define case as, “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context” or system (Creswell, 2013, p.73), while the same authors state that the case is, “in effect, your unit of analysis” (ibid, p. 25);

Baxter and Jack (2008 p.246) offer a set of useful questions to identify the focus and unit of analysis, like: Do I want to “analyze” the individual? Do I want to “analyze” a program? Do I want to “analyze” the process? Do I want to “analyze” the difference between organizations? Those assisted me in defining the core interest, which finally lies in analyzing participation in heritage as a process, following agents’ behaviors during time and relate it with their perceived impacts (which are explored, ‘the interventions being observed has no clear set of outcomes as in Yin, 2003) to explain how they occur through looking them at their context (explanatory according to Yin, 2003), ie. unravel how it shapes behaviors towards communities and heritage in the course of time.

Participation is a process in between heritage management and heritage making, ie.involving decision making by both community members and managers/professionals but also interaction between them to define and valuate heritage. It is evident that within this holistic view, agency of individuals and groups is still the motor that drives actions and behaviors and influenced by perceptions.

While my research focuses on one case study as a geographical context (that involves local communities living in Orkney Islands, around the mainland and within the Scapa flow area and interaction with institutions on the same geographical area)- the focus is not only in one project or within a single institution. Instead I set to understand participation as an interaction within it multiple forms and levels, aiming at producing useful observations to construct a theory on how reciprocal benefits are created. I did decide to restrict my study though, in projects that follow a similar framework for delivery, with sub-cases being part of a wider , same programmatic framework, (Scapa Flow Landscape partnership), because it provides a clear common strategic aim for all projects studied and a certain alignment in the objectives regarding community inclusion in the projects studied. Moreover a common timelines for project delivery, makes the external socio-economic conditions same for the various projects studied Extending to more geographical areas would automatically increase even more the variation first and foremost on what constitutes heritage, official and unofficial as well as the various socio-demographic and economic conditions in place that would also vary. This would complicate the analysis, as the focus is to understand how processes work and how path dependencies may affect impact generation rather than provide quantifiable and generalizable conclusions of variations occurring in different contexts.

The underlying assumption is that within the same geographical and cultural context the heritage Institutions will share similar goals as they are all referring to and protecting similar assets,

while their members face the same resource restrictions and deal with the same yet complex, communities. However different institutional strategies and structures together with individual agency affect the way managers behave and work with communities. Therefore, by utilizing sub-case studies I will demonstrate the ways through which participation, as community input, shapes instrumental relations between institutions and community groups and why and how certain projects sustained interest and continuing results. Similarly within the specific geographic boundaries, local communities face similar issues and needs due to insularity, rurality and they hold closely related cultural traditions and identification of their heritage.

Setting boundaries was important to bind the case within feasible and reasonable scope. Various ways to do that are suggested in the literature: (a) Creswell suggests to define the scope around time and place (2003) or (b) Stake by time and activity (1995); while Miles and Huberman (1994), to do so, by definition and context (in Baxter and Jack, 2008 p.546). In my research, I used three main criteria, in order to ensure focus on the process and ability to observe the multiplicity of contextual influences as well. These are:

(i) I restricted my inquiry to projects involving active participation (see Ch.1) within this criterion, various types of activities were undertaken by participants, but all referred to aspects of rural landscape, and related with core heritage places/assets.

(ii) Similarly, two main typologies of participation were observed within the upper projects as different processes, which mostly included volunteering (institutionally-led) and community-led projects, while the inductive approach allowed for sub-types to emerge during the analysis. The conscious choice to look at both those categories of projects defines my use of the case study method as a single case study with embedded units (Yin, 2003): in my case the different sub-projects selected enabled me to explore the process of participation in its different variations. Yin suggest that the “ability to look at sub-units that are situated within a larger case powerful” (2003) (in my case the Scheme).

“when you consider that data can be analyzed within the subunits separately , between the different subunits or across all of the subunits” (ibid.)

The ability to engage in such rich analysis only serves to better illuminate the case. Yin (2003) however, points out the risk for young researchers to analyse each individual subunit but failing returning into the global issue (in my case the links between impacts and the existence of interlinkages or reciprocity) that initially set out to address. The adoption of systems thinking by adding an additional method of analysis, allowed me to sufficiently address this challenge (see Ch.6, 7): following a “chain of events” as they developed in time, I created pathways connecting cause and effect variables, during the process, starting from motivation to post-participation behaviours, reconstructing relationships indicated by interview data in a structured way and making inferences that could compare various sub-cases.

(iii)- I restricted my inquiry in participants and managers that had experience in participation through a certain scheme, which was realized the same period (time), in the same (place) and followed similar organizational framework, dictated by the funder (HLF). The SFLP scheme (ch.4), that had a specific structure for project planning and delivery but also offered a thematic focus on heritage within landscape (i) and a defined but broad geographical area to work with. The selection allowed for certain time distance from their experiences that ensured observation of impacts that had time to evolve (the scheme was realized 2009- 2012 and some initiatives were sustained by certain groups after the end of the scheme).

At this stage, having determined the type, focus of the case as well as the boundaries, it is vital to address also some additional components for designing and implementing a rigorous case study (Kohlbacher, 2006). These include potential use of propositions, which assist the formation of a conceptual framework (Yin, 2003; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Then formulation of research questions can be reviewed with confidence (as well as data types collected) and criteria for the analysis (interpretation) can be set.

5.3.2.2 *Developing a conceptual framework and propositions/rival explanations*

It is considered that in qualitative research:

“it is only in the course of doing field research that one can find out which (research) questions can reasonably be asked and .. at the end that the researcher will know which questions can be answered ..” Lueger, 2000, p.51 in Kohlbacher, 2006

The development of key propositions that guided inquiry, together with rival explanations for impact creation were used as analytic strategies (Yin, 2003, pp.111-115) for going through the case study evidence. Following Yin’s pattern matching technique, (2003, pp.109, 116-137), I compared different behaviors observed, to build my explanation of post-participation interactions between community, heritage and heritage institutions (impacts): behaviors of participants towards their communities and toward institutions as mediated by their relationship with heritage itself, but also behaviors of managers within their institutional structures and with community groups during project delivery. This was a technique compatible with systemic analysis method, which allows for following goal –seeking patterns of behavior (Senge et al, 1994; Kirkwood, 1998) and more.

An initial, preliminary conceptual framework (fig.39) was created by binding together literature resources affirmations with indications from initial data analysis: this connects the various constructs under research (but does not identify concrete type of relationships between those concepts). However ,the conceptual framework continuously evolved during the process while explanation of those relationships were being built, through literature but also through

observations in the data analysis, following an iterative approach (fig.40). The final version of the conceptual framework, assisted to structure the inquiry between looking at participation as social activity and as engagement with place (sense of place), while also allowed to locate change in heritage management through looking at heritage management as a process of resource management within institutions. The importance of understanding how social wellbeing impacts may affect attitudes towards heritage (as place) and towards institutions, is in focus.

Preliminary conceptual framework-

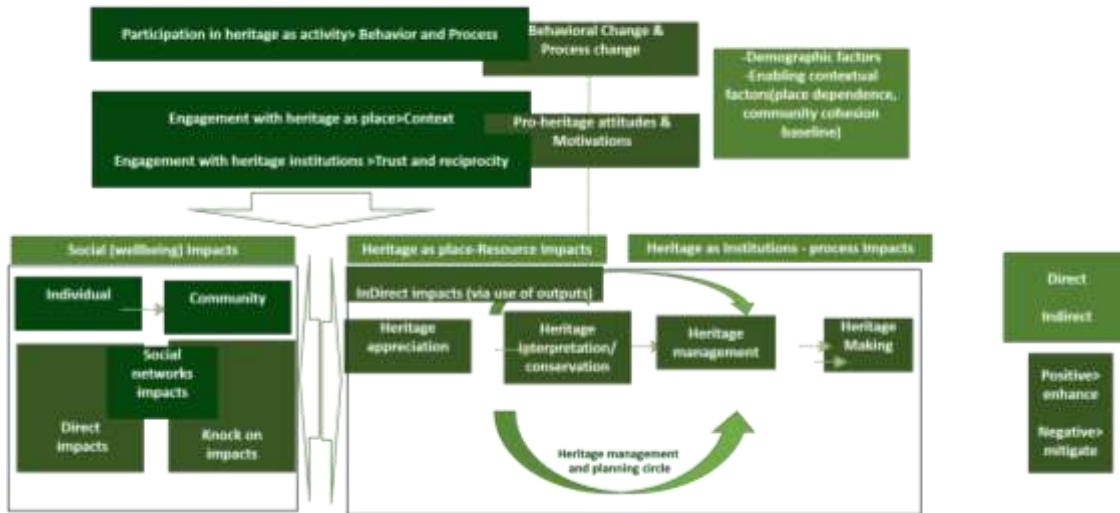


Figure 38 Preliminary conceptual framework that guided the analysis.

The preliminary conceptual framework was discerning between social wellbeing impacts, impacts on heritage as resource and on heritage as process (institutional and non,management processes) and was key to structure the inquiry.

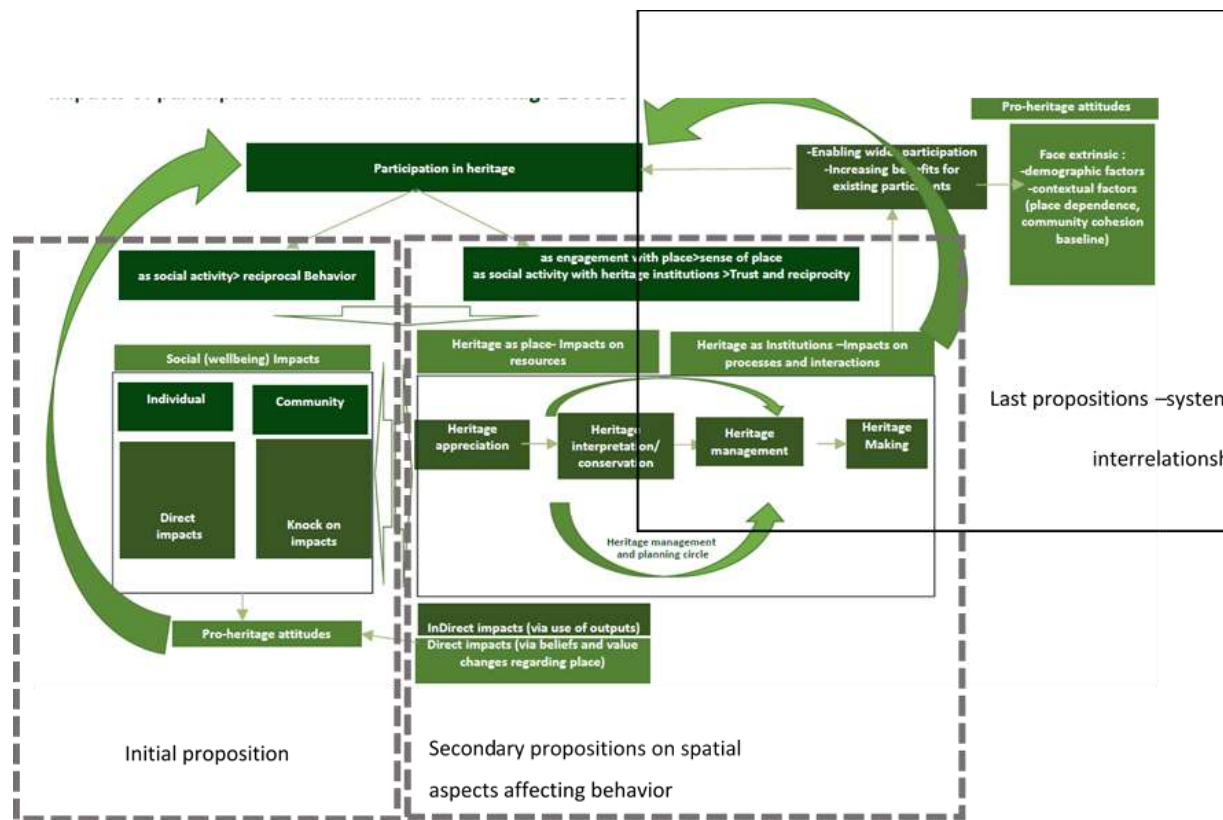


Figure 39 Evolved conceptual framework (see Appendix K for detail)

The evolved framework above, shows that to approach the problem, ie. how social wellbeing impacts may affect attitudes towards heritage and vice versa, we need to:

- differentiate between direct and indirect social impacts (for participants or for wider community), and understand the different variables in the levels of analysis (individual/community)

- differentiate between impacts on heritage as 'resource/place' -which can occur as direct outputs of projects studied (tangible evidence), or thanks to increased significance attributed to heritage (intangible) or indirectly (via use of outputs and access to resources in time) and

- Impacts on heritage as 'process' (guided by institutions, formal and informal, and including processes of how heritage is defined, interpreted, shared or managed).

- The role of sense of place (theoretically enhanced via interaction with heritage places) gained prominence to assist in explanations looking at spatial affectionate or cognitive links.

Moreover the role of pro-heritage attitudes (before participation) needs also to be taken into account, in order to map changes at systemic level and understand links between motivation to participate (social and spatial factors) and perceived impacts of participation. Similarly, we need to assess trust to institutions and opportunities to engage offered (willingness and ability to engage in collaborative management or participatory projects), in order to understand how such behaviours may change through the experience of participation.

5.3.3 Intrinsic Limitations and critiques of the case study method: pathways to validity

Yin (2003) described case study as a 'microscopic' methodology due to the limited number of cases examined: in fact in my case any attempt to develop parallel data collection and analysis in different culturally cases would face serious issues with comparability of cultural and social structures in place, thus threatening the validity of this analysis.

Hamel (1993) and Yin (2003), consider 'parameter establishment and objective setting of the research area' really important in case study's validity. All the criteria for choosing the cases and restricting the boundaries of the case study presented earlier assisted me in constructing the set of research and understanding the relevance of the findings for other cases/contexts in Ch.8 and 9.

The single case exploration has been subjected to methodological criticism due to potential subjective inferences (Stoecker, 1991) and difficulty to 'reach a generalizing conclusion', without allowing for cross-examination of findings (Tellis, 1997).

This has been represented as limiting external validity (Bryman, 2012) in frameworks for evaluation that focus on generalization as key for (external) validity enhancement.

Such stances has been disputed by qualitative researchers (Flyvbjerg (2006) who argue that generalizability is an 'overvalued canon' of judging all scientific research. I tackle this aspect mainly through utilizing the embedded units as ground for comparison and cross-examination, through a replication logic and without considering my cases to be 'sampling units', subject to statistical analysis. The mode of generalization to be used is analytic generalization, in which a previously developed theory (Yin, 2009, p. 38) is employed: *in our case social capital and sense of place theories used to compare the empirical results.*

Despite the inherent limitations of using a single case study, there are measures that researchers can take to deal with those: Yin (2009, p. 40) for example proposes four strategies to assess the integrity of the research design: (a) construct validity, (b) internal validity, (c) external validity, and, (d) reliability.

The table below shows how the present study has tackled the limitations of the method by employing specific tactics (Yin, 2003).

Mays and Pope (2000) also provide guidelines for critically appraising qualitative research: enough detail should be provided to ensure assessment of validity and credibility of claims: starting from the suitability of case study approach to tackle the research question, the choice of purposeful sampling strategy for case study, data are collected systematically and analyzed correctly (Russel et al, 2005)

Table 3 Constructing validity and reliability in various phases of the research (following maxtrix by Yin, 2003)

	Case study tactic	Phase of research	Result
(a) construct validity	-Link interview questions to research questions and objectives -Link propositions to research questions -Establish chain of evidence	Research design and data collection (Interview design)	“reducing subjectivity” (link the questions used for data collection to research question/ link them to propositions)
(b) internal validity	-explanation building (causal loops) -Behavioral patterns matching (eg. between volunteers and comm.led participants using Nvivo coding)	Data analysis	-Identify pathways of events-to show causal relationship between impacts -triangulation between different methods to increase confidence and robustness
(c) external validity	Use replication logic referring to sub-elements of case study	Research design Data collection	Establishing the domain to which a study’s findings can be generalized
(d) reliability	Develop case study database, including diaries and Nvivo, Vensim files databases in various phases		-demonstrating that the operations so that they can be replicated

The suitability of case study approach and the predominant use of qualitative tools, is supported by Yin (2013, p.329) , together with use of case study for evaluation due to complexity (endorsed also by Woolcock (2013, pp. 237–39), who relates complexity with causal density)

In our case the complexity of the subject (understanding wellbeing impacts and attributing them on specific activity taking into account a multiplicity of confounding parameters under exploration), time and money restrictions, deemed an in-depth investigation and analysis of one community suitable as it could increase confidence through thick description.

The same reasons and the willingness to understand institution- community relationships, actually support the researcher’s choice to stick to qualitative analysis rather than attempt a quantitative exploration of factors that may affect wellbeing linked to participation in heritage. The degree of uncertainty in confounding factors and the non-uniformity of the small sample available would make explanations of results difficult (people who participated in the specific projects do not necessarily hold same socio-demographic characteristics, even if in their majority they have similar cultural background). As in any application of statistics in social science contexts, the degree of

uniform sample or the existence of aligned control case were impossible to acquire, thus any attempt to quantify would suffer from minimum sample power.

Another option studied but not adopted was, a pre-post evaluation, mixed method design (Brannen, 2004), that could lead to clearer inferences towards attribute causality at individual base. This was dismissed due to lack of pre-participation/baseline data on the participants population, a common problem within the sector, where organizations do not hold any such data of their audiences, (a situation exacerbated due to the restricted resources in small, peripheral, less studied institutions and time of managers who actually multi-task in small institutions to even design and deliver such projects).

The interviews on the other hand, offered an opportunity to view the problem, through an individual and community reality lens, allowing collection of data on social lives and civic activity that could shed light on pre-participation motivations and relationship with institutions, thus reinforcing a holistic, thick description useful for evaluations and understanding of complexity of the phenomenon (see also Yin, 2013).

Based on this dilemma, the choice of case study approach was considered preferable due to the rich contextual information it could offer; taking into account that “all knowledge of the social world is context-dependent” (Bevir, 2013; Flyvbjerg, 2006) and the suggestions by Yin and Woolcock- above- on suitability of the approach for evaluation.

5.3.4 Tackling limitations during the process for validity and reliability

Qualitative data collection and analysis bears restrictions and biases linked to researcher’s personal judgments being imposed on analysing the data and creating the questions at the first place. Researcher’s training to be reflective on own biases combined with applying a step by step methodology assisted in minimizing the risks of imposing self-centered explanations in the analysis. Corroborating data sources also contributed in reducing quick, biased or simply heuristic explanations from the analysis. Here are few limitations and how they were dealt with:

- a. Time and cost restrains posed a limit to the time for observations and fieldwork, leading to a restricted number of community-led projects under observation. However by setting criteria for selection based on the efficiency and the sustainability of the project (post-scheme life and continuation by local community) the researcher managed to focus on few specific projects and sample participants accordingly instead of entering a broader exploration of multiple projects without applying such criteria.

- b. Fieldwork was heavily designed around data collection by human subjects, examining their perceptions, attitudes and behavior towards heritage and heritage institutions. Limitations of the semi-structured qualitative interviews include subjection to social desirability biases by respondents (Bryman, 2012). These were minimized thanks to the relative independency of the researcher from the local context, being an outsider (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009) (no existing working or living links with Orkney) and a rather conscious distance from a purely ethnographic approach, (that would me being integrated in the local population (Angrosino, 2005, pp. 734), assisted to obtain more straightforward answers. Researcher inserted biases (eg. Avoiding leading questions, practice neutral responding etc.) were tackled through practice. The design of questions also helped: by including both positive and negative inferences in the questions relating to perceived impacts and perceived role of institutions was supported, in order not to predispose the interviews to any expected answer or positionality. The items of the questionnaire were improved from the first to second phase, looking at minimizing such flaws, while keeping the focus of the subjects on the theme (Schuman & Presser, 1996).
- c. To minimize the subjectivity in interpretation of the data in the analysis phase, the coding procedure was cross-checked between researcher and supervisor and peer-reviewed via presentations in research meetings twice a year as well as in conference presentations (Punch, 2005). Interviews allowed for “deconstructing” multiple meanings that people assigned to heritage, enabling a broad understanding of stances towards tangible and intangible aspects of it, while allowing space for personal inclinations/interests towards certain typologies to unfold.
- d. Finally the iterative approach followed by researcher between developing a theoretical framework, data collection and analysis enabled a constant back-forwards form data to literature on social capital and sense of place indicator: this increased validity of analysis by eg. adding robustness in the way categories within the coding process were created and refined and discussed later in the findings.

5.3.5 Mixing methods and triangulation at research design level

The term triangulation in social research has been used “in a less literal sense” (Kohlbacher, 2006) referring to multiple methods and maybe measures used to understand an empirical phenomenon (Brannen, 1992; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998 and more). Cox and Hassard (2005), support that implicitly by triangulating we can develop “a more effective method for the capturing and fixing of social phenomena in order to realize a more accurate analysis and explanation.” (p.111)

Triangulation -that can include different data sources, data types, researchers or analytical lenses-is key; to guarantee that the phenomena are explored from different perspective and the

researchers' biases are minimized, adding to **credibility and validity** of the study (Mays and Pope, 2000).

In my research I have applied triangulation within the case study and specifically while collecting data and analyzing via thematic analysis, in three different forms; (i) First, primary data from interviews are triangulating opinions from two perspectives -managers and participants were interviewed on their perceptions of impacts but also of the conditions and process that participatory projects followed. In that sense, multiple perspectives were collected and understood, reducing potential for non-detecting social desirability responses in interviews (Krefting, 1991).

(ii) Secondly, use of other primary data sources, apart from the interviews, enabled corroboration of timelines, project scope, objectives and sources included local council published reports, evaluation and planning reports of the scheme (including anonymized consultation data from the planning phase) . Triangulation in that sense "enhances data quality, based on the principles of idea convergence and the confirmation of findings" (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p.556, quoting Knafl & Breitmayer, 1989). As Rlitsert (1972, pp.19-31), had notably criticized long ago, the understanding of the context of reports and texts, is a crucial aspect available in qualitative content analysis aspects that can significantly increase robustness in description and analysis.

(iii) A third method of corroborating findings and minimizing researcher's bias, was sharing the analysis at the stage of coding process with the supervisor and discussing codes that were differently perceived between the two.

Finally, the high number of interviews I performed, in each of the two categories also contributed to reaching saturation in the analysis phase: when no more new codes were formed the analysis was completed and it offered me the confidence that various perspectives representing interactions between participants, heritage and institutions were already included in my analysis.

(iii) Last but not least, utilizing two methods or analyzing the data (thematic analysis and causal loop diagram), and coding twice the body of raw data allowed for different perspectives to emerge and explanations to be formed. By comparing the various explanations, wherever they converged, the degree of confidence for understanding reality increased in my documentation of findings (Gillham, 2000, p.13). In fact, the "effectiveness of triangulation rests on the premise that the weaknesses in each single method will be compensated by the counter-balancing strengths of another" (Jick, 1979, p.604). In my case one example is that the inability of linear perceptions of impacts through the thematic analysis, was counter-acted by the power of causal loop diagrams to show connections between impacts and understand repetitive behaviors more clearly (see more in Ch.8).

5.3.6 Ethics, privacy and access to data for research

Some limitations of the methods relate to access to fieldwork (Johl and Renganathan 2010) as the researcher rested greatly on the availability and willingness of the interviewees to participate in each project. Sampling methods assisted in overcoming those limitations, and adapting the research needs to the data available on the field. For the first phase, a **purposive sample** based on some **key informants** (5-8 people) was chosen through telephone and email communication and a snowball technique was used for sampling additional local residents/participants and assisting managers on spot.

The relative gap in data that may occur due to missing/non-represented participating social groups (like eg. young parents), was counterbalanced through “mini-ethnographic’ observations, including closer engagement of the researcher with the community to build on trust (Okumus et al., 2007; Patton, 2002; Shenton and Hayter 2004). A public engagement community mapping game, was also organized that attracted some of those social groups and enabled understanding their motives and perceptions better (August 2017).

To adhere to Data Protection Act (1988) requirements and suggestions, the anonymity of all research participants (interviewees) was retained, making sometimes accessible the names of organizations involved visible, where prior consent was secured.

The method followed to ensure participants’ non-identification and privacy during the analysis stage, was the assignment of a coded title for all subjects in order to hide but signal their identity throughout the analysis.

All participants were informed about the nature of the tasks and the purposes of the project through the specially designed Ethics information forms, submitted in UCL Ethics committee. These provided an assurance that the data will be treated confidentially and anonymously, and subsequently provided informed consent. (see Appendix G for Information sheet and Consent form designed and used).

Participants were only recruited voluntarily and no other motive was offered to them when consent was agreed. The decision to restrict the sample to non-vulnerable groups or under aged, enabled a more focused sample and a uniform questionnaire design for all participants. In the case of interviewing elderly people, which happened to be often -over 70 years- they were still socially active and happy to be involved. The researcher was particularly attentive to keep the interview under the timescale agreed and be sensitive to the informants needs.

5.4 Research design and phases of data collection and analysis

I followed a multi method qualitative research strategy to answer my research questions, by setting certain objectives for each (see table 4 below), which included two phases of fieldwork/data collection projects and two core methods of data analysis and synthesis.

Table 4 Relation of research questions with objectives for data collection and analysis process

Research Question	Core Objective for Data	
	collection Projects	Data analysis
<p>How does participation contribute to community wellbeing?</p> <p>-What are the aspects of individual social wellbeing that affect community wellbeing?</p>	<p>To examine areas of direct and indirect social impacts of participation and relate them to a contextually relevant definition of wellbeing by project participants</p> <p>Direct: Project1/Project 2a</p>	<p>Analysis and Synthesis</p> <p>To explain how impacts are produced by different types of projects according to perspectives of participants</p>
<p>How does the participation contribute to sustainable heritage management?</p>	<p>To find out how managers perceive positive impacts in their practice and institutional contexts & explore constraints</p> <p>Project 1/Project 2b</p>	<p>To explore (causal or not) interlinkages and existence (or not) of reciprocal links between the two areas</p>

5.4.1 Data collection Projects design

During the duration of the Ph.D., the fieldwork and data collection from the case study (and subsequently the analysis of those data) was divided in two interrelated phases following a mixed method, sequential exploratory research design (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003, p. 687; Creswell, 2009). This aimed initially at realizing both interviews and a set of questionnaires, but finally was restricted to two sets of semi-structured interviews as the different perspectives between different interviewees already provided enough material for an in depth and relational analysis.

A bottom up approach to data collection was deemed suitable to examine perceptions of impacts and social values by local community members and managers.

Data collection included two sets of 42 semi-structured interviews with 47 participants (some couple interviews as well), realised in two distinct visits in Orkney during the first 2 years of the research, lasting around 10-15 days each. Data were related to direct impacts for participants and managers/institutions (as practice changes and institutional changes). Field observations and informal discussions with community members while being in Orkney, added an ethnographic element to the inquiry and helped to better establish the scope, as well sample participants out of as many social groups as possible. The sampling stopped when saturation was reached in the analysis phase and a model for understanding links between impacts could be defined. Following I explain how the data collection process evolved between the 2 phases as the research was shaping (see also fig.41) :

The first phase involved a large number of (18) semi-structured qualitative interviews (Edwards and Holland 2013; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009) with few local managers-identified as key informants- and some indicated by them, participants of the scheme. These aimed firstly at:

- a. collecting baseline data on both community social needs and heritage management issues on context, assessing contextual attributes and
- b. define existing levels and extent of participation in the multiple sub-projects of the Scheme, to better choose specific projects to study further (in that sense it acted as crucial pilot phase).
- c. The researcher obtained an overview of perceived impact areas as expressed by both local managerial and project design/planning teams and participants and
- d. their relationships with specific types of heritage (official and unofficial, tangible and intangible) & participatory activities.

In the second phase the researcher realized some targeted semi structured interviews, with a sample of participants from 5 chosen participatory projects identified as “effective” in terms of successful retaining engagement of volunteers or participants and achievement of project objectives (with some also being continued after funding ended) (projects 3,4, 9, see Appendix E), representing the two core modalities of participation identified in the 1st phase (volunteering and community-led projects) and a third emerging modality visible in museum-led, collaborative projects. Interviews included participants but also respective managerial and planning team involved who revealed different perspectives on enablers and constraints for effective delivery. Aim was double; to explain immediate perceived social impacts and provide data to explore relationship between different processes and participants’ post-project involvement with heritage. The interviews with the managerial team, included certain heritage professionals and local council employees/planners (identified in the first stage and finally accessed now), involved in managing the projects in delivery and planning phase aiming at explaining some of the issues identified from the preliminary analysis (see fig. 42) of the 1st phase material:

- a. explore perceived constraints to realizing participatory projects in relation to positive impacts for heritage safeguarding
- b. explore expectations of both managers vis a vis those of planners for long term preservation and the role of participation in planning (definitions of effectiveness of participation were explored)
- c. gather rich data on managers' perceptions on the potential of participatory project for increasing specific social impacts in order to corroborate those with the ones mentioned by participants.

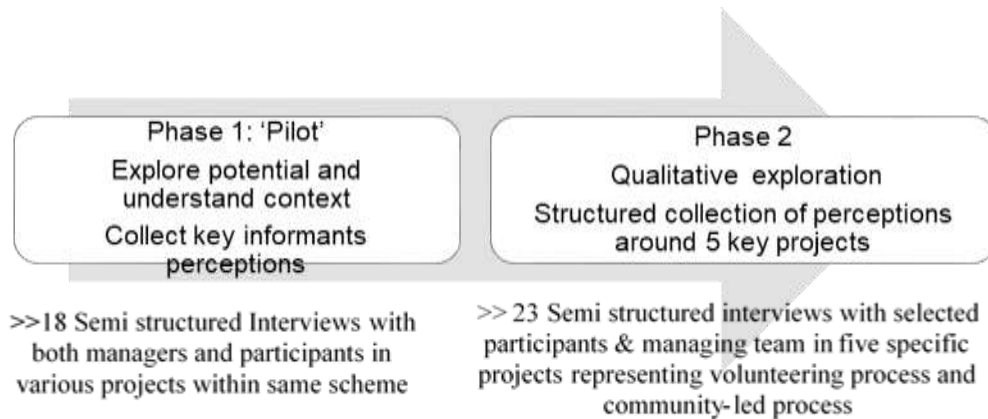


Figure 40 The two phases of data collection process, from pilot to structured exploration of perceptions and relevant sampling choices

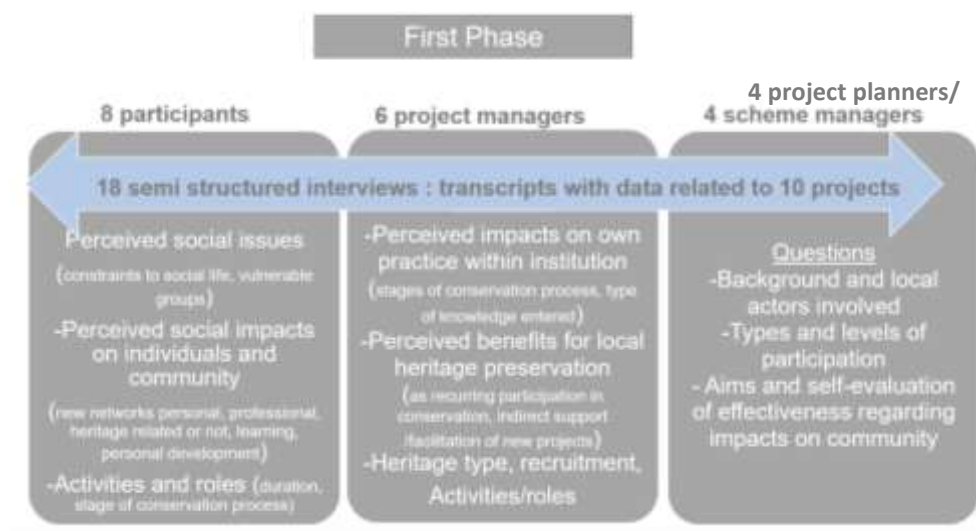


Figure 41 The categories of research participants and relevant questions' themes for the 1st phase

5.5 Methods for data collection

5.5.1 Desk based research and data collection

Prior to interviews, and as part of planning them, desk based and documentary research was helpful to understand the context of the case study:

- to formulate an understanding of social demographics of the area under research, and basic geographical characteristics that may affect it, including analyzing sources like Census data and wherever possible developing local community profiles (see Ch.4).

- Orkney Island council recent reports on heritage planning processes and responsibilities of institutions in place (regarding collections and assets management and community engagement) were reviewed.

- institutional structures of existing organizations in place and relevant information like institutional size, professional roles within those and aims/missions were rapidly reviewed.

These allowed me to perform a mapping of the typical network of stakeholders in the context of heritage in Orkney, involved in most types of heritage projects and their relations and experience with community-based projects. This mapping enabled the first communications via email with a small core group of professionals that introduced the researcher to the HLF Scapa Flow landscape scheme, as part of their recently completed participatory projects

A secondary cycle of documentary and desktop research focused on:

- structure of HLF schemes, including common process for delivering and planning projects within the schemes (eg. guideline documents for delivery and evaluation by HLF were reviewed together with scheme 's described structure and steering group formation reports)

- Existing SFLP Scheme descriptive and evaluation files that were partly disclosed by few managers (including data on project types, objectives in relation to conservation and to engagement etc)

5.5.2 Semi structured Interviews

Semi structured interviews were chosen as the main method for primary data collection by both groups, local residents and professionals (heritage managers and planners). As Kvale (2008) notes, interviews have the strength of capturing both "factual knowledge" (like information on structure of the projects and that of heritage organizations) as well as meaning. Qualitative interviewing allows for "shaping meanings" and understanding different perspectives (in our case interpretations of heritage values and role of heritage in local sustainable development and specifically social wellbeing of the community). They did so, by enabling a critical reading of interviewee' perceptions, relating them to their life experiences and realities. Interviews included

basic information on professional and personal backgrounds, their socio-cultural context (introductory part), social relationships and involvement with the local community (Edwards and Holland, 2013). Some 'couple interviews' were realized as well (Bjornholt and Farstad, 2012) after request of the interviewees': the interaction between them made the narrative even richer, as individuals did not always agreed and negotiated while answering the question (Heaphy and Einarsdottir,2013:15).

Semi-structured interviews were preferred to structured ones, as they allowed a focus on particular themes (participation typologies, social impacts, rural wellbeing for the participants and institutional structures, processes and changes to accommodate participation for the managers). Their advantages compared to close questionnaires or surveys were evaluated (see table 5).The format lies between a strict predefined structure and a completely free, evolving form: a strictly predefined structure would restrict the exploration of personal perceptions of social impacts –the concept of social wellbeing itself inherently includes a certain subjectivity (as wellbeing is experienced differently depending on the socio-cultural background and personality of individuals) which needs to be captured.

A common structure was adopted for realizing the interviews, in both phases. The interview questions were divided into three core parts (see Appendix D) :

- (i) introductory -interviewee profile and relation with heritage and place,
- (ii) level and role in their participation in the specific heritage project and other heritage activities within, and
- (iii) Perceptions of impacts from participation supported with actions and behavior change/perception change evidence structure around participants role (fig.43).

Interviews started with questions regarding participants' demographic data, links with community and place (needs perception and use of social infrastructure, bonds with place and local heritage features) (see also Appendix D). In the second and third part, the interviewer was able to focus on more specific questions revolving around the experience of participation itself and perceive impacts related to it. This way, data derived from interview allowed a reflection on the meanings that participants attributed to social impacts but also bigger overarching definitions, such as what exactly constituted heritage, from a community's perspective (Kvale, 2008).

• What are the impacts of participation on..



Figure 42 Developing a structure for interviews: asking about potential impacts of participation as changes in practices and behaviours

Table 5 Methods considered: inherent limitations and advantages for the scope of the research

Method	Inherent Limitations	Advantages
Semi-structured interviews	Requires training, Misrepresentation of the truth, Out of topic answers	Provides valuable information from context of participants experiences, Use of pre-determined questions provides uniformity
Close ended questionnaires	Predetermined set of answers, Lack of conscientious responses, Differences in understanding and interpretation	High response rate, Results are easily measured, Timesaving

The interviews in the first phase focused more on employing exploratory questions aiming at eliciting personal definitions of rural/landscape heritage, interviewees' perceptions of wellbeing and social needs in their context, their relationship with community and place, and their attitude towards participation before and after their experience within the Scheme.

In the second phase the exploratory questions used in the first phase were significantly reduced. Questions focused at exploring certain issues that arose from 1st stage (especially for participants differentiating between behavior or attitude changes attributed to participation regarding heritage

as place, institutions and community members/groups. For managers changes referred mostly to institutional practices and potentially norms/expectations within their organization) and were slightly more structured to ensure answers would be collected in all the relevant areas.

Apart from adapting/improving the questions, changes introduced in the second phase included:

(i) An additional structured questionnaire, that was adopted in the second phase, after reflecting on challenge faced in the first phase, in order to secure that information on participants personal background was mapped more systematically. It involved information on education, family status and years of residence as well as provenance of the participants. It also included some more concrete information on hours spent on the projects, that were however not replied satisfactorily by the participants, and thus excluded from the analysis.

(ii) Secondly, a method of photo elicitation (Tuck and McKenzie, 2015) was employed -using photographic material from the projects and sites, aiming at stimulating memories of their experience and explore participants' perceptions around specific sites and projects in the surrounding area. Radley (2011) between others, supports using pictures as a technique to assist interviews in social sciences. This was particularly helpful not only to instigate and extend their narrations, but also to bridge the time gap with the project (especially for elderly participants with memory issues) to clarify the type of their involvement in more than one sub-projects within the scheme when that was the case.

This part of the interviews led to statements through which heritage values could be assessed as well as basic information around involvement of people with specific sites within landscape and a set of activities around conservation/interpretation/management could be collated.

5.5.3 Sampling : tackling the limitations

The driving force for the selection of the appropriate sampling method should always be the research question. In my case, the study is aimed at understanding local managers', planners' and community participants' perceptions on specific participatory projects: therefore, called for purposive sampling- I was specifically looking for people with a certain experience of the phenomenon to offer rich descriptions (Devers and Frankel, 2000, p.264). In the case of managers, desirable was to collect perceptions by professionals representing many institutions (fig.44) to offer maximum possible representation of the local heritage management structures and perspectives to participation (modalities preferred). Similarly, certain diversity in the participants' subsample was desirable-representing multiple age, ethnic and gender groups if possible, but was secondary as the research already had chosen a specific scheme to study.

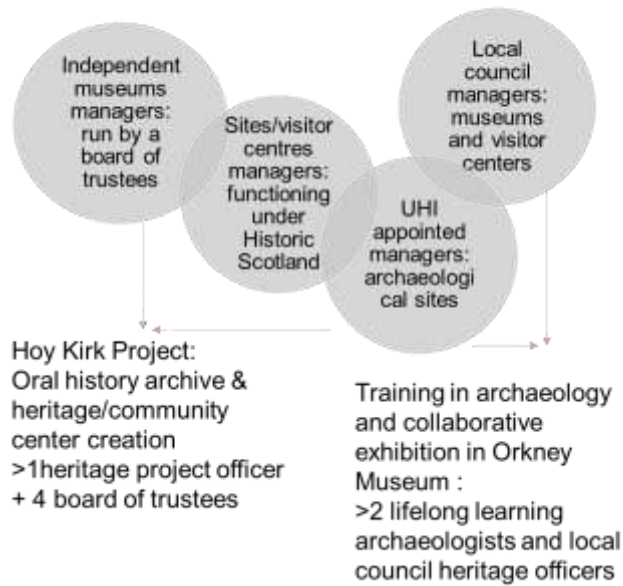


Figure 43 The different types of institutions in context, were represented by various interviewees and types of projects. Roles of interviewees in the projects varied also according to the projects' delivery process-from simple guidance to more leadership role for managers

As mentioned beforehand, desktop research led to a stakeholders' map, to identify the local council's heritage and museum officers and departments.

At the first phase of interviews, **snowballing approach** (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981; Bernard & Bernard, 2012; 97) to sampling was used: key informants suggested some managers working both in archaeological community heritage projects but also introduced me to the HLF Scheme (realised between 2009-2012) as a good body of realized participatory projects, under a common cross-institutional framework. Snowball sampling allowed benefiting from informers who were close at hand and possible to reach (Punch, 2005; Rea & Parker, 2014). As the research progressed, quota sampling was used, especially for local authority representatives (planners): interviewees were located through desktop research (selected based on their role/position in the scheme).

Difficulties for access to human participants in post-project intervention evaluations are commonly recognized in the literature (due to mobility and more causes) and combined with the issue of representativeness of sample for local community members. While both adult men and women were targeted, in various age groups (over 18 years old) as participants in the scheme, aiming at obtaining a comprehensive picture of social needs in the local community from all members' perspective, the researcher realized that the plurality of the sample was over 50 years old.

It is important to acknowledge however that this high age median is representing the majority of the existing population in Orkney that is an ageing one. It is also consistent, with findings that support that volunteers in heritage tend to be not in full time employment or in retirement (BOP consulting, 2009, p.20 for HLF, English heritage: Taking part survey 2017/18).

This age effect acted in two ways, posing certain challenges and potential limitations (as well as holding certain biases) for the research:

(i) firstly they expressed increased emotional connections to '*pastness*' and conserving it as part of their own personal history (related to childhood memories).

My initial strategy for achieving more balanced age representation through accessing volunteer lists in archaeology projects from institutions (aiming at approaching some younger participants) was not successful due to disclosure reasons. In fact, it has been rendered difficult to find willing participants to interview from archaeological focused projects, in mere contrast to the large number of interviews by the heritage professionals involved in those projects. This finally is considered indicative of the high degree of and effects of institutionalization of these projects.

In response to this context-raised limitation, I decided to develop a public engagement project inviting young families with children to map their knowledge and experiences with heritage sites in their area in one of the local schools in the area. The activity enabled me to understand limitations for families' participation, and to a great extent confirmed my observation that these groups usually do not take part in active projects, primarily due to time/occupation related restrictions.

(ii) Secondly most of them had witnessed serious socio-demographic changes that transformed this way of life on the islands and their willingness to share these changes was very apparent during the interviewing, sometimes dominating the process. Practicing with a pilot number of 5 first interviews incredibly assisted me in improving the amount of relevant information while encouraging sharing of narratives with them after the official questionnaire had finished.

The interviews were realized in two phases and the sample focused on individuals representing the following groups:

- *Local residents /community members or project participants*, including residents in mainland (Kirkwall, Stromness and peripheral areas of Scapa Flow i.e. parishes/communities of including Hoy, Stromness and South Ronaldsey) together with representatives of community-led heritage trusts, local associations and heritage or history related community groups in those localities.

- *Heritage managers or professionals*, representing almost all the local heritage organizations (museums and sites) and few representatives of local branches of regional or national bodies (like HES, SNH). Some of those held a double role, working in commissioned projects but also belonging in the academic community, located either in research or teaching roles.

- *Local authority officials/planners or planning professionals*, including representatives from the municipality of Orkney island Council (OIC) that planned or assisted in delivering the heritage projects within the Scheme. These usually did not hold cultural heritage background but mostly marine planning or development experience.

A detailed table with the profile of all interviewees can be found in the Appendix, E. Adopting a double coding frame assisted to categorize the interviewees per role too: I1-18 to indicate an interviewee, with M1-11 used for managers/practitioners and C1-7 used for community members and P used for planners.

5.6 Methods for qualitative data analysis

5.6.1 Aims and approach to the analysis: Nvivo and thematic analysis

The data collected through the 18 interviews of the first phase and the 23 interviews of the second realised with local heritage managers and participants were initially analysed following a “three-stage procedure” (Creswell, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1984) for thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006); preparing the data for analysis by transcribing; reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and representing the data.

The researcher identified patterns in the data, suggesting themes, through coding using NVivo software (QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 10, 2012) following an inductive approach to analysis (Frith and Gleeson, 2004), forming coding categories emerging from the data.

Transcripts produced out of 45 in total, semi-structured interviews carried out with community members (18) and heritage managers (18) as well as local authority representatives (7) in Spring 2016 and Spring 2017 were the raw material used in the analysis. These were representing main types of participation and related to ten heritage projects linked with specific sites or localities in the landscape of Scapa flow in Orkney(, see Appendix E).

Thematic analysis was performed, coding using qualitative software NVivo (Cresswell, 2009; Bernard, 2011, Bazeley, 2007) following an **inductive approach** to the creation of themes, not based on predefined theoretical framework (Thomas, 2003; Frith and Gleeson, 2004). Each interview was coded and analyzed without employing any pre-determined categories, but allowing the codes to emerge from the data through an **open coding** process which allows the identification of a variety of themes and variables related to the key research question (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 102). That was then followed by **axial coding** looking for interrelationships between themes and coding families. Open coding is defined as “the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data” in Strauss and Corbin: 1990, p.61). Kendall (1999, p.747) defines the focus of axial coding: ‘on the conditions that give rise to a category (phenomenon), the context (specific set of properties) in which it is embedded, the action/interactional strategies by which the processes are carried out the consequences of the strategies’.

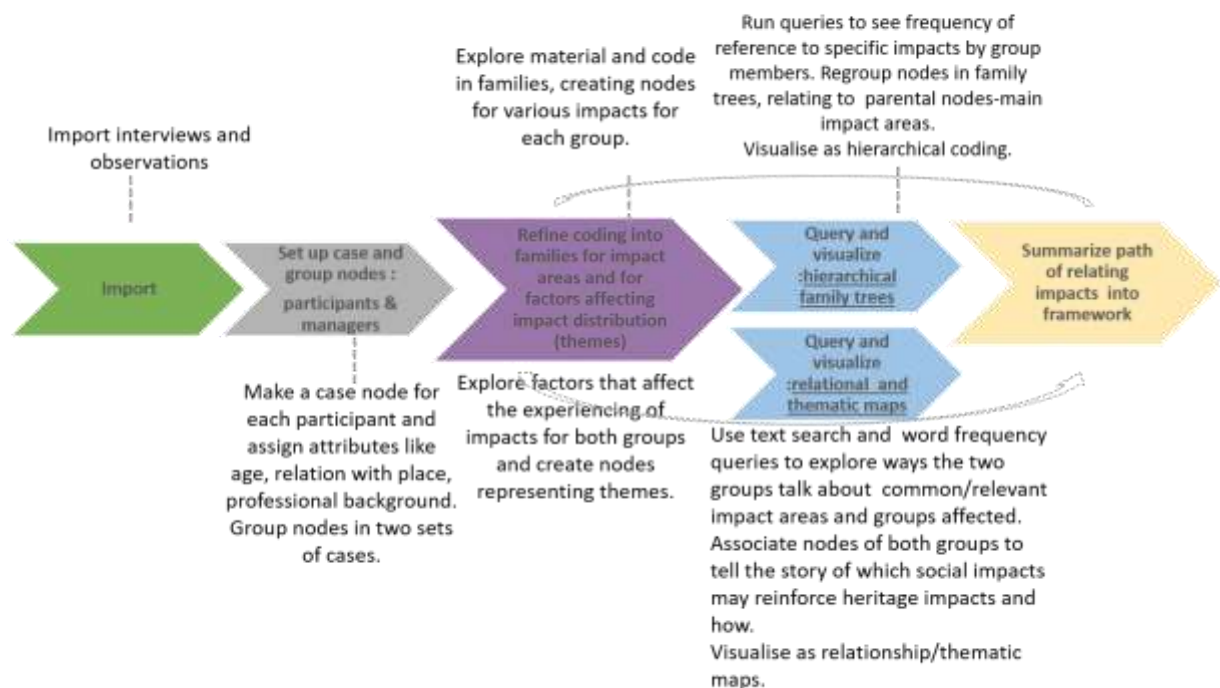


Figure 44 The process of analysis in Nvivo: from open to axial coding and choice of techniques for visualisation (hierarchical coding at first phase with codes and node under them, associative maps used in the second to signify links between nodes observed)

Despite the inductive approach adopted, the theoretical lens of reciprocity and theories of social capital led the researcher's thinking towards explaining social impacts, and definitely influenced, to a certain extent, the final naming of coding groups. This allowed for data relevant to the main questions to inform both the *descriptive analysis* of the case study (*social issues, institutional structures in place and existing management approaches*) but also allowed the creation of **novel themes** covering aspects of the core question i.e. *social, institutional impacts and interlinkages between them*.

In particular, at the first stage, by reading through interview transcripts, and grouping repetitive data into codes (for each of the two groups), then groups of codes and finally identifying key themes, I aimed for:

- participants' interviews; at understanding both perceptions, motivations and values but also behaviors towards institutions and towards heritage after participation (were declared changes in behavior signified impact of participation).
- managers' transcripts : at analyzing the process of participation and mapping interactions and networks between social structures (of the institutions and the communities involved), which were

either directly observable through participants words or in some cases emerged indirectly by underlying assumptions in phrases they used (Ezzy, 2002).

Due to the need to explain and understand the context as well at this stage, and understand attitudes towards heritage and their relation with 'how impacts are perceived', by analyzing the first set of interviews, I produced a very open, but also '*too extended*' set of nodes, not focusing only directly on perceived impacts but also providing a contextual description of the case (for process see, fig.45). This included both 'organizational structures' and 'stakeholder networks' in Orkney but also for social issues and 'community needs' as expressed by the two groups of interviewees respectively.

Data were organized into coding categories and wider themes. Initially, some descriptive coding categories were created to analyze the community and context of the case study, including features of the projects under research (categories B,D,F, J ,see figure 48):

1. Community profiling (Category B)
2. Project features (Category D)
3. Perceptions of social needs (Category F)
4. Island identity features (Category J), see fig.47

These assisted in a first reading of the context of the case study, referring to : 'typologies of heritage existing', the 'structure of institutions involved in management', 'main stakeholders involved' in the format of the HLF scheme, but also the 'demographic profile of communities' in study areas, 'perceived social needs' in the area as well as generic' perceptions of islanders identity' 'that brought together aspects of individual, community identity and 'stance towards heritage' that informed their heritage values.

Second, three basic, *hierarchical coding* categories were created (in the sense that included variables describing the main node/indicators), by coding references on perceived impacts of participation, referring more directly to the key research questions (community social wellbeing and heritage management fig. 46) identified later as:

1. social impacts (category A),
2. institutional impacts (category L)
3. reciprocal links (category C)(see fig. 50 later)



Figure 45 Diagrammatic representation of the hierarchical coding in Nvivo : impact tree, showing variables identified (as Key nodes in nvivo) relating to social and institutional impacts (at this phase described as : community wellbeing and heritage management impacts) and attributes of each (as sub-nodes under the key nodes, merging repetitive codes)



Figure 46 Nodes from Nvivo, descriptive phase: open coding around the category: Island identity features

Finally, six interrelated analytical, explanatory **themes were defined** (fig. 48) that affect the perception of social impacts, institutional impacts by the two distinct groups as well as relationships between the two (fig. 49):

1. Motivation for individual participation -I1
2. Motivation for Institutional engagement –I2
3. Perception of heritage/ values -G
4. Perception of role of heritage for wellbeing (role of heritage for local Sustainable development SD)-E
5. Perception of benefits of community participation for heritage management
6. Perception of effectiveness of participation-enablers and constraints –H,K
7. Approach to participation-H

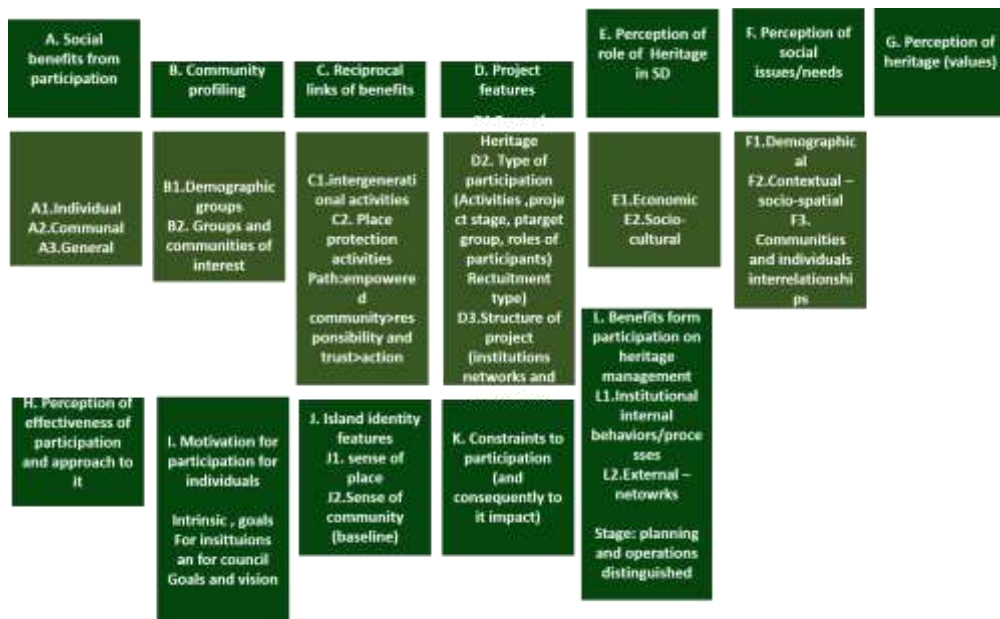


Figure 47 List of thematic analysis categories(themes produced), including descriptive themes on types of impacts, but also explanatory themes like perceptions of hertiage or of social needs in the context

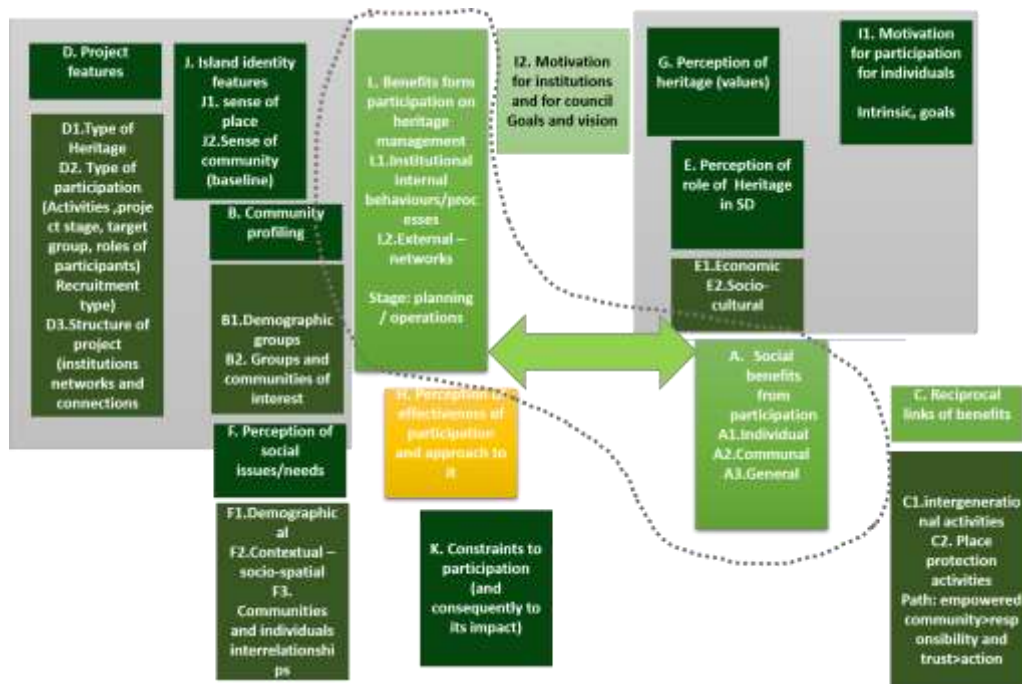


Figure 48 Elaboration of the relations between themes identified by thematic analysis: social and institutional benefits are affected by both contextual factors, like community profiles, social needs and project features but also by perceptions of heritage and its role for SD. The latter affects motivations for participation and willingness to reciprocate, by engaging in further heritage protection activities

These lead to a formation of a *dual conceptual framework* that can: on one hand link motivation to behavior and perceived positive impacts for participants. (Notably, the majority of the participants had a rather on-going involvement that suggested looking carefully into predisposition factors to be able to understand their motivations better). On the other hand, it explains reasons for institutional ‘endorsement’ of participatory projects, and links it with institutional perceptions for effectiveness and dealing with constraints to applying participation in managers’ practice.

This proposed framework, explains positive participants’ behavior towards future engagement with heritage, attributing it to social and spatial benefits gained from participation, combined with a set of baseline factors (related to participants’ background, pro-heritage/place and pro-community attitudes, with trust to institutions as a third parameter affecting it).

The factors that affect motivation to get involved with heritage projects, are a combination of personal motivation factors, longstanding connections and/or affection with place and sense of belonging to community, formulating individual heritage values.

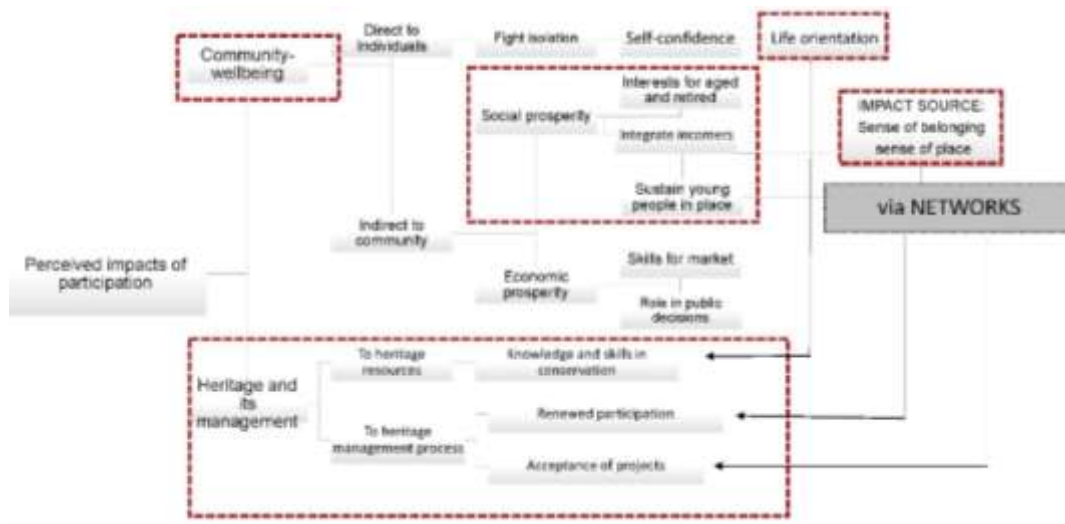


Figure 49 From hierarchical analysis to asosociative analysis: mapping the observed links between variables (through running queries) to explain key reciprocal or at least linear links between social, heritage and institutional impacts

Looking at the different perspectives allowed in the end to compare between opinions of managers vis a vis those of participants, organized into separate groups of codes. This division helped into formulating explanatory hypothesis around the perceptions and expectations of both groups from the process of participation and (from the project itself to a certain extent).

The primary descriptive themes resulting from a rather open coding, created in this phase, were reviewed and refined in the second phase, where first, more data were added in the sample, offering an improved understanding of community-led projects and differentiating impact deriving from these types compared to those of volunteering projects.

Once the new data were also coded, new codes were added to the existing ones and some of the initial ones were renamed, while cross-checking the existence of same codes in different participants (see fig.51) -this is an output of the iterative approach followed, where the researcher starting slowly to develop a clearer idea of factors affecting the behavior toward institutions, but also the space/place interactions and factors of dependency or affection to landscape that were not initially taken into account in the first coding phase. These increased coding categories but allowed not only for descriptive analysis but also for explanations of behavior change to emerge. These were more meticulously explored through the next phase, through **axial coding** (Scott and Medaugh, 2017).



Figure 50 Nvivo snapshot: identifying overlapping themes in the transcript and coding them was followed by cross-checking between participants and merging codes into wider node categories

The process of merging codes was **iterative**, looking also in the ongoing literature review; for example, I constantly tested the relevance of those bottom up social impact definitions/heritage management benefits (see Appendix H) to the ones appearing in literature form studies in rural context, and even comparing them to indicators developed for measuring social capital impacts in urban context. Similarly, keeping the other question of “how managers and institutions experienced impact or altered their practices as result of participatory experiences”, allowed me to form coding categories emerging from the data: for example institutional impacts were categorized in *internal (referring to practices) and external (referring to relationships and networks with communities and other institutions)*.

In fact, much later (during the end of the 2nd year) and after adding all the data in Nvivo, I performed re-organizing of codes and supra-codes within the three main categories (social, institutional and reciprocal impacts), into categories reflecting both literature review and theory inputs. This process, structured the codes in a way that reflected whenever possible concepts

derived from theory eg. that of social network creations, which happened to be concurrent with the theory around social capital (network approach), but theoretical terms were not always applicable in coding categories. This allowed me to produce the clearly codified Tables available in Chapter 5 and the two additional large tables attached in Appendix L, which clearly reflect social capital related impacts at community level, individual wellbeing impacts ones and sense of place related impacts.

It is evident that the open coding themes and codes, provided much richer but less structured information, allowing for explanation on the role of the context in shaping behavior, or the *why and how* certain impacts were created and what the effect of context was.

These observations were concretized and triangulated through the next phases of analysis, through the use of axial coding and causal loop diagrams that allowed pathways to emerge and become visible.

The reciprocal hypothesis implied that creating themes for the two distinct groups of participants (or applying a linear descriptive approach to code categories for impacts) within the protocol of thematic analysis, would not be enough to answer the research question as it did not enable explanations of behaviors or representing interlinkages between impacts clearly.

This is why the second phase of axial coding was applied and also the reason for including another method in the analysis, requiring re-coding the data, (causal loop diagrams) to identify clearly impact pathways or simply look for cause-effect relationships in the data looking through the processes and chain of events in projects studied. .

5.6.2 Axial coding- relationships between themes and sub-themes

Axial coding consists of assembling the data in new ways after open coding. The identified variables from the open coding phase were then grouped into wider themes following an axial coding process (Scott and Medaugh, 2017).

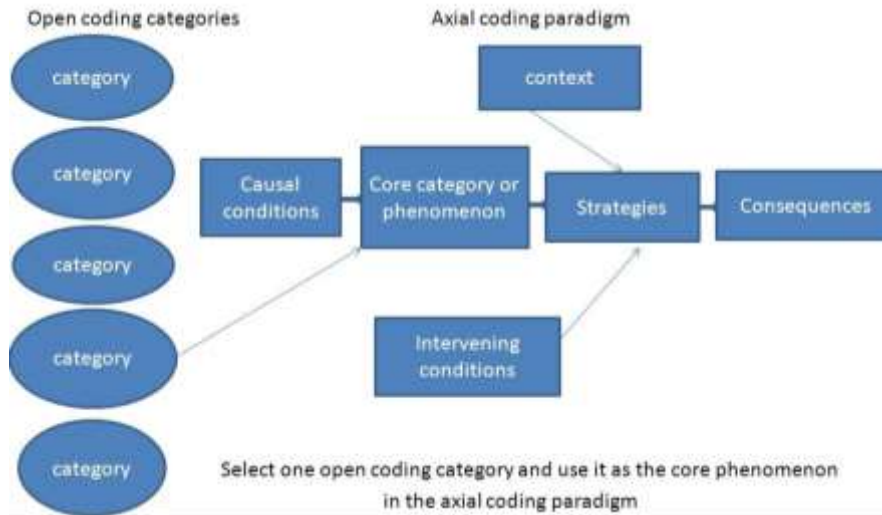


Figure 51 The relationships between open and axial coding categories: the first ones are re-grouped into wider themes, identifying apart from the core phenomenon (impacts of participation) causal conditions, contextual and intervening conditions for it to happen (Scott and Medaugh, 2017)

During this phase I also re-read pieces of information in the transcripts and identifying relationships that the participants suggested between variables /impacts (social and institutional) but also between descriptive themes or sub-themes (eg. approach to participation and outputs or behavior after the participatory experience). (see fig.52 for axial-open process)

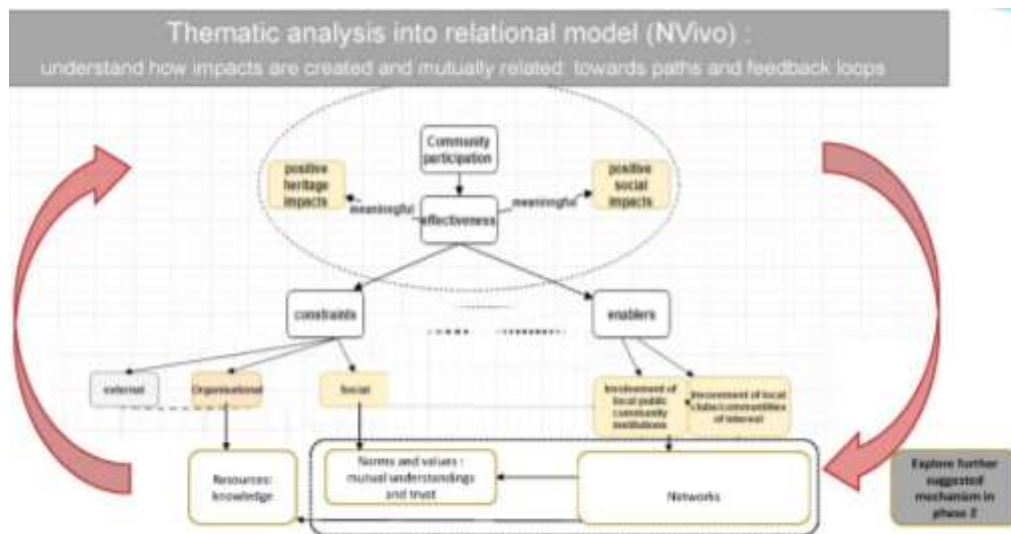


Figure 52 At the end of the thematic analysis, it was evident that looking for reciprocity included identifying constraints and enablers to effectiveness of participation for all agents: while organisational resources were usually perceived as constraints, network development and knowledge exchange were perceived as enablers

The links that emerged from connecting codes that participants associated with each other, allowed me represent finally wider associations between groups of codes, that held greater explanatory power (ie. how were impacts produced?/what kind of mechanism exist behind it, regarding agents behavior and relationships?) (see fig. 53)

For example: effectiveness of project was associated with creation of supportive networks with local associations for managers). I finally visualized those using associative maps (diagrams/ trees) in Nvivo, -an example is provided in figure 54.

These allowed also bringing together the two agents/groups' generated codes (this way understand relationships between participants and institutions) and also allowed for a first-level understanding of the interrelation between themes (fig 53: like effectiveness of participation -to produce positive impacts- and institutional process: level of flexibility, the role of various stakeholders and how this significantly changed the format of certain projects).

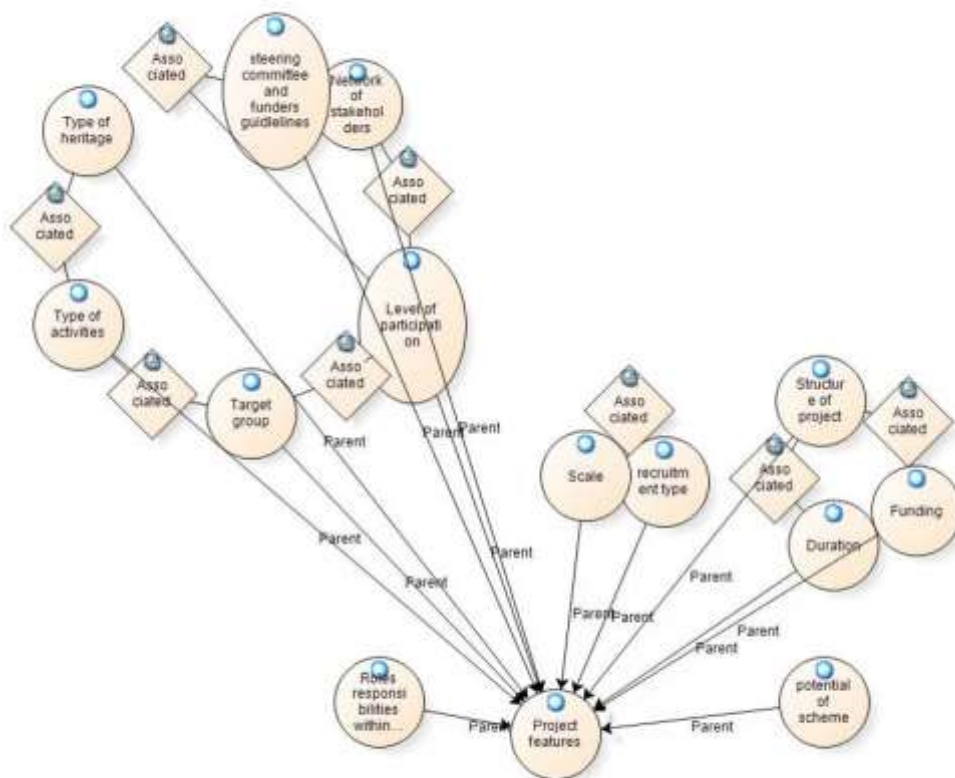


Figure 53 Schematic illustration of an example of the axial coding, using the association option in Nvivo: the dependency relationship between project features, reflecting funders guidelines, and agency of stakeholders, shapes the level of participation chosen and approach to it

5.6.3 Integrating data into an ongoing Nvivo analysis

Given that the data were collected at two phases, the coding and transcription process was also performed in two phases. While this complicated the task for a novice researcher like myself, it

allowed me for enhanced quality of the analysis, as reflective review of the process after time is suggested technique for increasing robustness and reducing subjectivity of analysis (Sutton and Austin, 2015; Irvine and Gaffikin, 2006).

I cross-examined the validity of the coding process and nodes creation, in both phases after the first coding and after the addition of second group of interview data, comparing node creation from quotes with the principal supervisor of this thesis. We coded simultaneously from scratch one interview, using this as a test to avoid and discuss biases of the researcher that may affect the names given to code, (but also to confirm that the emerging themes were closely referring to the research objectives and were closely representing the content of the interviews, without overposed meanings from the researcher's biases.

5.6.4 Employing system dynamics and Causal loop diagrams as a tool

An application of socio-technical tools, borrowed from system dynamics into mapping impacts as cause-effect chain reactions (or changes) in processes, in the context of heritage has been recently advocated by Fouseki and Bobrova (2018) as an innovative approach to deal with complexity of interactions between various actors and heritage values.

These authors support that heritage is a complex and dynamic system that constantly changes over time as a result of various interrelationships of social, political, economic and other factors. Systems thinking, provides us with causal loop diagrams; a useful tool for mapping and modelling those interrelationships in time to understand actors' behaviors at systemic level and assist inform decision making. As Haraldsson (2000) suggests, to practice systems thinking in data analysis, one should focus in the concept of feedback -this shows how actions (represented by variables) "can reinforce or counteract (balance) each other". He supports:

" In system thinking the feedback concept means any reciprocal flow of influence... In systems thinking it is an axiom that every influence is both cause and effect. Nothing is ever influenced in one direction" (Haraldsson, 2000, online).

Authors like Senge have underlined the multiple of actors that responsibility for systemic problems -this suggests that there is no single factor can account for changes in a system (1990, 1994). In that sense it is ideal for answering the main research question and through analyzing the system we can unraveling these complex interrelationships and follow up the process of planning and delivering participatory projects.

While system dynamics offers a broader perspective and methods toolkit to look at heritage-society as constantly evolving system, within time, the research only focuses on the use of a single tool, that of Causal loop (CL) diagrams, which is not dynamic on its own, but enables a preliminary

mapping of the system behavior at certain period of time (in our case representing phases of project planning, delivery and post-project phase).

In systems theory, any conceptualization of a problem as a systemic one, starts by defining the system and its boundaries. Employing a systemic conceptualization (Avrami, 2012) of community, place and institutions allows us to perform an impact pathways analysis, using diagrams illustrating causal relationships between variables (that described behaviors of actors interviewed in relation to others an heritage) to understand how participation has contributed to impact formation and what are the interactions between social and heritage related impacts.

The boundaries of this system (around the delivery and outcomes of participatory heritage projects) consist for me of: the physical landscape heritage (resources), the people (managers and participants/local community) and the values assigned to the landscape heritage and heritage institutions by both. Once these steps were taken to define the systemic problem and the boundaries of the system, the research could continue with analyzing the data using systemic tools.

The methodology followed for the analysis involved coding again the interview transcripts, creating tables for each one, following a cause-effect pattern for codes (expressing actions/ behavior or processes leading to perceived impacts), in order to be able to map clearly causal interrelationships between the codes. Keeping memos and notes in Nvivo, assisted me to utilise already noted associations between variables, following methodological suggestion by Eker and Zimmerman (2016) on how to use QADAS in linking textual information with loop diagrams' content.

The identification of the cause/effect variables provided the basis for creating a causal loop diagram for each participant. Variables did not differ significantly from the codes developed in Nvivo, in the sense that the outcome ones, were focused on depicting the social-institutional and heritage (spatial appreciation or physical engagement) impacts of participatory projects as perceived by participants. However more variables were introduced as cause of enabling /constraint factors variables that described how the process evolved, following up actors' behaviors that led to impacts, following principally the methodology applied by Kim and Andersen (2012), on effectively translating textual data into cause-effect variables (see Table 8 for an example and how color coding was used to view bigger picture of links between variables when comparing individual loops).

Following, interrelationships between the variables were identified: either positive (reinforcing signified with symbol+ next to the arrow) (e.g. the more one increases...the more the other) or negative (balancing) (e.g. the more...the less) signified with negative symbol- (see Sterman, 2000, p. 155). The data were afterwards transferred to Vensim, a software enabling modelling of systemic relationships and causal loops design. These causal loop diagrams visualize the feedback loops that 'are assumed to have caused the reference mode' i.e. the behavior of key variables over time (Randers 1980, p.119). Loops are formed only when closed circles between variables are

formed which indicate vicious circles of repetitive behavior that may as well be reinforcing or balancing itself. In a reinforcing loop, change in one direction is compounded by more change. Balancing loops, in contrast, counter change in one direction with change in the opposite direction. To determine if a loop is reinforcing or balancing, one quick method is to count the number of “-’s.” If there are an even number of “-’s” (or none are present), the loop is reinforcing

The naming of the loops for each participant (theme represented) and the structuring of those in tables for each participant (visible in tables of Appendix I) and group of participants after that, allowed for locating recurring themes. I coded each one of the interviews individually first, identifying cause-effect variables, and then discussed the findings in groups, merging findings from experts’ interviews and findings from participants’ interviews separately. Few *archetypical loop diagrams* were also designed once the analysis was finished, to synthesize clearly repetitive variables and show *typical behaviors* observed in the various modalities of participation; these will be presented in detail in the Chapter 7. Participants’ findings were divided and are presented in sub-groups also reflecting the difference in key variables in processes of volunteering Vis a Vis those in community-led projects and museum-led collaborative projects.

Adopting this tool from system dynamics was particularly useful as part of my qualitative approach for impact evaluation, as it allowed for a systematic and yet non-technical or pre-selected indicator-oriented approach.

It is important to note that the tool enabled loops creation and differentiating between impacts created during various phases of the process (notion of time) but also recipients of impacts:

(i)-When and which part of the process? --impacts to participants/managers during process of project delivery (observed during delivery period 2009-2011) as opposed to project planning phase interactions with planners (early 2007-2009 period linked to outcomes after end of scheme). (See figure below and tables in appendix L,J for how this time dimension used also in thematic analysis, allowed for clearer understanding of the role of actors in each phase of the projects)

(ii)-For whom and what kind? --Impacts to wider community/ies of place by use of project outputs (eg.affecting spatial development) and further adoption of *practices by professionals* (eg. Affecting development of models of engagement and project planning, developed post-project period 2012-now) were also mapped.



Figure 54 Typical stages or phases linking project planning with delivery , with outcomes appearing that can structure process evaluation of the projects, from a project management perspective.

5.6.5 Types of variables, relationship types and reflection of conceptual framework

Systems thinking has been described as a language for talking about the complex, interdependent issues, relevant to managers' daily reality. Lannon (n.d., online) describes causal loop diagrams; "as sentences that are constructed by identifying the key variables in a system (the "nouns" -but not the agents) and indicating the causal relationships between them via links (the "verbs"). By linking together several loops, you can create a concise story about a particular problem or issue.." (ibid).

We can identify four basic elements that consist the design of causal loop diagrams: the variables, the links between them, and the signs on the links (which show interconnections between them). Finally, the sign of each loop, which shows what type of behavior the system will produce, a reinforcing (an action produces a result which influences more of the same action, could be either grown or decline) or balancing one (the opposite happens). It is clear that the tool offers a diagrammatic visual representation of complex problems, from a causal perspective; this offers to the researcher a greater awareness "of the structural forces may that produce puzzling behavior". (Lannon,n.d.)

Causal loop diagrams (CLDs) are a qualitative diagramming language for representing feedback-driven systems. One of the key features of them is polarity: polarity has been used as the interface between behaviour and event (or how event relates to behaviour).

The strength of impact pathways is not captured through the causal loop diagrams (ie. the direction of impact is captured individually and the repeatability of the relationship type by multiple participants is captured through the aggregation by the researcher). One of the key features A further step to take would be to define stocks and flows in the loop diagrams, to enable simulation modelling which would allow quantification of relationships, based on evidence of existing trends (eg.how many people employed in average through the projects could give an indication of how strong the impact on job development is. Time related aspects (when an impact occurs) could also be mapped, as delays on the loop diagrams.

The methodology applied here, is providing the first step to reach this stage of mapping impact strength, that could be done by developing a simulation system dynamics model (Min et al, 2007) , where the hypothesis developed here could be tested to see if the causal links observed would operate the same way in future (see Schaffernicht,2010).

By using causal loop diagrams, we can make our understanding of the interrelationships within a system's structure more explicit, which allows us to respond to the core questions around the existence of reciprocal links between impacts of participation in the sense of mutually reinforcing impacts or reciprocal links (ie. relationships between institutions and communities). The notion of synergy is also visualized though linear causal links that show positive outcomes for both institutions and communities (signified with different colours).

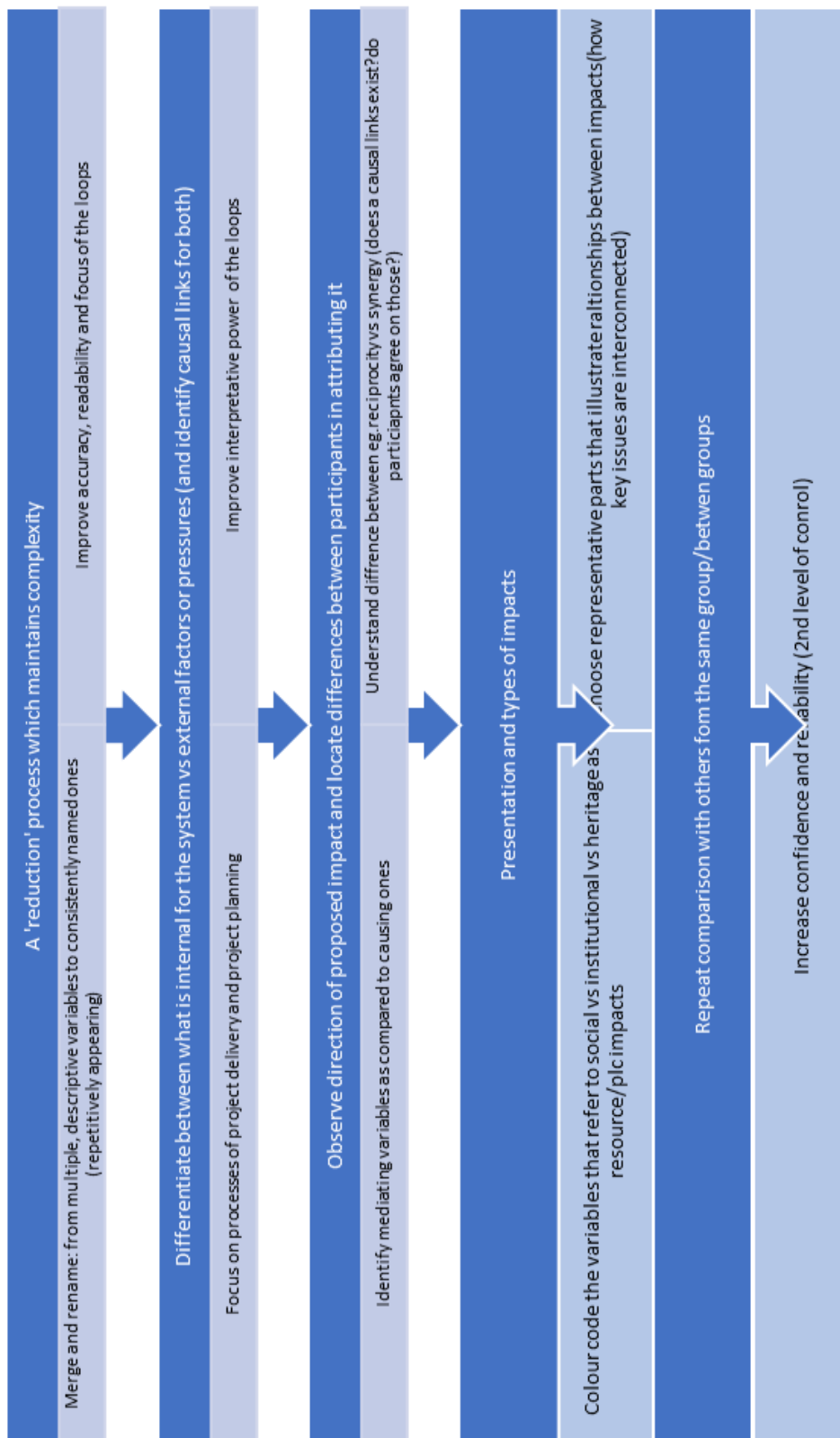


Figure 55 Process of merging causal loop diagrams and interpreting them for locating impacts considered significant and supported by data all over the sample (left columns represent the actions, right columns the relevant aims achieved through them)

The design of the loops in the thesis, focused on mapping processes of participation (covering all phases, from instigation to planning, design and management, outputs to impact generation) in terms of cause-effect variables. Aim was to detect interrelationships between three distinct types of changes / impacts (social, institutional and heritage as place) in various phases of process. These reflect the conceptual framework, ie. variables were identified under three categories, as seen in the following table, which provides a base for the analysis, incorporating the conceptual framework, theoretical insights on agency and structure (ch.3) about types of key behavior variables to map and if those have a key role for the system (being internal or external) . The Table 6 below, incorporates some findings form the thematic analysis (1st phase) in the last column, to show how these guided the systematic mapping of variable relationships in the loops.

Table 6 Types of variables mapped, relevant impact categories and using qualitative analysis findings to led the second analytical method

Type of attitude/behavior variable and relevant impact categories	Location of variables : internal vs external variables (understand limits of system) Role: identify 'mediating' variables	Relevant findings from thematic analysis
1. Social behaviors – reflecting community and individual impacts		
	What affects them?	
	Affected and affect existing social structures	
a. Social behaviors	Where are these located?	
-toward institutions	Within processes of social interaction eg. community empowerment, through linking capital with institutions	2. effect of existence, use of, establishment of social networks between communities and institutions and their role in changing practices.
-towards other social groups	Eg.formation of new groups/social associations or processes of inclusion of incomers into existing groups	1.enablers and obstacles to reciprocity: social structures in various levels (eg. institutional structures) and external (eg. physical context).
2.Institutional processes and behaviors : reflecting impacts on heritage management and planning		
a. Internal (managers' behaviors and processes)	Where are these located?	1.internal-within heritage organizations
- managers behavior within heritage management processes	-processes of resources acquisition and distribution, prioritization and significance attribution	
- managers beliefs and stance towards institutional structures	processes of delegating and changing practice: power to act/flexibility and internal norms	

-managers beliefs and stance towards participation	processes of embeddedness in their practice and structuring it (method/modality adopted)	
b. External	Where are these located?	2.external -in between organizations and between institutions and communities
institutional responses to community social structure	-processes of interacting with and public/audiences or engaging in collaborative governance/collaborative management	
networks/partnerships development	-processes of collaborating and connecting with other institutions (social networks)	
3. Change in behaviors/perceptions related to engagement with heritage as place (for community members)	Where are these located?	
a. changes In state of conservation of certain sites	-physical transformations of the environment/landscape	1.community perceptions and affectionate links with place plays decisive role for future vision and role of heritage in sustainable development locally
b. changes in -interaction of communities with place	-declarations of awareness or in appreciation of place, perceived high significance of heritage places. - change in use of sites/buildings -actions towards creation of responsibility or direct establishment of protective measures for heritage elements.	2.certain community members expressed behavior change through assigning new functions and significance to heritage places as a result of participation

The table 8 below, provides an example of a coding chart of causal relationships observed in two transcripts (belonging to participants C22, 23 from one community-led project), including causal structure (cause-effect) and variable behavior (reinforcing or balancing) assigned and how these can be represented in a loop diagram (Fig 56). The specific one was chosen because the information in the transcript was rich¹⁸ and allowed for viewing different processes-social capital at community level but also links between communities and institutions, as well as outcomes that affect heritage as place and protection of place identity. The work required to produce tables for all the variable relationship types observed is labor-intensive (see table 8), therefore the

¹⁸ The interview and the project itself, covered a wider timeline (from the start of process of renovating a built asset, to developing and sustaining interpretation and archiving projects with it)

positive/negative type identification for most transcripts was made directly on the loop diagrams rather than in tables.

The figure that follows provides an example of a causal loop diagram created based on the variables identified in the table.

As seen in the table below, a colour coding scheme was adopted to enable reading of complex diagrams, comparison between participants and identification of repetitive links between different types of impacts.

The causal loop diagrams colours focus on three types of impacts and relevant variables (table 8):

1. Social processes, including changes in structures and behaviors that contributed to social wellbeing, with a focus on community level impacts - mapped with blue color.
2. Institutional processes and managers' behaviors: changes manifested in practices for heritage management, project delivery and project planning or in institutional structures (eg. new roles)s. - were mapped with red/brown and orange respectively
3. Engagement with heritage as place: changes in appreciation of palace/landscape or state of conservation/maintenance of heritage elements within landscape.- mapped with green ,

Table 7 Colour codes are used to simplify reading and assist in understanding links between different types of impacts

Color	Type of impact variable
Purple:	referring to participation related variables, platforms and types of engagement
Red/brown :	referring to institutional practices changes
Orange	Institutional structures changes
green :	landscape and heritage assets related impact variables
Blue :	Social Impacts related Variables (all levels)
Light Blue:	Networks and Partnership Development , links between organisations

Table 8 Coding chart showing passing from cause -effect variable creation for one indicative transcript (C22-23) -to linking them to create a Causal diagram (fragment of each presented in Figure 4) with positive or negative arrows and identifying loops connecting variables

Speaker name: C22, C23			Transcript page: 2			
Main argument: the role of in -migrants in turning around demographic issue /interaction between heritage charity job creation and place sustainability						
Causal Structure	Cause variable:	In migration (and new skills coming in)	Depopulation (ageing community)	Create network of patrons	Heritage centre sustained job posts	Place rejuvenated *
	Effect variable:	Depopulation	Risk of loss of place	Heritage centre	(Existing)local	Risk of loss of place

				sustained job posts	job offers	
	Relationship type:	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Negative
Variable behavior	Cause variable:	Increase	Slowly increased	Increase	stable to increase	Slowly changes
	Effect variable:	Slowly decrease (depends on children/young ration)	Quick increase	Stable-sustained	Increase	Slowly counter-acted
*via heritage/community centre, definition of socio-cultural values to preserve and follow-up changes in interest for place						

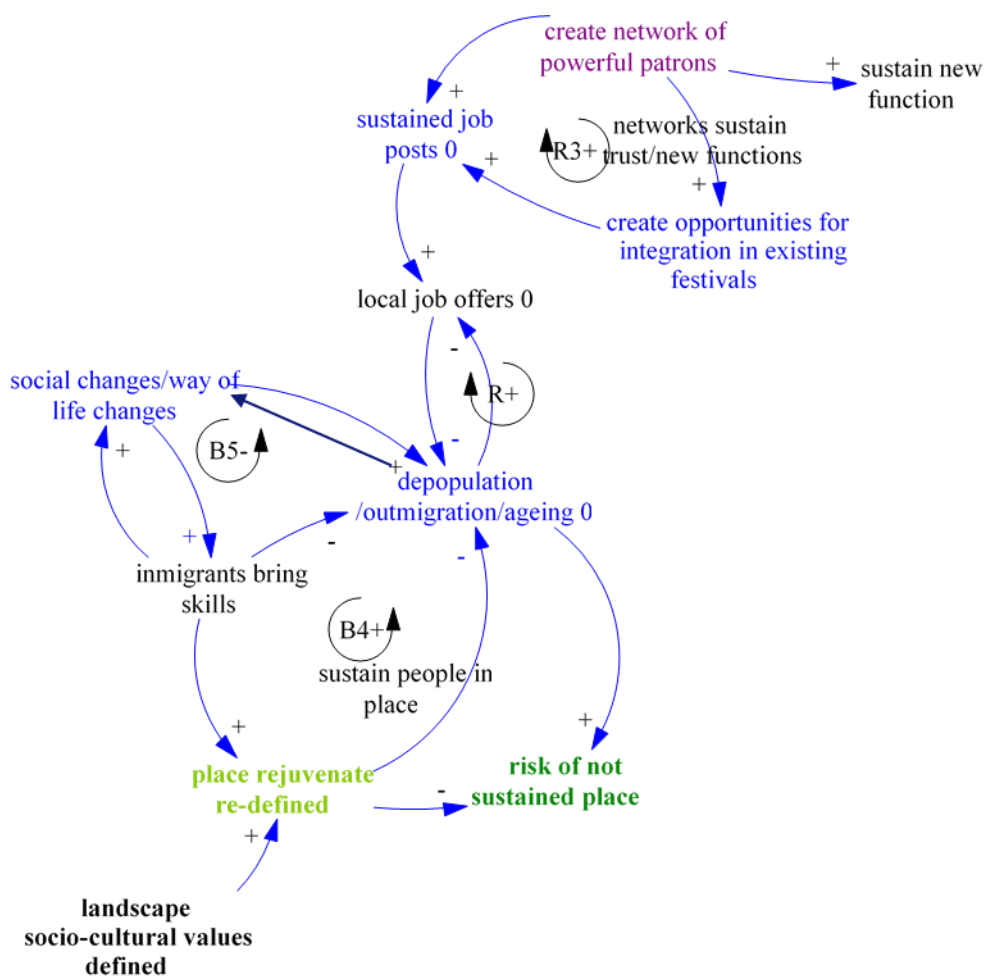


Figure 56 Example of Causal loop diagram, showing both reinforcing and balancing effects between impacts of projects on social demographic issue and sustaining place

The Table 43 provided as part of Appendix i- describes a list of all the causal loops (reinforcing and balancing) observed from the analysis of the same indicative transcripts (C22, 23), adding the direction of impact links/impact pathways connecting social with institutional and heritage impacts observed and existence or not of reciprocal relationships.

Chapter 6: Thematic analysis findings

This chapter will present the main aggregative categories that emerged through organizing and re-organizing nodes in Nvivo, ending up in identifying 3 core themes about social impacts, institutional and reciprocal impacts and 7 themes that define the production of impacts from participation-or the effectiveness of it- but also the potential for mutual and reciprocal impacts. These are: (1) Motivations for individual participation, (2) Motivation for Institutional engagement (3) Perception of heritage/ values , (4) Perception of role of heritage for wellbeing and sustainable development (5) Perception of benefits for heritage management and institutional practices –(6) Perception of effectiveness of participation (enablers and constraints) and finally (7) Managers’ Approach to participation. Out of these, themes 4 and 5 are closely related to the final descriptive themes on social and institutional impacts, offering more contextual information on how the different groups (managers/planners and participants) think about those.

Nvivo analysis findings and initial themes, related with the description of the context are not presented here, but are incorporated in the description of the case study, Ch.4 (referring to community profile and social needs, project feature and structures, as well as perceived features of island identity that affect community’s behavior towards institutions and heritage).

The analytical themes developed in Nvivo are going to be presented here and the way they relate to each other, towards a formation of a conceptual framework- which explains both managers and participants’ behavior towards participation as an interactive process, will be explained.

6.1 Perceptions of heritage values

Table 9 Perceptions of heritage values by the different groups of research participants and common or mixed perceptions

By managers	By community members/participants	Mixed perceptions
heritage as education, heritage in education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Heritage as responsibility to bequest to younger generations 	1. heritage as authenticity in fabric <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Musealisation and institutionalized protection of artefacts ○ superficial understanding of heritage as preservation of old only
heritage as ancient traditions and skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Heritage (spec. archaeology) as experiential memory “woven in childhood experiences”- 	2. heritage as history <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ commemoration of history as heritage at risk ○ Different local priorities in promoting heritage types ○ Locals undermining archaeology lack of interest ○ Locals undermining of wartime recent heritage
heritage as an inspiration for creativity		3. heritage as connection between history and place <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ sense of place (existing) strong ○ heritage as natural and cultural references in landscape ○ heritage as tangible and intangible elements in landscape
heritage as a secondary public good		

Perceptions of heritage was one subtheme mapped in Nvivo under the title perception of heritage and heritage values and was key to understand expected benefits for the different groups according to the role heritage played for them and the main values they attributed to it. The perception of heritage (referring to both tangible and intangible elements in the landscape) for managers and for locals respectively appeared different, with them having rather separate priorities reflecting their perceived (as experienced until that day and potential for future) value of heritage and its role for social sustainable development.

Heritage values admittedly offer a valuable framework for locating reasons for identifying (discovering), preserving and managing heritage and definitely for informing collaborative strategies and decisions for dealing with heritage (de la Torre, 2013; Worthing & Bond, 2007).

Local people mostly saw (1) heritage as part of their identity, emphasizing on the responsibility to bequest to younger generations and as (2) part of their life experiences as (recent history) memories 'woven in childhood experiences', interlinked with memories and experiences of place.

Managers on the other hand focused more in its educational and scientific value.(Table 9)

While those two primary perceptions on local heritage values may differ, both groups identified common set of elements in what they considered heritage is and is valued for including authenticity in fabric, history and identity of locals, connection between history and place.

Community's references, resonate to the key position of the concept of 'intergenerational continuity' discussed also by Fouseki and Cassar (2015). Specifically people testified for *the importance to retain personal and communal memories of that link community and place* (events of history of the community that formulate the identity of the communities resided there for years) as seen in many quotes:

"..But the community has changed, dances have changed..we used to have great community dances, which was good fun, but that's even changing. .." [I17/ C6]

.. From the moment dad's started it..showing visitors artefacts from the tomb that he discovered.... when they found out how dad found it in and so on..very often them.They truly engage! .. its still a family run place.. [I13/C4]

" .we helped only as a family..as a family museum really.so we have done that.. [..] and then a little cottage..that ..my husband's uncle built in 1937, belonged to his mother, his mother was the last village teacher at school there" [I18/ C7]

In that sense heritage supports- through continuing that thread and bequeathing those histories- the sense of belonging to the current community and becomes the core of it (concurring with researchers like Mydland and Grahn, 2012 who support the need for reinforcement of social ties as key motivation-in Smith, 2006):

"..and there is nowhere to except for Hoy Kirk..And people would come and make themselves a cup of tea, and in winter there is nowhere on the island to eat except for Hoy kirk..."[I18/C7] [I17/ C6]

Part of the aspects that they aspire to bequest are traditional skills of practicing communities :

" to get traineeships so that someone , a younger person can work alongside (name of only left traditional boat builder in that area). So that they can gain the knowledge and skills.."

*"..people move away from that time unless people who are alive who remember it,
I think the general public's interest grows because they realize it will be lost.. [I9/M9*]"*

Managers and planners interviewed on the other hand, did not refer so much to this personalized experience of heritage, even if some of them recognized how communities perceived it, referring to the relational bond between personal memories and archaeology:

*"..i think they don't identify with the formalised bracket of archaeology, as such as a discipline.. they see their heritage in different terms..they see in terms of what's woven into their childhood experiences and growing out/up their sense of identity.."
[I3/M3]*

They instead underlined: (1) educational value as predominant tool for change, followed by ancient traditions and skills that define local (and global) identity. This is visible for example through quotes like the following that try to justify their education-focus approach:

...people are just very interested in everything here... we have a very positive attitude towards education here. [I6/M6..]... local people were interviewed as part of the research...[I4/M4]*

They referred repeatedly to (2) heritage as an inspiration for creativity, relating it to the rich cultural context of Orkney and (3) heritage as a secondary public good, pointing out in issues of inclusion and accessibility to everyone to benefit in terms of knowledge and personal development.

While managers understood and expressed a sensitive position towards what community wants, their priorities in harnessing benefits for research or offering educational services to community superseded their interest in touching community's perceptions of intangible aspects of the tangible when designing and delivering projects.

6.1.1 Common beliefs

One of the most important aspects were both groups of participants agreed upon, was viewing heritage as connection between history and place reinforcing sense of place and understanding it as tangible and intangible elements in landscape.

- Pride and distinctiveness:

"..things were worth keeping.. Ness battery is special example, cause it's still on the world map, it's unique.. I think there it did make people a lot more respectful for war time stuff..[I10/ C1]

- Landscape creates and conveys feelings of awe and solace, and approached as an

assemblage of historic elements

“The only thing special here is the scenery, nobody else has a scenery like that! Attracts people in..and we get people from everywhere!.. “[I17/C6]

“..but was about getting people out to appreciate heritage and then telling the story of the cultural heritage they’ d see when they are looking at the landscape, they are out enjoying the coastal landscape..I suppose if you look at landscape. you automatically pick up those elements because that’s what landscapes are I guess..natural cultural influences that make that landscape..(I5/ P1)

Participants like the manager I5, referred to the element of enjoyment closely related to the coastal landscape, making implicit references to the use of place by retired people as a place of quietness and relaxation, usually during their retirement. The first of those participants captures the combination of aesthetic and symbolic importance of this landscape that transcends local community, as it appeals to human feelings of awe towards nature’s uniqueness and wilderness. These visions of the landscape as place for calmness and wilderness are combined with memories of history of landscape (eg. agricultural production, crofter’s period) forming local identities based on a history of industrial and may therefore shape the vision for the future of this place and its position in the modern world (Svensson, 2009 and see also Correia, 2004; Pinto-Correia et al, 2006).

6.2. Motivations

Motivations are closely related to perceived heritage values but also to other personal and communal attitudinal influences and can be affected by institutional approach to participation. Motivation is of interest in the sense that the reasons behind participation shape expectations by each party in entering a collaborative project in various phases. Motivation subsequently is considered as driving behaviour towards seeking the fulfilment of those expectations while being influenced by other parties through a process of exchange.

Regarding institutions, taking this perspective, enables us to see how the project contributes to each stakeholder’s existing vision and needs for development and how this dictates their behaviour to align those with the aims and objectives of the scheme, that are subject to the funders and steering committees requirements and recommendations. In that sense this *interplay* between existing vision, the scheme’s goals and community’s inputs can be better understood.

Regarding individual participants, it enables us to obtain a clearer view of who and why participates and define their role in the process, differentiating between the various typologies of project and the level of their involvement (type and degree of participation).

6.2.1 Motivation for participation for individuals

Motivations for participants were analysed as part of understanding the leverage of intrinsic vs extrinsic factors, leading people to participate in the first place (see also Fan, 2014 and Perkin, 2010 on the importance community incentives for community led). Specific focus was on deciphering motivation in relation to the values they attribute to heritage and their perception of local institutions- following the widely supporting literature references on the subjectivity of values (McClelland et al., 2013) and their socially constructed nature (Mason, 2002). Finally understanding motivations in relation to demographic factors (or define attributes of the community sub groups) was important to understand whom actually constitutes the **participating part of community**.

Individual motivations, specifically reveal the importance of baseline knowledge and awareness about heritage (as a connective thread), the long-standing proximity with landscape (combined with land ownership) and attachment with natural heritage elements (place attachment and place identity) as crucial factors shaping motivation to participate in heritage projects. Combining the two we can talk about *sense of belonging to place*, referring to broader concept of sense of place that is differently perceived for born and bred people and for incomers. These variations in perceptions that appeared through coding process, are going to be presented.

Following, another important set of factors that reflects the concept of *sense of belonging to community* is analyzed. This includes attitudes towards communitarian life, which shaped the decision to participate in bottom -up heritage projects (community led ones). A body of researchers have shown that social capital has a moderating or mediating influence on group behaviors and connections, namely activism, and solidarity (Campbell 2000; Gittell et al. 2000; Maloney et al. 2000; Norris et al, 2006; Norris and Inglehart (2006); Putnam 2000; Stack 1974; Sretzer 2000). Whether it was their intention or not, these researchers also found that social capital did not operate similarly across demographic groups, which makes it interesting to see these behaviors in relation to who is involved in them, their position in the system. The small scale of local parishes, and the close-knit character of social relationships between locals, enables this function with members almost getting roles in those as in extended family-based social structure. Existing team spirit was presented as main motor for bottom-up projects initiation and realization, together with consensus on pursuing a common vision about local heritage protection (see also Gilbert, 2009 for key role of shared intentions stemming from communal commitment and Ashley et al, 2015 for communication and collaboration outcomes).

For the volunteering projects, participation assumed an extra prerequisite for engagement: positive perception of heritage institutions (denoting trust to their goals and faith to their agendas), combined with sufficient and flexible existing offers of participatory projects by the institutions. It is again interesting to see how managers and participants present the perceived motivations and be able to understand gaps in communication or differences in priorities between the two groups that affect the process.

Table 10 Common motivations for participation- Nvivo coding results

Personal relevant background-both groups
a. Relevant work experience
b. Educational background
c. Relevant interests
Existing social groups, engagement with community or public role
d. Role in local public scene/ job engagement with community and socio health issues
e. Existing social links between retirees / motivation for older time to offer
Local culture towards civic participation
f. Democratic processes towards common community decision making
g. Locals as multiple roles , involved in arts and culture
h. Communal action for assisting visitors- showing their identity pride
Relevance of projects to local perceptions towards place and heritage
i. Community as feeling responsible to maintain place
j. Natural awe to landscape community interest high
k. Local interest high in attending and assisting when family links- pride in projects
l. Performative aspect-intangible heritage

All participants, expressed some common motivations for participating in heritage (table 9). Those can be categorised under:

1.personal background or connections: those were mostly references to educational background/personal interests relevant to heritage or history (that may or may not link directly to professional occupation). They also referred to their professional roles in various other public roles and social networks, volunteering positions for other causes or in professional activity that involved a social aspect (like people working in the health sector, that enabled them a good overview of social issues and connected them with many communities under their professional identity).

2. communal attitudes that endorse participation in general and specifically in heritage: as part of the typical Orcadian being involved in overlapping roles, specifically involving some artistic or cultural activity. They revealed a community spirit still strong in many of the smaller communities where people want to have a say on the projects that form their place but also they want to be the ones to narrate to visitors their history, expressing their pride.

“There an old fashioned community spirit, wherever you live you make efforts for this local community, you do things for that.. I think..pride is a big element of it.. I think different communities in Orkney have lot of pride of what’s in their parish or in their island..want to be seen to be caring for their local sites and monuments..” [I7/ P2]

McGehee et al., (2002) has previously found that factors such as length of residency and residential setting such as location, and population size have also contributed to encouraging community involvement.

Communal attitudes towards place appeared in my research as main motivators for both groups being intensely involved: due to feeling responsible to maintain place, protect the wilderness and ability to wander in an inviting landscape, imbuing awe to anyone facing it. Whole families in Hoy were motivated from looking after this place, that also hosts them and expressed this feeling of shared responsibility towards dealing with development pressures-eg. by avoiding huge touristic development on their land whenever possible.

3.Despite the specific preferences of certain groups for either only natural heritage or specific local built heritage, the idea of heritage within landscape advocated through the scheme's character, has offered the opportunity to bring together people interested in different typologies of heritage and make landscape and its transformations a central theme. Most members of a mixed community, felt the shared responsibility to protect this vulnerable landscape from increased commodification and touristic pressure through assigning heritage values to it. In that sense, thematic choices of heritage participatory projects together with type of activities, that could focus more in personal experiences or family histories offered enable higher number of people involved as they appeared to excite or simply be more relevant than others for them.

Relevance is key also with other project themes-Boat restoration for example, links to Orkney history, and same as with other types represented by existing heritage associations on the island there is already a community of interest into this theme. Of course different aspects of history were celebrated by distinct sub-groups usually represented by associations. It can be said that recent island history, offers smaller time-gap, and as such an easier connection for local community through family and personal histories.

"..And a few people who come back here over and say oh theres N.,there is T.. it's a connection, it helps connect because of this personal links.." [I11/M11]

Project specificities, like for example active research opportunities like looking into archives or crowdsourcing information seem attractive together with re-enactment or element of performative interpretation.

"..which is how people lived in Orkney not in distant past but maybe 17th, 18th, 19th century and particularly in Kerbister, where they have a fire in the middle of the floor and hole on the ceiling above! they have nuk-bed, have stonebeds, is linking to the way people lived before, in the Neolithic.." [I8/M8]

6.2.1.1 Variations depending on pro heritage and pro-place behaviours

Regarding attitudes towards heritage and protection of place, participants' motivations differed in some aspects between two distinct groups: the incomers and the born and bred. Relevant

literature, suggests that people with greater attachment value are believed more eager to engage in participation around development (Manzo & Perkins 2006; Mowen, Graefe and Virden, 1997 - see also Kyle et al, 2003 for relation of place attachment with leisure activities). Attachment value has been widely associated with years of resident and experiential memory of place. This would suggest that incomers, as new residents (supposedly having lower degrees of place attachment) would be expected to have less motivations to engage in heritage projects around place, which seemed not to be the case in Orkney, while the type of heritage connections still differed (see Olick, 1999 for collective memory and role on place attachment).

In our case, those two groups experience different, but equally strong links with the place but also appear to have different motives for engagement driven by their variant social status and existing social networks. These are important in relation to impacts as they form a base for the expected outcomes for those groups.

-Incomers shown high interest for engagement due to two reasons. They seemed specifically driven to participation through their admiration for the Orcadian culture: bounded to landscape qualities (even ideas of insularity and islandness), sometimes referring to rural childhood memories and experiences (involving community-based life in countryside). Most of the interviewees representing this group seemed to have even moved to Orkney for these qualities at the first place. Others seem to have appreciated specifically existing cultural richness Orkney offers, around arts, crafts etc, relating them to their professional occupation.

-Retirees are a significant group (in numbers) of those incomers, looking for opportunity to establish a calm and fulfilling daily routine for themselves in Orkney close to nature. They also engaged in projects, mostly to create new connections and engage with people, having a lot of free time to offer. In contrast working individuals, were much less often participants in projects being bound to working hours schedules and enjoyed the flexibility certain projects offered to be involved as and when.

Most of those people expressed a unique excitement to get involved with heritage projects, specifically recognising, for example, outstanding, universal significance of some of the sites involved in SFLP, especially pointing out to the world known –recognised value of archaeological sites.

-Native local people on the other hand, (described hereafter as born and bred, using participants' own words), provided different core motivations for participation, given their existing integration in the communities they belong to. Specifically they referred more to connecting with heritage, as a link to their personal (family) history, evoking and celebrating feeling of pride for their recent or less recent ancestors, and a confirmed sense of identity to this place, they still reside in. Most of the people who were interviewed also appeared to have a certain pre-existing relationships with commons and communal groups before taking part in heritage projects, revealing a willingness to

contribute to community or even improve community life at local level as best as they could. They also revealed having experiences out of the island, leaving abroad or in mainland Scotland/England for some years of their lives, making them more resilient and open to socializing non-locals. The projects they choose to participate in, prove this interest in relating to ancestors and assisting the community: either community led projects, having a strong leisure element or projects that enable them to explore an unknown site, hidden in the landscape, or revealing its significance, like for example the WWII site sin Hoy and Stromness.

-Older people, like the ones who constitute the remaining community of North Hoy, may have conservative and strict opinions regarding heritage' accounting for facts'. Some people though seem to be mistrust to institutions, due to experienced failures in the past automatically retaining their involvement in institutionally led projects, where they cannot have a leading role, despite their high protectedness towards physical places.

What needs to be emphasized here is the natural, organic way that locals think participation occurs: they happily commit to unofficially support community based initiatives as a part of their daily life, and thanks to relevance of themes (eg. maritime heritage), which link them to the existing way of life on the island and to sustain intangible aspects of their culture and inheritance.

Another group of local young people admit to being difficult to convince or not directly connected with their heritage: it is always there and they tend to ignore it, but a visit may attract their interest creating curiosity to find out more about it.

6.2.2 Motivation for collaboration of local institutions

At this point it is crucial to underline the importance of motivation or drivers for understanding behavior and attitude change towards involvement in community projects: motivation to a certain extent involves and explains as well expectations from the process, relating it to perceived impacts. It also explains certain goal seeking behaviors from both parties (managers and participants respectively) towards protecting heritage through interlinked processes.

Local institutions' motivations for creation and delivery of community-led/based projects were elicited from the relevant statement of managers and planners interviewed involved both in project planning and project delivery.

Most of them expressed a truly encouraging attitude towards offering opportunities to participation for locals, linking it to the fact that it assists them to reach further audiences. That enables them to share what they internally do or produce while being informed about community's preferences and level of knowledge: from capturing incomers willingness to learn about heritage, to a will to give something to the local community.

Local University, archaeology department's close collaboration with the council and OAS society (a

civic association group) is one of many examples, where partnership is instigated due to the need to share scientific findings and enable knowledge exchange between experts and public.

The small tight -knit type of community was presented by most of managers as enabling this approach: almost everything that happens is well known to the wider public, so outreach seems like naturally evolving through rural community communication channels and relying on managers' personal networks to flourish. With managers being themselves members of overlapping social networks within this thick nest of overlapping networks (social and institutional), the degree of their willingness to contribute back to community was increasingly high. However, very few referred explicitly to participation as an opportunity offered to tackle physical health and mental wellbeing, revealing that institutions do not consider or delineate their role clearly on this part of the spectrum of social responsibility (despite recognition that social isolation is existing as a persisting problem in many localities).

Many of the managers interviewed recognized as well specific reasons for them engaging in the process of a participatory project-that can be viewed as potential benefits for their daily practices. They recognized that the process enables them to understand the needs of visitors and the local social needs that may be are unaware of, in other words, communication benefits through the nature of the process. They did refer to understanding heritage values from the perspective of the participants as well, but this hugely refers to those dealing with planning processes. Some mentioned that the key to understanding is actually developing personal relationship with participants, an attitude that can actually increase motivation of participants as well. Most of the managers had certain familiarity with tasks and previous experience with community projects, proved beneficial offering them confidence to deal with the groups. This underlines gain the difficulty to introduce a participatory culture, in organisations had not established way of working around it discussed earlier.

6.2.2.1 Motivation for collaboration by local community councils

The local council specifically, holds a prominent role in brokering partnerships, managing the scheme from its conceptualization to its delivery, through multiple and variously developed consultation procedures. Those reflect to a certain extent their legal duty towards inclusive planning, that they have embraced as part of their day-to day practice with great success. This is in alignment with the pre-existing proactive involvement of council in enabling heritage restoration projects like for example the protection of the Kitchener's Memorial - in the lines of its official role as heritage planning authority at local level.

It was evident from the interviews that there is always a motive stemming from the potential to foster their development policies affecting heritage (ie. regarding relevant tourism and renewable energy development schemes that may interfere with sites).

“We also work very closely with local development trusts, in the areas as well they’re similar, having more of a role about proactive development. So for eg. Shapinsey (smaller island) got funding to get wind turbine and use profits for community activity, we work with them very closely..” [I5/P1]

Close to this, an interest exists to enable communities to deliver projects on their own, in other words enabling capacity building regarding managing heritage, something that may foster economic and creative connections between local trusts and local businesses according to the council’s opinion. Finally, the council seems to find itself at a certain distance from wellbeing oriented policy making : despite the existing interest in mental health by NHS and their awareness of social needs around social isolating and anti-social behavior on the islands, there seem to be inhibiting factors to them pursuing further a more wellbeing-focused heritage planning vision:

Interviewees specifically referred to the desperate need to prove the value of culture, to impacts on health that may help local authority secure funds towards this direction and better define a novel policy orientation. They also seem to rely upon other local actors dealing with social problems, like VAO and befriending projects that leave less space for heritage projects to engage with his aspect. This integration of wellbeing goals within local planning will be further discussed in conjunction with evidence from the causal loop diagram analysis that show how council policies and impacts on community wellbeing are closely linked.

6.3 Perceptions of heritage’s role in local sustainable development

Perception of role of heritage for local wellbeing was extrapolated via the wider theme of the role of heritage for local Sustainable development. The participants’ perceptions on the role of heritage for social sustainability is considered adjacent to their perception of heritage values: their values directed their views around the role of heritage for community’s wellbeing and possible areas where participating in heritage can enhance. In that sense, wellbeing was in fact broadly defined by most of the research participants (both managers and locals) by socio-economic parameters relating it to contextualized social needs defined earlier in the case study description (ie. lack of provisions for socializing, affected by seasonality, lack of spatial infrastructure on the islands but also urgent need for supporting livelihoods (see also Kelman on island livelihoods, 2007) through job creation to sustain young population on the islands and reverse trends of ageing communities). An important issue affecting social wellbeing on the islands was need for integration of incomers into healthy communities, ones that can enable exchange of skills while counteracting conflict/divisionary community visions for spatial and social development. Innes, and Booher (1999). refer to such visions of development, from the lens of collaborative planning theory and practice, describing how different participants are bringing to the dialogue the experiences, ideas, and scenarios that they can imagine aiming to piece them together with the ones of other stakeholders in a ‘bricolage’ For Orkney, these references are reflecting pragmatic pressures by [194]

current high numbers of (predominantly British) incomers that relocate in Orkney (confirmed by Census 2011 data).

The following table 11 synthesizes groups of codes under three sub-themes that reflect how heritage assists communities in Orkney through supporting economic development sustaining place and finally more directly through supporting social development and individual wellbeing. While the ways through which support of economic development were not fully explored afterwards due to the focus on social development and local place making areas, it is evident that there is high interdependency between those 3 areas: for example utilizing heritage for promoting a brand of place can support heritage tourism development-the issue of seasonality was also considered as supported through multiple opportunities that may vary throughout the year (eg . archaeology predominantly during summer, but natural heritage and work of rangers throughout it).

Table 11 Key sub-themes on perceived ways that heritage can support local sustainable development and community wellbeing , that emerged from the analysis

Heritage to support economic development
Heritage to support economy based on services and tourism
Heritage to tackle issue of seasonality
Heritage that can sustain place (intersects both with social and economic aspects)
heritage promotion as place branding –island a destination
heritage interpretation rediscovered personal history and connection with place that sustains population
heritage protection as natural environment and landscape/wilderness protection
Heritage to support social development and wellbeing
Skills and educational opportunities for development
Recreational opportunities and socialization
Social integration opportunities for incomers but also isolated individuals

6.3.1 Wider socio-economic and spatial benefits that support livelihoods

a. Heritage supporting economic development

Such references were quite common between both groups-with managers also supporting a pragmatic approach, focusing a lot in benefits stemming from commodification of heritage and income generation through heritage activities.

..”I am always asking people ..what can heritage do to you, how can you use it? Communities need to be using it for their benefit. “ [I1/M1 Non Orcadian]

“..from council perspective is about enabling communities to do projects..economic development, so improving visitor offer..visiting different parts of Orkney..” (I5/ P1, Non Orcadian)

The research did not focus on analyzing how economic benefits could occur, as the core research question focused on societal and wellbeing benefits and in that sense the analysis covers economic aspects only regarding their synergetic effects to wellbeing.

b. Heritage sustaining place interest

References to heritage as supporting liveliness and sustaining place (either through attracting tourism but also sustaining small communities in their place) were also common:

“..And that’s really fascinating if you come from the outside to see that loyalty and ..protectedness over physical places..”

“..there is real buzz in that island..in that community..they really working hard to make added value to everything they do ..[..]..they are utilizing their heritage..they have agricultural heritage..you know they are utilizing all of that to attract people to come to their island..” ..and their heritage and culture are key things to bring people here. [I9/ M9, Orcadian]

Heritage as counter acting for lack of social infrastructure was an important role and function recognized especially by the smaller communities (outside of Kirkwall and Stromness), where heritage centres counteracted for lack for gathering places for the local groups.

6.3.2 Perceived social benefits for communities from participation in heritage

While the previous two categories of benefits did not directly involved community participating but mostly passively receiving benefits from using heritage places and resources, this category of nodes referred more accurately to the research question-social benefits stemming from participation.

The following table is showing how Nvivo produced nodes/impact variables were regrouped and categorized into thematic groups, reflecting: (i) Direct impacts at individual level, (ii)direct impacts at community level and (iii) indirect impacts (or knock-on) to the wider community through sustaining place.

The table below is connecting nodes with theoretical concept of social capital and sense of place.

A more refined version, aggregating even more the sub-categories, is provided in the end of the chapter, where social impacts are presented hand in hand with institutional impacts.

Table 12 Nvivo inductively produced list of impact variables (left) related with participation in heritage, regrouped later into thematic groups of indicators (right)

a. Direct impacts individual level: social wellbeing	Direct impacts: Individual level social wellbeing
Become part of a social group, belonging	Social capital (bridging and bonding)
Make new friends and socialize	
Fight isolation and increase mental health	Mental health
Skills for daily use-recreation	
Increase sense of ownership of place and heritage	Sense of belonging to place/ Sense of identity
Skills for job market	Knowledge, education and personal development
Create new professional networks	
Awareness about historic evolution development	
Learn more about heritage-increase excitement	
Self motivation/ self-direction abilities won	Self empowerment and confidence
Find life orientation-goals	
Personal satisfaction and pride for service offered	
b. Direct impacts community level social wellbeing: social cohesion	Direct impacts: Community level social wellbeing
Increase inclusion of newcomers in community roles	Social capital (Bridging)/Inclusion
Increase bonding and empowerment via team work	Social capital (Bonding)/Social cohesion
Intra-generation links	
Mingle with other island residents	Social capital (linking)
Sense of belonging to community	Collective empowerment
Unlock potentials for self-enclosed groups	

c. Indirect impacts for wider community of place via use of outputs	Indirect impacts to wider community through sustaining place
heritage centers utilized as community centers and poles of interest	Enhanced sense of belonging to group
sustained population by supporting access to place	Enhanced community and place bonds
heritage protection projects accountable to community, providing further spatial development opportunities	
Increase sense of ownership through recognition of uniqueness of place/identity	

a. Individual level: social wellbeing

- Volunteering was pictured as providing self esteem and sense of duty or life orientation to individuals. For example one participant supported:

"..he feels people see him as the minister, they do not see him as the volunteer so when he volunteers he is not just some guy who turned up to work with young people..." [I9/ M9, Orcadian]

- Participation in more informal, group activities was viewed as connecting individuals and community: ccommunity benefits by bringing people together, while older individuals experience decreased loneliness and depression

..church groups don't work anymore...young people don't come ..it is a different route to access them..." [I18/ C7]

" Older folks..they stay in watch Tv instead going with friends to a dance. ..

Q: Do you think it has changed anything for the lives of people here?

Its made people get out and about, sure yes! We used to meet in the old hall and, play darts..that' s what you would do here, play darts! but no people met up there lately..well, if not a committee meeting, the old lecturer, band or a group or something..and everybody meets now..its when we are getting together. Because before that, there was few dances in the old Hoy community hall in the summertime ... [I17/ C6]

b. Community level wellbeing: social cohesion

The core benefit mentioned by many participants, refers to participation in heritage projects acting as social glue and supporting cohesion in mixed communities, where born and bred and incomers can build a new collective identity:

“ Although there’s sth distinctive about Orcadians, that they’re proud of..and which they’re changing because a lot of population rise and people start coming in as incomers..which perhaps makes these kind of heritage projects... More important because ..its valuating..they take what is original in the area.!. but often new people coming in are excited in that new area and taking interest ..and it comes as bringing people together..” [I4/ M4]

c. Heritage roles for public/ wider community of place

Finally, participating in bottom up projects was connected to the function of heritage centers by local trusts and associations. While utilized as community centres /poles of interest they support community needs and skills for survival and in the long run assist in sustaining population in place (prevent outmigration). In that sense the connection between participating in such activities has a more direct focus in improving quality of life of locals, while increasing awareness and sense of belonging to place.

“..there are people on the island who felt..there was all very well having a heritage center and encouraging tourists to come for the day, to go around ..but actually it might bring people together a bit, by having heritage events and is good to record the past but how is it actually going ..to do anything to reverse the trend of ageing population. And closing schools..and keeping people there? And arguably if you like where you live, makes you more comfortable there..” [I11/ M11]

6.4 Perceived benefits for heritage management

Perceived benefits to Heritage management were reported through references to two main categories, those:

- referring to conservation and safeguarding material aspects, and those
- referring to institutional practices and networks

While the multiplicity of codes were created through the interviews with managers and planners, community members sometimes-especially in community-led projects where they shared bigger part of the ownership of the project and were more aware of the process towards delivery- offered insights on such benefits too. These were coded equally in Nvivo and included in the list of codes

created under this theme.

6.4.1 Benefits for Heritage management referring to conservation and safeguarding material aspects of heritage

At first place, research participants recognized multiple benefits referring to conservation outputs and safeguarding material aspects of heritage assets and assemblies.

These include:

1. Direct input into conservation outputs, improving them or providing inaccessible knowledge to heritage institutions/collections. For example locals provided material that was matched with cataloguing of artefacts for the natural plant samples from Hoy/Rackwick hills. In other cases where built structures were involved, community worked for physical restoration of paths, dry walls offering expertise that was unknown to heritage managers regarding location of dry walls that needed repair or were under risk of material loss. People were really concerned with preservation of rural aspects of heritage, paying tribute to local non designated structures that were facing risk due to non-protection or privately owned remnants of mills or vernacular houses that were forgotten from their owners. Their knowledge of traditional techniques together with recognition of climatic challenges enabled these traditional skill activities to become a rather two-way exchange of knowledge between instructors and locals.

It can be said that the most significant contribution was around digital archiving work by volunteers and community groups that contributed mostly to safeguarding the intangible through documentation of intangible cultural features, historic details about places, and way of life in the landscape including references to tangible, built structures. People not only contributed to working hours to create online and on paper archives but also brought in personal collections (eg rare photographic material) to cover gaps they noted in existing documentation of their history.

..”participant..”Who was doing the digital archive noticed..a.gap in the sort of chronology of the photos..so there be lots in the 60s ad then 90s ..so there was a special driver to encourage people to bring fotos 80s 90s their naughties..” [I11/M11]

Local contribution was more evident in cases multiple sources were brought together/crowdsourced information to formulate an exhibition as an output, like the one in the Lyness museum.

“..She did interviews with people from the army who have been at the battery. Most of them after the war. Because the battery, they had guns there till the 1950s, so

there were local people in the local territorial army- were still around..worked at the Battery there.”.... [I10/C1]

What differs significantly in the process of projects that were community-led, was that locals were involved in a process of maintaining alive local heritage artefacts at any cost: usually accepting reproduction, in case of lost material, and sometimes without having any scientific guidance or intervention, they restricted themselves in safeguarding intangible aspects.

2.Impact on management approaches regarding process and aims of project planning/delivery:

community input certainly provided another perspective for example for archaeological gathering of finds, changing the focus of professionals to look at the same landscape for artefacts from a rather synchronous period with the second world war! It has also formulated a common vision between various institutions merging for example future plans related to cultural activities and built heritage locally, enabling design of projects that could recognize heritage in a holistic way and reflecting a common set of values.

« Lot of previous field walking projects, picked up prehistoric stuff, cause everyone is obsessed with prehistory here ..but we’re picking up everything..so we’re picking up.. modern pottery, glass, ..[] ..so were looking at the more recent history, and kind of the(in?) habitation of the landscape right till the present day.. so there’s bits from World War two, camps that are now powered out...in my experience is that actually.. the more recent past is actually more tangible for people to volunteer, and to kind of grasp ..and to get more engaged with..so wartime history, more recent .. crofting landscapes, but this is the sort of thing that was kind of neglected in Orkney .so I’ve been quite keen to ..» [I1/M1]

Most importantly, community contributed to *identifying the significance* of sites as a crucial part before starting any protective mechanism.

“..so he(the manager) continues to do work with the Hoy parish..started long time ago, he is involving the community in mapping at the moment..” [I11/M11]he’s involving the community you know kind of .,gathering information about Rackwick at the moment.” [I5,6/C15, C16]

Benefits for managers: operational and quality improvements

Benefits experienced directly by managers, regarding their day to day operational routine were definitely linked to building skills and capacity to support community projects as well as support institutional resources:

For example institutions appreciated the resource creation that could support their capacity to hold more projects with volunteers (eg. using outputs of participatory projects like educational material created by OAS and UHI archaeologists for training volunteers)

Another area that referred straight to skills, was the managers' communication and social skills enhancement: understanding better how to plan projects, in order to involve more local groups in delivery through experiences of failure and success, as well as ability to deliver project objectives.

An issue still difficult to deal with was how to interpret knowledge, including scientific facts and methodological terms especially in archaeological projects, in a lay language in order to ensure communication is successful. Managers however expressed their satisfaction for sharing valuable findings and part of their personal research, with the locals.

Wider Institutional gains

4. Finally indirect contribution to **sustaining heritage institutions** themselves was noted by the managers as part of their reflection on contribution by locals; through sustaining traditions and suggesting further dissemination through exhibitions, locals actually enabled the museums to continue their work. Moreover in other cases, outputs of processes like for example the prototype made for a development trust in Hoy for guided tours around wartime heritage, was used by local museum in the end, covering for non-existing resources. This issue of coverage for capacities that do not exist, either by realizing restoration work or by actually producing outputs for communities that do not exist (like in the case of boat restoration in Lyness, this community of interest covered for lack of volunteers from local parish in Lyness) they contributed as a resource to institutional plans.

"..she was unpainted in a very sad and sorry condition..I thought it would be great if we could get volunteers , because we have no capacity within the service to actually put the labor in, to restore her and maybe make her an object worth displaying.." [I9/M9]

Some managers even talked about participation as fulfilling the existential purpose of museums, suggesting a rather innate role for it within their functioning.

"..and it was very evocative ...so to get people involved and to keep the tradition going is a great way of them engaging with that all those Museum are all about .."
[I10/M10]

Those were derived as well via understand spatial needs that would enable new roles and new functions to be supported by the institutes, thus developing their current work.

"..one of the things that may have done..you know..we are in a gallery space and it's a fantastic..lovely building..but one of the things we became conscious of, is we dont

have a messy space ..so in order to do those workshops, for Sf we had to rent other premises to do the workshops. So , ..because it was so popular.. [110/M10]

- Financial sustainability was also directly boosted for some of them: for example WH site utilized volunteering groups to create a body of supporters, from abroad, unlocking new funding opportunities.

Especially the creation of heritage trusts -as safeguards of heritage-has also led communities to access funding via donations, patrons or HLF schemes.

6.4.2 Benefits for Heritage management referring to institutional practices, networks and relationships with community

A first category of positive impacts for institutions comes indirectly, in the form of enhanced public acceptance and visibility of their work and building up of relationships of trust with local communities. Those reflect an immediate connection between social and institutional impacts and a development of a reciprocal relationship: by shaping perceptions about heritage, institutions win future participants, while offering opportunities for socializing and civic participation in public decision making.

These were documented through, for example, references to changes in perception of public towards certain heritage typologies like wartime heritage or archaeology, which before seemed to confront obstacles in being understood or accepted by local people. In other words, this is a process of **heritage making** or attributing “common” values through the course of time to heritage assemblages.

«I think only maybe about 30 years ago.. they were actually going into demolishing wartime buildings..and there wasn't much reaction..now when things are threatened with demolition, theres lot more reaction..definitely. people now recognize it as part of the..as an archeological thing..before they thought of it..you know..didnt really count, didn't really matter..but now I think they realise, because its now far enough in the past,100 years, to be now history ...but its still a living memory..so yeah, I know, definitely the scheme was part of improving that..» [18/M8]

On either cases presented above, changing the level of significance of those sites from local to global, supported by the sense of pride of local communities who recognized the importance of their place for global wartime history, was the biggest contribution; that lead later on to support official acts for policy protection of sites (eg. via designation or listing processes in the official lists

of Historic Scotland) or in the case of War memorials like the Kitchener's memorial, to restoration works being undertaken.

In a longer time frame, participation has assisted with ensuring acceptance of new projects proposed by institutions around sites of previous conflict or dissonance: through developing of trust and supported by a transparent process of consultation in the planning phase. In the design phase, acceptance of ongoing projects, led directly to efficiency as people provided consensus and directions entering knowledge, suggestions and resources in the process.

A second area of benefits, in the cases that communities retained the ownership of sites or shared it with the council, we can talk about participation as collaborative management and gatekeepers being created through community's initiative/participation: increasing pride for their heritage and being dedicated to protect it but also share it with wider groups or communities, assisting in that way the work of institutions and especially local council, by sharing responsibility. However the initiative usually came from the community side that approached officials to develop such projects.

One of the council officials shares an example of shared responsibility that occurred through a process of exchange of skills and resources between council and community:

"..was approached from one of the people form Deerness he .. in the community for ..church .." the letter looks terrible it needs redoing..we can do it for you.." i said ok, if you have someone with the skills, example of their work..we will do it for a donation to the church.

So we are responsible as a council, but local community, got pride in it, in tree turn we 'd give them a donation towards the church, so they can maintain the church. Its a way this local community have-they are already protecting one important heritage asset- the church- but they are also ..helping us protect another one..so I was great!

.. the future of the church, since they gain some money for maintenance..so its them kind, of exploiting their skills, and well carry on doing that, I mean the memorial will need more.." [17P2]

Such examples of cases where managers and locals worked together to co-define a project, enabled negotiating wider perceptions of heritage by both community and managers': heritage is not only old and historically authentic but expanded to include more recent past. These had a wider knock on effect, increasing interest in heritage in general, in an indirect way, for example for non-participants and can be viewed as another expression of heritage making.

"..That's their realization as a community that heritage is not necessarily everything that is gone: is stuff that happening now and its about ways of capturing that."
[I4/M4]

"..they would come visit you on the site during the open days..and they tell you those wonderful stories, that you can't get in any other channel..."[I3/M3]

Most of the projects where communities actively took role in developing content, enabled identifying their members' role within future heritage projects and developing structures and entities to legitimize and structure their actions (in some cases also to undertake works around material restoration of buildings): for example a number of emerging heritage visitor centres across the islands show a shared model of managing heritage and using it as a central point for developing local jobs but also taking more responsibility and actions towards protection of what matters to communities locally and material expressions of their identity. These also are manifestations of pride, and care communicated across their local authority representatives for example.

"..another course, which was building dry stone walls, and that was actually for the island, because there were a number of people who were very interested in being able to do that.

Because as you noticed there are many..it is fencing used now instead of dry stone walls .we had a tutor come over .." [I16/C5]

Another direct benefit for institutions with a vision for growing their audiences and expanding, like mostly museum and cultural centers (which hosted tangible collections indoors) is the opportunity they had to inform viewers of future exhibitions and attract new audiences, through their participatory program.

Longer term impact was achieved through sharing project results for example via follow-up, interpretation projects, which dispersed the knowledge collected through the projects to wider audiences as well. All these in a way clarified the perception of local groups about the value of heritage.

"..They knew lots of visitors came over for Rackwick and Old man of Hoy so they wanted to ensure they were picking up other bits of the info about the parish when they were there and they would..want to go.." [I11/M11]

...Before that we didn't have people coming over for lectures.. it just didn't happen. So the heritage Centre, such up in Hoy brought that staff over, the sessions going over and choirs & all that making .. [117/C6]

Finally, institutions seemed to benefit in the long run through achieving enhanced or sustained networks of collaboration, including ones with local council professionals and ones with other institutions (like the local university) which could complement their resources and capacities to undertake projects. This also indirectly enhanced how much community engagement they did and how, as usually the focus of collaborative projects is broader attracting wider interest from the locals.

"..We have another guy, .. who worked in a museum in Kirkwall..he's been a tour guide, he knows, he's Orcadian.. he is great in answering questions on Orkney and he has PhD in linguistics..how people talk the local dialect....thats is his speciality. And we have .. person..she's a tour guide as well..she's a German lady. She works in the cathedral taking people to the top.." [112, 113/C3, C4]

"..we thought we found the artist and the paintings and it went to a small exhibition in the (Orkney) museum..then someone came up with another..so they didn't want to donate, they brought it to ORCA, so they took it to the museum so this plus the ones we had, made that exhibition in the museum!" [110/C1]

Finally one more reason for collaboration is the different perspectives of dealing with heritage which enhance the amount of accuracy in interpretation of difficult themes and inclusiveness of histories included in it:

"..there is UHI, Orkney college, Heritage there's some.. Institutions here.. there is lot of people, local historians, know lots about archaeology and providing lots of information to make sure they are writing history accurately.." [15/P1]

6.5 Perception of effectiveness of participation: enablers, constraints and approach to it

Institutional perceptions of benefits were mapped through coding managers interviews, and were visible in statements reflecting upon effectiveness of participation that can produce long term positive benefits. Their understanding of -how their practices and approaches led to community benefits was also captured. It has to be emphasized that multiple references to enablers and constraints of participation were structuring the way managers described doing projects with community groups; through uplifting existing constraints that impede positive impacts they could only achieve effective participation. This focus on obstacles suggested that these are particularly challenging aspects in their practice, involving risk of leaving members of community behind or not being able to deliver key outputs for example in ongoing projects due to coordination issues for example.

The findings on enablers and constraints refer to social resources (connections and networks of institutions -external) but also internal resources linked to institutional capacity: ie. related to access to audiences, lack of material resources and non-integration of participation within day to day operational work of managers.

Some of the enabling conditions were also external to managers, but related to community availability and capacity: eg. Openness of certain communities to cooperate, existing knowledge around project (financial) management for example were considered important. Comparing these claims of managers with the contradicting perceptions that community members have on access and ability to sustain networks with institutions makes evident that a gap exists in expectations between the two sides...

Other external factors, (like external funders' support and flexible project structures were also reported as enabling ones.

While some professionals referred to support by internal institutional structure (eg. dealing with community projects as part of their official time plan or established role) almost all reportedly connected institutional **approach to participation** to their ability to deliver effectively and further diffuse the positive impacts within their organization. In that sense a lens of organizational change would offer more details in looking at participatory practices as innovative but also different from the status quo and their adoption within managers' wider working milieu.

6.5.1 Contradicting perceptions of effectiveness: managers vis a vis participants

Participants mainly referred to two categories of factors affecting effectiveness of participation for individual volunteers; extrinsic and intrinsic. **Extrinsic factors** referred to factors that enabled them

to participate: like access to information and to places, recruitment processes and type of roles offered, mostly delineating responsibilities for institutions. They also emphasized **intrinsic** or **personal factors**, relating to the process's potential of reaching their expectations, needs or the ability of their role to match their capacities and subsequently be fulfilling and satisfactory.

Regarding accessibility to volunteering opportunities, they referred to the 'privileged ones' with online connection, as being aware of opportunities advertised online. Flexible offers enabled people to fit volunteering into their lives instead of the opposite. VAO with its opportunities also offer important information, linking people with posts available. Of course personal interests and creativity played crucial role for people's willingness to participate. This explains why many participants attracted to those, tend to be incomers, motivated by their passion and interest for the place, tending to create competition with locals in getting later on paid roles within heritage projects.

On community-level projects, team spirit and common vision between community members were keys to success. In some cases, elderly people appeared to be key connectors between past and present, contributing to the success especially of community-led projects: their memories were used as base for instigating many projects of documenting, recording stories, developing archives of island life that is slowly disappearing in other words documenting socio-spatial change. There seems to be a positive result in projects that adopted a rather family approach to heritage, run by enlarged families or even by small groups of closely-bonded individuals that create trusts of associations offering to their activities a public face as well. Of course existence of enabling conditions, like opportunities eg. a competition for a pot of funding, brought community together to act setting the base for structured action.

For managers on the other hand, one of the most important factors for success was the social skills in managing team, as well as good communication and negotiation skills in the assumed to be the "gatekeepers" of local heritage sites. This enabled them to match better skills and capacities of participants for example. Their own skills in managing people and objectives, assisted- as expected- in projects that combined multiple methods of documentation, being able to transit their knowledge to participants. Elements of project design like the training element was embraced by most of them, reflecting a trust in 'learning mode' of engagement projects. However, they recognize the importance of having community-delivered projects for the effectiveness of certain projects, as they put all their energy and they already had an aligned vision that took them forward, based on existing strong community spirit. Being in both sides (planning and delivery) has assisted some of the managers to understand how community committees work and delegate issues, as well as understand grounded issues that others may ignore.

Managers recognized that successful participation can only be based on a certain acceptance and

feeling of ownership of collection of people. Management systems, including legal freedoms given through structural aspects (eg. Cathedral Uniquely under managing regime by the council) that accelerated processes.

6.5.2 Different needs for effective participation: community led vs volunteering based projects

The table shows the key differences in critical aspects that matter for success of the two core typologies of participation.

<u>For community led projects specifically:</u>	<u>For volunteering projects specifically:</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • team spirit as main motor for bottom up /scale and Close knit community helps participation¹⁹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruitment processes inclusiveness and accessibility - publicizing and enabling open access to participation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • personal relation between most committee members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • offering structured and unstructured opportunities -formal education as participation in heritage
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community scale small extended family functions - involved in various roles with the center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • regular activities supported by NMS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>For community led projects specifically:</u> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>For volunteering projects specifically:</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • team spirit as main motor for bottom up /scale and Close knit community helps participation²⁰ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruitment processes inclusiveness and accessibility - publicizing and enabling open access to participation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • personal relation between most committee members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • offering structured and unstructured opportunities -formal education as participation in heritage
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community scale small extended family functions - involved in various roles with the center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • regular activities supported by NMS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>For community led projects specifically:</u> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>For volunteering projects specifically:</u>

Table 13 Lists of nodes representing factors that contributed to effective participation for the two models

¹⁹ See also Hampton (2005, pp.754) where community continues to engage and collaborate with state agencies for management issues and not be just 'host community' for a touristic attraction

²⁰ See also Hampton (2005, pp.754) where community continues to engage and collaborate with state agencies for management issues and not be just 'host community' for a touristic attraction

6.5.3 Participation embedded in project planning and delivery: factors affecting effectiveness in various stages

The analysis led to some by-products that defined the potential of participation to initially yield positive impacts (social and institutional), which will be described hereafter as enablers and constraints. These while not directly defining if there are links between impacts, located limitations to synergies between communities and institutions, explaining why reciprocity cannot always be achieved.

a. Enabling context? : Contextual support for adopting and supporting multiple modalities of participation

Existing community behaviors, norms and sanctions towards civic engagement in general can assist the realization of community-led or community-based projects: previous research around civic participation in Orkney (Matarasso, 1997, 2012; VAO, 2015) depicts it as a rather vibrant place to live, with multiple existing cultural events and volunteering opportunities. However this also renders the heritage sector as only one out of many offers for volunteering activities, increasing competitiveness but also risk of participants' burn-out effect.

Notably, one of the interviewees, referred to the concept of symbiotic ecology, a symbiotic, not-antagonising relationship between different heritage agencies and institutions on the islands, including a mix between arts, crafts and cultural heritage actors that create a special context, enabling synergies and positive sociocultural impacts to flourish. On top of this, the smallness of parish-based communities paired with the communitarian past of some of those (eg. Crofters land in Hoy) suggest social norms in place that support bottom-up initiatives.

Moreover, Orkney's identity as a tourist destination, with iconic archaeology and nature, sustains contacts between locals and incomers despite its remoteness, allowing locals to contact incoming visitors that share a different culture, can be a factor that is leading to more open minded behaviours.

b. Project scoping: wide, community-sourced and interlinked thematic interests

The phase of project scoping, when communities were consulted about their preferences of themes, was crucial for their responsiveness later on and the way they perceive impacts, as it affected project designed and approach to realisation.

The landscape as theme and scale enabled greater flexibility into formulating themes for projects, with a tendency for interpretation and celebration of heritage in its entirety (natural and cultural) rather than a pure focus on conservation activities

The most successful projects from the side of participants, which showed the greatest interest from community side, where the ones enable them to discover their specific links or interest in their place locally, connecting human/family stories about place and historical events.

At a second level, for a project to be able to address wellbeing of local communities, links with existing identified issues that affect access, use and functions of the community need to be drawn at the planning stage and community needs to be vocalised.

c. Project delivery phase: Understand each other's role to enable collaboration

Understanding each other's role and responsibilities enable both collaborative and community led projects to flourish. Acting and being perceived as the manager / facilitator rather than leader seems the most efficient way of delivering project with communities. This assumes a change in status quo and in some cases the culture of managers' around leadership. Same criterion, understanding of roles, is valid also for projects that involved multiple partners and collaborators apart from the manager and the community group that leded it, so conflicts of interest would be avoided and responsibilities can be more clearly divided. The process of understanding roles and defining potential tasks that can be 'outsourced' can be also viewed in project partnership level-in that sense networks are not only an impact that can sustain organisations but also a factor that assisted effectiveness of participatory projects provided that the cooperation was smooth.

Projects delivered under council-run museums, received extra support by experts based on the council who advised the managers in several phases of the project.

Successful projects ended up in continuous cooperation networks that last, based on trust and interest in involving properly local institutions in the process.

In some cases, manager's involvement in the realisation phase was really active and they encouraged participants: both sides stressed the need of intense and close communication and collaboration to avoid misunderstandings.

6.5.4 Constraints to effective participation

Constraints to participation and its effectiveness (or its ability to produce positive impacts for both groups as perceived here) revolve around three categories:

- a. participant related constraints (related to their physical constraints and beliefs) ,
- b. organizational constraints at institutional level (related to internal processes, resources and external limitations, related to their relationships with third parties and the public).
- c. finally a major category of restrictions refer to context: physical/environmental.

A. Participants related constraints refer mostly to their beliefs rather than physical constraints that affect them eg. mobility constraints were common in elderly or retirees interviewed. On the other hand, young people were usually restricted due to time constraint - following full time education in or out of the island.

Participants' beliefs and attitudes towards heritage institutions and local council and the underlying level of trust: mistrust between heritage officers and locals seem to led to people keeping themselves far from heritage projects on purpose.

Regarding their inhibitions to get involved with community led initiatives or the potential of retracting themselves on the other hand, there were always stories of previous community experiences of failure in bottom up initiatives, due to variant visions between members of a group.

"..the people from our worthy island, made sure they were all in a new committee and elected their own, chair and things.. and what happened; about a year and a Half, maybe I'll give them two. it all went down to the drain, they lost a lot."

Mannarini and Fedi (2009) have suggested that people who had participation experience in a previous community setting which was too stressful or ineffective were likely to withdraw into private life. Furthermore, if people feel that their participation entails more costs than benefits, they might as well want to stay away from any participation process

Moreover, people who actually have benefited from heritage projects due to socialising benefits, tend to look for social support elsewhere in official befriending services or public NHs sport for elderly.

B. Organizational and institutional limits mentioned include organizational capacity issue to support participation and capacity building in local groups to manage projects (eg.training in business skills or even specific skills realted to conservation projects). This relates to the theme developed earlier –perception of effectiveness, evaluation frameworks and the lack of embeddedness of participation within managers' day to day operations.

".. We have a fantastic engineering..this is a steam museum , I mean there are certainly that people in the community , if we had the budget and the time to manage the volunteer project..of course you know volunteers are great but you need more time to manage the project effectively. And we don't have that capacity.."
[18/M8]

Some institutions and organisations, despite being small ones, managed to source skills and

resources through collaborating with others better networked or organising festivals in the mainland (where they could be part of bigger structures but did not have to deliver everything on their own).

"..he developed a kind of walk that was designed to be self-guided..he sourced a lot more information, photographs and put together a guided walk.. and then now we do something the museum is taking up that function, its growing in popularity actually! that could work .." [I8/M8]

Important obstacle has been the degree to which institutions truly reached local groups, providing awareness on their activities and in a way receiving feedback and transforming their offer to fit for example working adults.

Another important constraint is how manager and participants understand and self-define their roles and the limits of their responsibility understood within institutional visions: for example many interviewees seem to separate social issues and consider those responsibility of institutional entities that deal separately with health or wellbeing.

A participant's opinion on priorities of local council around wellbeing goals is illuminating:

"..I would say they are supportive of these kind of projects..but I don't know if they necessarily see the real value and therefore how their financial contribution would actually make a significant difference.." [I10/M10]

Council members beliefs and strategic directions (like eg. attempting collaboration only with groups already having some financial independence) led not only to frustration for those groups but also to lower levels of trust from a variety of other groups, willing but not able to conform with this requirement.

"..probably we would have had more projects completely delivered by different community groups..a lot of them, what it comes down to is, from the funding perspective, is whether the group is able financially to manage a project..to be able to pay invoices for projects, that's everything and have money in the bank to be able to pay people.." [I5/P1]

Despite the council's understanding of the weaknesses and need for capacity building towards self-sufficient groups, its need for liability regarding currently planned projects seems to be priority. It has been however clear that the scheme has offered to the council members an understanding that flexibility is necessary to offer guidance to less ready groups.

“ .if project is too big for them to (financially) manage it, the council has to manage it within the team and then work with those groups, to help them tackle the project ..” [15/P1]

Another important aspect of the process of collaboration between council and local groups is who approaches whom and who is actually expected to go first .There have been successful cases where vocal locals managed to pull together funds and get projects realized easier than the opposite way around. Gaps in informal communication and updates between the two heritage-related departments in council (planning and services) seems to lead to lost opportunities regarding working with specific local groups that expressed interest, towards delivery of projects by them locally due to lack of coordination. While council seems to expect a rather proactive attitude from communities for things to work, aiming to distribute financial resources to their disposition, communities do not seem always to function this way towards the council.

“Were not as good in the council in taking to different departments, restoring, funding, these ...” [17/P2]

Further division and lack of trust between locals and the council, refer to divergent opinions on land use, where planning regulations may not comply with the will of the local groups and led to different priorities for future development, creating tensions. For example, certain participants referred to local fears towards not clarified responsibility (nor from council nor from them regarding visitors safety, when visitors may trespass individually owned land).

Practical issues and institutional rules, egg. related to health and safety, put obstacles to developing follow up projects in some cases like in Ness battery, where community based maintenance was restricted due to site instability that suggested restricting the access to public for a long period of time.

A list of limitations arises due to the **conceptualization of heritage, reflecting the different values** and subsequently **defining contents** for projects, which may lead to dissatisfied participants or non-efficient processes.

For example, a rather persistent institutionalized focus on preservation and protection of physical artefacts and the ‘hegemony’ of prehistoric era in Orkney heritage restricted the viewpoint of managers. Generally speaking interpretation projects offered more opportunities to negotiate each other’s role and perceptions of heritage as well as co-define values, including intangible aspects of heritage.

Contextual restraints, recognized by all groups the same refer to physical or environmental restrictions due to the physical remoteness of certain islands or parts of bigger islands. Participants referred often to their dependency on existing ferries and timetables to organise successful events on locations where people could actually reach them.

"..There used to be a ferry. This came up with the consultation, is very interesting, It just totally changed the demographic..People say the biggest change to the North isles of Orkney, in the last 25 years is been the rolo-roro ferry , cause it totally changed peoples geographies, their social geographies, their economic geographies.." [I1/M1]

In the case of a collaboration between a group of volunteers with the visitor centre located in LYness, for example, this restriction admittedly reduced the commitment of the volunteering group, started by the historic boat society based in Stromness, (volunteers actually could not always physically meet, leading to reduced momentum and bonds between the group to follow up together on the project, as evidenced by relevant interviewees C26-27 and illustrated also later in Ch.7).

6.6 Managers' Approach to participation: management models, strategic choices and alignment with existing practices

The analysis made it evident that managers' approach to participation was key to enhance the degree social impacts could even be considered possible, while their desired approaches definitely aligned with certain institutional goals as well. In that sense this theme allows for delineating role of institutions for igniting reciprocal links. This theme, can be delineated through specific behaviours and decisions that define the way participatory processes are realised in conjunction with existing heritage/project management approaches that institutions adopt and general institutional stances to participation. This theme enabled a view of how participatory projects can or cannot be embedded in current practices and how existing hierarchies and management structure enable or not their realisation. Specifically, managers and planners referred to the following aspects that affected their adopted approach:

- 1. Strategic choices and flexibility in project planning and delivery**
- 2. Embeddedness of participation within existing project (and its management cycle)**
- 3. Existing management and evaluation models : power dynamics within institutional structures affecting decision making**

Under **strategic choices** we categorized managers' references that pointed out how strategic level decisions directed how the process continued and assisted in differentiating the character of projects. Managers' choices when they worked with communities include strategic aspects too; for example non-inclusion of expert talks by the project manager in Hoy Kirk, has resulted in a stronger aspect of community voices in shaping the programme that enhanced ownership of the project by community, in the sense that they developed ideas for events to share the archival work they compiled earlier with wider audiences.

Regarding use of a strategy in the form of an established management plan for built heritage assets, some interviews, mentioned that they found use of agreed generic aims instead of a step by step planning, more efficient, emphasising the amount of changes that occur during the process. Alignment of community trusts' strategic aims with this of stronger stakeholder and collaborating institutions like the council's one, would ensure help during the process.

Returning to managers, imbuing interest in heritage and enabling community members to relate, was possible through choosing an organic, adaptable approach to project management -especially in the planning phase, enabling connections with human elements of history (way of life on island) to be part of the projects was crucial for their success.

An important and relevant part of attitudes and choices made was that of enabling **flexibility** in project design and realization. Lack of guidelines for participation sometimes enabled this, by providing freedom for decision by lower level officials. The flexibility of the scheme itself, with multiple projects and thematic included but also with projects being changed last minute, following an organic acceptance of community's preferences assisted to its acceptance.

Embeddedness of participation within existing project is a crucial aspect of effectiveness for managers, which seemed bounded to institutional limitations, but also dictates the approach to participation itself. By discerning community-led and volunteering projects, with community-based being in the middle of the two, we have already differentiated between different emphasis on the freedom of participants and their ability to develop project themes or activities. Another aspect of this issue, lies in participatory projects being embedded on an ongoing restoration/conservation project, which is ideal in terms of institutional efficiency but requires high coordination skills and institutional support. For example long term projects like ongoing, archaeological excavation allowed for participatory projects to be attached to them and be developed during some of their phases. However managers had to direct trained and untrained participants together and 'orchestrate' their activities within the site to ensure they can both earn positive experiences while reassuring conservation related objectives and outputs are met successfully. While management of volunteers remains crucial for ensuring a positive experience, viewing participation as purely training was an attitude common to archaeology projects, dictated by a research-based protocol (or approach followed), undermining any other possible impacts /benefits participants can acquire from the process.

The complexity of this process of double focus, has led many managers to choose sites with almost finished projects, where physical restoration was already completed, to devote to training projects (that enabled safe participation with minimal risk to archaeological artefacts) but signifies a division between practicing participation as a separate activity on the side of their main tasks. This has not only effect son managers but also on the authenticity of the participants' experience:

"I think one of the nicest things..of all involved with community is doing all sorts of things that everyone else is been doing, not to create a provisional distinction.. you know not to have volunteers from the community, hided up, to a separate trench, on the edges of sth!.... that wouldn't satisfy anyone I think! Sounds more like, bringing them in, having the real experience of the site, getting involved them with things.."

[I2/M2]

Moreover evaluation schemes enforced in partnerships by funding bodies, (like the HLF or the LEADER program one, that had a focus on the tangible outcomes, suggested a focus on those weighting negative on aspiring for intangible outcomes or non-quantifiable ones, like community's wellbeing. This showed that project predefined deliverables were main priority for many managers, and sometimes they were struggling to achieve those and apply participation –this approach could prove ineffective in relation to achieving project goals.

Finally, power in decision making is a crucial aspect of holding balance in people-centred projects (Mak et al, 2017); , and has been discussed as part of different heritage management models in the literature (McClelland et al, 2013; ICCROM, 2012; Perkin, 2010) and Raymond et al, 2009 in natural resources). The typology of participation assumes different power balances; for example clarity in responsibilities and role between managers and project leaders in community led projects are crucial for success. When describing successful examples, interviewees showed that crafting a common vision for the project while holding a certain level of independency to choose functions of the group (avoiding being manipulated by external actors/ stakeholders) was key.

Within institutional settings that adopt and lead participatory projects on the other hand, power relations between high and middle management positions were the key: affecting the amount of freedom the managers had to change the project structure and adapt it to community desires or even attempt more experimental ways of working with communities sin the confines of their roles.

One of the managers clearly depicts a process of change within his role that affects his engagement with communities within the confines of the new role:

" ..So, a teaching role and a commercial role ..But now I'm Lifelong learning and outreach archaeologist at the Institute, which is a new post created, this time last year, so I had my first full year.. but even in the previous post I was involved in lots of more community based projects..or community facing projects, i would say.

[218]

Or in projects that they were run by us, but they have a community element in them.. kind of.. they are Hlf linked, so they have that kind of educational experience slash learning part of the project.as an integral part of it...since then.. Obviously it's my new role, changed ground a bit, now, reacting to groups that have been coming to me and helping groups create their own project,..” [I1/M1]

This freedom to operate as innovators was definitely influenced by the type of structure hierarchy in management within the institutions (vertical vs horizontal) and of course by the prevalent institutional culture (either promoting freedoms for managers or advocating for tighter evaluation of their outputs within a more strictly defined objectives-outputs framework that did not allow space for differentiation) and aspirations /priorities of the organisation. It is evident how these aspects affect the approach to participation adopted by individuals’ managers and their possibility to influence organisational culture towards change. The theme will be discussed further in reflection of research on organisational cultures and typologies of institutions in the Discussion chapter.

6.7 Outline of main findings

The full list of what was considered positive impacts per category for both communities and institutions identified can be viewed in the table below.

Table 14 Outline of main findings on social wellbeing impacts at individual and community level and institutional impacts on internal practices and external networks

For individuals	For communities	Institution-internal	Institution-external
<p>a. Knowledge , education and development via learning</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Increased awareness about historical development, landscape and its history 2. Education about natural and cultural heritage conservation as vocational training 3. increased excitement for learning more about heritage 4. Opportunities for individuals to develop and use skills to enter job market 	<p>a. Social cohesion and inclusion</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. integrating incomers and others becoming part of social group 2. Equal opportunities for all to get community roles 3. Increased social connections, fight isolation (physical and social) 4. Enhanced existing community spirit* /Create new community bonds (unlock potentials for self -enclosed groups) 5. Indirect impact to livelihoods: sharing economic benefits by inviting collaborations with local businesses 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Informed project output by local knowledge 2. Research capacity supported by local resources 3. Internal collaboration and exchange of views with other disciplines 4. Enlarged scope of disciplines- redefinition of scope of institution 5. Match resources to needs. eg spaces needs for new roles 6. Recruitment process adjusted to local needs -involve community profiling 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Public, private heritage institutions and heritage trusts networks for partnerships 2. Heritage institutions and the public: educating and increasing awareness, assists to ensuring license to operate 3. Emancipatory heritage groups: towards concurrent or collaborative governance?
<p>a. Self-efficacy, empowerment and personal balance</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Self -motivation, self-orientation and confidence to chase goals for further personal development 2. personal satisfaction and pride for service offered 3. Socialising and recreation to support mental health of isolated individuals 	<p>b. Community empowerment and resilience</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. enhanced sense of belonging to community/responsibility and reciprocity* 2. increased bonding and team work between members-empowerment 3. Intergenerational transmission of skills between generations <p>c. Enhanced community links with place</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Increased sense of belonging to place 2. increased sense of ownership leading to stewardship 3. Understand of place into the world map and sense of identity 		

These are exemplified through specific quotes from the interviews and presented in the detailed tables also in Appendix L. The following section elaborates on the content of those tables, reducing findings of thematic analysis into linear categories for various recipients to communicate the research results in the same language as other social impact studies do..

6.7.1 Positive social Impacts for individuals and communities

Positive Impacts identified at individual level and community level can be categorised broadly under few key themes, represented in the following table. The descriptive nodes under each impact area, are the indicators identified through the thematic analysis and most of them are repeated later in the causal loop diagrams to describe these social impacts at both levels, where also additional variables emerged through putting together insights from managers, planners and community members (eg. linking and relational capital formation, where mostly visible at that stage through interactions and relationship development between the agents). While these have been identified as positive by the perspective of participants, they may pose restrictions to work of managers who were more sceptical towards achieving some of those outcomes through their current project structures. While at this stage the thematic analysis allowed for a descriptive list of positive impacts, potential negative repercussions of some (Eg.the implications of too much bonding capital on bridging capital and lack of cohesion) will be discussed later on in chap.8.2.

The limitations and constraints identified by managers here, also suggest their inability to support the longevity of some of those at community level (ie.especially the social connectedness ones, who require regular programmes offered to sustain the connections developed) due to resource restrictions. A further clarification of how effective different modalities of participation were will be provided in chapter 7, showing how most of these occur and are process dependant. The refinement of the indicators to reflect aspects of the theoretical and conceptual framework (aspect and types of social capital and sense of place in various levels regarding social impacts) are visible in Table 15, earlier in the chapter and a full exploration of impacts emerging through the quotes is visible in Appendix L, K. These were produced by merging some of the indicators and offer alignment of findings with the theoretical framework.

Table 15 List of social impacts at individual and community level-key variables identified by thematic analysis

Individual level	Community level ²¹
a. Knowledge , education and development via learning	d. Social cohesion and inclusion in community level
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.increase awareness about historical development, landscape and its history 2. educate about natural and cultural heritage conservation as vocational training 3.increase excitement for learning more about heritage 4. offer opportunities for individuals to develop and use skills to enter job market 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. integrating incomers and others becoming part of social group 2. Equal opportunities for all to get community roles 3. Increased social connections, fight isolation (physical and social) 4. Enhanced existing community spirit* /Create new community bonds (unlock potentials for self -enclosed groups) 5. Indirect impact: sharing economic benefits by inviting collaborations with local businesses
a. Self-efficacy, empowerment and personal balance	e. Community empowerment and resilience
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Self -motivation, self-orientation and confidence to chase goals for further personal development personal satisfaction and pride for service offered 2. Socialising and recreation to support mental health of isolated individuals 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.enhanced sense of belonging to community/responsibility and reciprocity 2.increased bonding and team work between members-empowerment 3.Intergenerational transmission of skills between generations
	3.Enhanced community links with place
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Increased sense of belonging to place 2.increased sense of ownership leading to stewardship 3.Understand of place into the 'world map' and sense of identity

²¹ All impacts mentioned under this level, were documented in their majority by people involved in community-led initiatives, as they referred explicitly to the community linking projects aims and impacts to specific parish-related groups of people.

6.7.1.2 Discussing social impacts in relation to theory: bonding, bridging and linking-structural social capital

This section discusses the findings from thematic analysis in relation to the theoretical framework and the concept of social capital to make more evident where findings reflect existing theoretical assumptions and clarify expected form of social impacts and the extent to which they relate to better community-heritage institutions relationships in time (ie. reciprocity). It will shed light on the relevance of the findings with development of structural aspects of it: bonding (between similar individual and communities) bridging (between different individuals or communities). Finally linking social capital -between community groups and institutions- and specifically local governance bodies will be viewed later, after institutional impacts are presented. Few implications or potential negative impacts from development of those forms of capital are also discussed.

Bonding social capital

This is the form of capital developed as a result of participation (in both volunteering and community-led projects,) between individuals who belonged in same community of place (eg. long term residents of smaller islands that get to know each other better and co-develop activities together).

Bonding has been observed also between individuals within families that have been living apart or between close circle of friends (eg. volunteers in South Ronaldsay have been sharing their experience as a medium for family bonding days in the archaeological site and young individuals/university students have been involved in assisting the project realizations on the island).

Finally bonding (but mainly bridging) capital formation between individuals was observed when individuals formed close relationships and friendships within associations and other volunteering/societies or groups that act locally in Orkney as a result of their participatory experience. The rural character of the communities and the restricted number of initiatives, inevitably leads to 'overlapping networks' (see also other studies that suggest similar findings for rural communities: Stern et al, 2011; Rockenbauch and Sakdapolrak, 2017) where in most case people tend to know already each other but form a previous (formal) role in another network, but these links not necessary equal social support. While volunteers suggested that thick ties and trust were not formed via volunteering experiences alone, some 'motivated individuals' eventually arrived to this, through 'knock-on' effects, like doing other social activities with like-minded people later on, people they met while volunteering in heritage.

Bridging capital

Bridging capital between different individuals, in volunteering projects, seemed dependant on motivations for responding to institutional calls (how mixed are the respondents in terms of their

social-spatial attachments profile?) This response, is based upon affectionate and cognitive attachments with specific heritage and place attributes (supported also via environmental psychology research, Jorgensen and Stedman,2006 among many) but also to a certain extent on institutional reputation and alignment with strategic aims of the projects. The first means that 'different people are attracted by different project themes', which means in turn that institutionalized projects have lower potential for mixing and directly enabling exchanges for bridging between individuals, even through an open recruitment processes (eg. institutions developing 'pools of volunteers' with specific skills/heritage interests, is reducing diversity in groups and ages). On top of these, external factors like physical access and transport links and practical issues like timing of sessions also appeared to restrict the ability to participate for certain demographic groups (elderly or those facing health issues).

In the case of community-led projects, which appeared more effective in terms of allowing bridging, other factors seemed to define this potential for bridging. These include, level of 'sense of ownership' of projects by existing local leaders and the resource needs of existing community-led initiatives in ruling and regulating heritage resources seem crucial for predicting behaviour towards integration of incomers in such groups. Projects allowed for cognitive capital development and behavior change towards incomers through collaboration and resource accessibility: some interviewees did appreciate the key role of incomers in 'changing mindsets' by developing closer collaboration bonds with other local groups (as they may be ignorant of existing disparities or simply act as intermediates), and providing new resources (through knowledge and skills exchange) to close-knit communities allowing projects to thrive. In some cases, the potential to connect or establish networks of collaboration, (bridging and linking capital -thin bonds, Putnam, 2000:137) with groups or organizations out of the islands thanks to incomers or people with increased mobility status, was also recorded, supporting local development and attainment of group goals. This is indicative of the potential of heritage projects to provide opportunities not only for enhanced bonding, but also for 'harder to achieve' bridging which is crucial to balance the potentially negative effects of the first.

In-migrants have been often described as having different values relating to service provision, leadership and engagement which can potentially cause disruption to organizational capacity and community cohesion , especially when arriving in big numbers (Zimmerer, 2014), disrupting communities with high baseline "homogeneity" and causing discomfort -which seems to be the case in some Orkney localities as well, where they also occupy important professional posts and roles in governance sometimes. The research provides key evidence on their crucial role as positive disruptors or innovators: knowledge bearers that may disrupt existing norms to finally adapt them (see also Matarasso,2012) and co-create new visions of place with existing residents, while the communities are in a state of flux. It is also true though, that depending on the scale of islands and level of demographic change during recent decades, incomers were appreciated differently; eg.in Flotta, having lost almost all its original population, integration may seem easier (as the community

is mostly constituted by incomers) but the need to reinstate the lost identity for few locals is still key for allowing co-production of any heritage-related initiative and may cause conflicts.

Access to bonding, bridging and linking for whom?

A first implication to consider is who has access to participatory projects and how their background enables further access of resources through social links. Bourdieu's notions on class and Putnam's and followers discussion on accessibility of social resources (Lin 2001) that may underline 'who' can access these embedded resources (Bourdieu 1984; Coleman 1988; Lin 1999; Putnam 1993, 2000) and networks Access to such opportunities allows connecting with others or even supporting livelihoods through linking with institutions, was evidenced between for volunteers who developed continuous engagement with Societies or charities, utilizing (usually) pre-existing high skillsets and ascending in professional roles.

Who ends up having this option? In fact, most of the individuals who showcased this behaviour were highly educated incomers, belonging to online and physical communities with certain professional interests related to heritage (history tour guides, etc.) and potentially aiming as well at increasing their professional capacities through these memberships or volunteering contributions. In that sense the research findings agree with previous research that identified that socio-demographic characteristics and position of individuals in social structures, affect how social capital 'operate' in different groups (Aguilera 2002; Knudsen et al. 2007; Nieminen et al. 2008; Parks-Yancy et al. 2008 or how people make use of it, underlining the difference of socio-economic status and education for accessing networks and sustaining linking capital

Discussing potential negative effects of bonding on bridging

At this point we should critically consider the potentially negative nature of accumulation of 'bonding' social capital when "invested in a very small locality and within a segmented social group" (Graham et al, 2009, pp.26) concerning few relevant studies (chapt.2).

One area affected in terms of community wellbeing is the prospects for livability, especially for younger members: researchers working with encapsulated (or isolated) communities (MacDonald, 2005) amongst others (Green and White 2007) support the argument that less mobility and restricted social links outside a defined locality, can restrict young people's opportunities to sustain their lives in the closed community they belong to, observed in Orkney too. However, our evidence do not support that this may be aggravated by bonding generated due to heritage participation- in fact this was viewed as an opportunity to develop new skills for younger people and engage with existing institutional initiatives in place that can multiply locally-based job

opportunities and contribute to wider change by balancing those ‘cultural distancing’ effects of depopulation.

Secondly, the same dilemma of “which level and degree of bonding” is beneficial to achieve, is also relevant for integration and inclusion of incomers²² (or people with different provenance, who have relatively lower length of residence in their localities, in our context mostly coming from mainland UK) within groups of ‘Born and bred’ people. Bonding at neighbourhood level, was rather considered hard to achieve but bridging was somehow possible through heritage participation.

Regarding integration in groups that deal with local heritage (via both volunteering and community-led), the effect of different ‘senses of place’ (and the variant affectionate connections of those groups with place) plays a role on social behaviours towards incomers; (While strong sense of place is considered dependent on length of residence (Livingston et al, 2008), which means incomers are expected to have lower attachment to place, in our case aspects of cultural life affected their ability to integrate and appreciate qualities of landscape, see note 21).

Moreover, negative effect of bonding on bridging capital [see Granovetter, 1973] (i.e. too much introvert bonding impeding linking with other communities), or Murzyn-Kupisz and Dziasek (2013 or the ‘dark side’ to social capital Putnam(2000)] especially in the context of heritage participation, may affect the relationships between neighboring communities of place, (ie. overall perceived cohesion between island communities) and as we also saw, may lead to over-protected behaviors to safeguard their narrow heritage (implying also problematic interactions with experts). This occurs through an over –celebration of place distinctiveness (see also Corsane et al, 2008) (or excessive place attachment)/ emphasis on group identity at a narrow scale (Green and White, 2007), on the expense of sharing heritage and opening up to bridges with other groups/communities. This can be igniting conflict and segregation between small rural, parochial communities that strive for existence through differentiation. (In other words that may lead to isolation instead of connectivity).

In our analysis, risk of isolation and segregation, indicated the key role of managers and cultural practitioners, to change attitudes towards ‘sharing’ heritage, communicating and interpreting it to explain it to others. Authors like Stern and Seifert, (2013b, p.196) have supported the reinforcing role of culture to support community-building but also link different communities as well: this was also evident in our cases eg. In Hoy the heritage Centre acted as a connecting hub.

Looking into how segregation may occur, requires clarification of the scale and context of which these processes operate and can be studied: when looking at interactions between communities within the same island as compared with a bit broader spatial networks (eg. with neighboring ones)

²² See Stedman, 2006:190 for a description of value difference in relation to place. Some of those were actually negated by participants as eg. similarity of lifestyles seemed to balance lack of knowledge of place.

one can see that actually heritage assisted in uniting rather than dividing, by allowing space for discussing existing hostilities (north and south Hoy is an example).

Looking at individual vis a vis group behaviors in relation to segregation and social cohesion, our study showed that we need to look at individual perceptions vis a vis ‘sense-of belonging to a group/community’ (McMillan and Chavis, 1986) to actually disentangle how heritage-related community groups may renegotiate norms around their identity and ‘access’ / acceptance of others through participation (in the light of older theories around community and its formation around social interactions, like Williams 1958).

These will be discussed further in the ch.8 under the role and impact of existing and developed cognitive and relational social capital in sustaining community-led participation.

6.7.2 Impacts for organisations-internal processes

The institutional level impacts identified are internal, referring to institutional learning and project management process changes and external networks and connections with public, association and external partners (see table below).

Table 16 institutional internal and external impacts-Key variables detected

Institution-internal	Institution -external
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Informed project output by local knowledge 2. Research capacity supported by local resources (human and even material) 3. Internal collaboration and exchange of views with other disciplines 4. Enlarged scope of disciplines-redefinition of scope of institution 5. Match resources to needs for further institutional growth: in structure and resources (eg. spaces , needs for new operational roles) 6. Recruitment processes reviewed: adjust offer to local needs 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Networks for partnerships with: public, private heritage institutions and heritage trusts 2. Heritage institutions and the public: links through educating and increasing awareness, assists to ensuring license to operate 3. Emancipatory heritage groups: towards concurrent or collaborative governance?

Institutional learning, and changes in processes of heritage management were evidenced in three phases and affecting different professionals involved in each: at strategic planning (referring to choices made at a steering committee level), project design level (referring to specific projects

design including typology of participation and types of activities involved) and project execution/delivery (eg.conservation, interpretation or documentation activities))

Moreover, the findings are going to be reported hereafter in a way that enables an understanding of how impacts refer to specific types and levels of participation types of heritage and institutional structures. These reflect how participation as experience, as process as well as how institutional context may affect the final perceived impacts.

At internal level, the interviews revealed learning and changes around the following areas:

The ability to produce an informed output, ensuring consent of local community on the history being written in projects involved in documenting historical facts , that would later on inform significance of those places and more than that establish their relation with the local community. Crowdsourcing information (eg. for recreating museum exhibition, interpreting same historical facts) reinforced the amount of information that was not available in local archives covering a gap and thus, contributing to the accuracy of the representation and interpretation.

Projects involving conservation activities (like restoration of Ness Battery and volunteering for archaeology in preventive conservation of parts of exposed archaeological findings in situ), provided an opportunity to boost existing institutional capacity and use community members as human resources, to complement existing professional capacity. Other projects realised through community initiative, enabled an appreciation of local skills and incorporated them to realise projects with vernacular heritage at risk: learning how to repair stone walls, enabled people to repair a great amount of those in poor state of repair. A division of goals and foci between communities and institutions, between those project typologies however seems prevalent.

While in the previous project lack of collaboration between professionals and locals is sometimes remarkable, participatory projects had led to internal bonding between different professionals within one institution: especially between roles involving contact with public/community and the ones engaged in designing and delivering research based projects. This was often encouraged by projects involving multiple phases, where one used the outputs of another to continue, including for example, documentation, interpretation etc, leading to future exhibitions.

This process and the exposure of professionals to communities and their understanding of heritage seemed to lead to some cases to a wider reflection of their own discipline or even the role of their institution. For example professionals engaged with documentation of architectural heritage, used and applied archaeological techniques, considering how the type of assets is not serious division between disciplines anymore and how archaeology can expand its methods to newly discovered assets.

A number of professionals supported impacts related to their behaviour changing in order to support further institutional growth, matching activities and internal resource planning to the needs of participatory projects. Museums and institutions holding their own spaces for realising such projects were the ones to support such changes.

Finally, a rather more direct impact on institutional processes refers to the ones regarding recruitment of participants. Many managers reflecting on their experience, revealed an understanding of the need to truly know and map the community before opening out calls for participation, especially in volunteering projects. (Community led projects after all run thanks to the initiative taken by the community itself, so their independent of this process for their success). Most of the managers referred to the possibility of being involved in project planning phase, at an earlier stage, so that they can couple their experience in organising community engagement according to their own experience and matching it to their internal vision, in contrast to solely following funders vision.

6.7.3 Impacts for organisations -external relationships and networks

Reporting impacts related to network development and brokering of cooperation, we account for developing public -private partnerships (eg. public institutions with heritage trusts or independent museums) as well as relationship between institutions and the general public with a focus on the local residential communities. Heritage trusts are also considered heritage organisation on their own, developing their own sets of networks that may or not involved other institutions but certainly involved a great range of stakeholders enabling them to realise their visions.

1. Public, private heritage institutions and heritage trusts networks for partnerships
2. Heritage institutions and the public: educating and increasing awareness, assists to ensuring license to operate
3. Emancipatory heritage groups: towards collaborative governance?

1. In the process of establishing and supporting participatory projects, heritage institutions find themselves usually developing network of partners; either to support with funding their vision, or to support their vision with common programming for merging initiatives. The first happens for example in the case of huge archaeological excavation that through establishing a friends trust, manages to reach wider and far -located audiences. The second is obvious either in the case of local community-led groups summoning help from well-established partners, who add up to their resources and enable them to realise their vision or even in the case of cultural (and not heritage related institutions) like museums of modern art for example that assist and complement the outreach programmes of heritage institutions, thought their common focus on educational gains.

2. This refers to the ones shaping the relationship between institutions and the public, and it is just the starting point for analysis of reciprocal links. In a way, institutions use participation to promote their values and vision to the wider public, brokering positive support and acceptance of future projects they plan or initiatives they are looking into, making the first step to developing trust and reciprocity with the locals. Enhancing perception of value of certain heritage assets, like for example wartime sites was already mentioned earlier, and forms part of a rather strategic, instrumental use of participation to formulate statement of significance.

However in some cases the opposite also was documented, institutions were open to collect and share local perception of 'what is heritage' what are the sites of real significance to them and develop projects around them, co-defining elements of significance that could possibly inform heritage registers. Another positive use of the change of public perceptions strategy seems to be when national or global significance is prioritized versus local one, in the cases where overprotective communities seem to shield sites or assets under their defence, thus passing from gatekeepers to over protective and appropriative behaviours.

3. Promote historic value- Emphasize risk and encourage preventive behaviours

Some of the projects led by community groups, like Hoy Heritage, pose a certain challenge: are heritage groups in some cases so confident and well equipped to avoid interaction with heritage professionals? While the project started as a collaborative venture, supported by a local councillor and a group of funders that enabled the restoration of physical remains of community church, once the building was in an acceptable state of preservation, the community took over the rest of programme planning, establishing a series of interpretation projects that kept the centre *alive*.

While partnerships are needed in wider, scheme like initiatives, or research-based projects with 'official heritage' that require interdisciplinary skills the second model seems to thrive in smaller communities, that formulate Heritage Trusts (they do not have *native/local* heritage scientists within their close circles) to work in processes of 'heritage making' with protecting undesignated heritage. These tend to focus on much smaller and locally focused projects, and dealing with non-designated heritage, feature flexibility in terms of legal frameworks for heritage protection, while receiving relative support from local authority to deal with significance of sites or artefacts that were up to then ignored. In a way, it seems that the area of action is well divided between two 'operating models', which co-exist, as parts of a 'symbiotic model' of heritage management in the context of Orkney.

6.7.3.1 Discussing external institutional impacts in relation to theory: bridging and linking social capital

The two concepts allow us to discuss involvement in formal networks, which gather people with various backgrounds and may result in 'thin' trust – trust between people who do not personally know each other (see Putnam, 2000 for a discussion of thick and thin trust and Harpham et al, 2004 for thin trust to public institutions). In that sense we can discuss (external) institutional impacts as relationship development between institutional representatives and community members, which also constitutes that base for reciprocity.

Bridging social capital is significant in enabling access to resources, and addresses the weak or thin ties between diverse groups and organizations to access those (Putnam 2000).²³ (McKenzie and Harpham 2006); this was very present on the process of sustaining Orcadian heritage trusts as we will see in Ch.7.

A key observation is that bridging and linking potential within those for groups that bear different educational levels and perceptions of heritage values, is enabled by the rural thick social networks (ie. due to scale and 'overlap between roles' especially when crossing formal and informal networks as seen earlier);

- managers or even planners being members of community groups, obtaining a double role and act as 'brokers' relationships between institutions and community groups.
- Similar function can be attributed to the rangers, as putting together visions of different institutions (especially when nature/ culture collaborations were at stake) and connecting hierarchically high professionals with community members
- Community trust leaders function similarly, brokering collaborations between community trust members, local councillors, experts and external groups by utilising personal networks (eg. connaissance of artists, cultural professionals etc.) to establish networks sanctioned with formal, binding, agreements for heritage Trusts, enabling access to other resources.

6.7.3.2 Linking and relational social capital, structures and platforms in context

Clear demonstration of linking Social capital development was present between individual council representatives and community groups, embedded as well in their professional interests in defining character of local areas (see for example the role of local councillors as seen by C7, M11, C28, 29). Groups in such cases, not only received close advice from the councillors but through this achieved increase their trust to those representatives, enabling further interactions across explicit,

²³ Bridging capital can be horizontal, which reflects the ties between similar community groups, or vertical (Dolfsma and Dannreuther 2003; Narayan 2002; Narayan and Pritchett 1999), which represents the hierarchical integration of groups.

formal, or institutionalized power (held by councillors or people holding formal decision making roles considered here as 'authority gradients') and local people, (eg. access resources for restoration / securing funding) .

A key enabler of high linking capital and development of relational capital, can be considered the existence of multiple platform of delegation and dialogue between different hierarchical groups (local government, Ngo's/ civic societies etc) that facilitate interactions for collaborative decision making. While similar research indicates that participatory decision making has been characterized 'unpleasant' for policymakers and heritage managers (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Jordan et al., 2013; Marzuki et al., 2012), Orkney seems to offer a good practice example that reduced the costs associated with engaging in discussions like consultations, by holding multiple structures and platforms in place -that extend the limits of heritage sector- to enable exchanges of information and collaborations and thus increase engagement of residents in decision making but also boost levels of accountability (Madden, 2010; Duxbury, 2007, Duxbury and Jeannotte, 2011) for realized plans and development projects (and their impacts on community life:

- The Orkney Access forum that the Council has incorporated within its structure, acts as a platform for discussing physical access issues related with land use and ownership issues around heritage sites.
- Platforms like Orkney Arts forum, a group who represents different art and culture organizations from across Orkney
- VAO²⁴, the Voluntary Action Orkney is a key organisation that acts in close proximity with the council but also in close collaboration with the University and other official institutions in Orkney and even ones operating at regional level , advertising and communicating opportunities for volunteering.

Those come as additional to existing set of consultation platforms that Orkney Council has in place for various issues and in various stages of project planning. However, despite the structures in place, a central problem to citizen inclusiveness in Orkney (see C5, C22, 23) is the level of representation of various sub-groups in those platforms, which is key for heterogeneous perceptions and interests to be heard (see also Byrd, 2007; Byrd et al., 2009; Jordan et al., 2013; Ostrom, 1990; Waligo et al., 2013).

²⁴ The community planning structure of council is operationalized by VAO: <https://www.vaorkney.org.uk/engagement/community-planning-partnership>

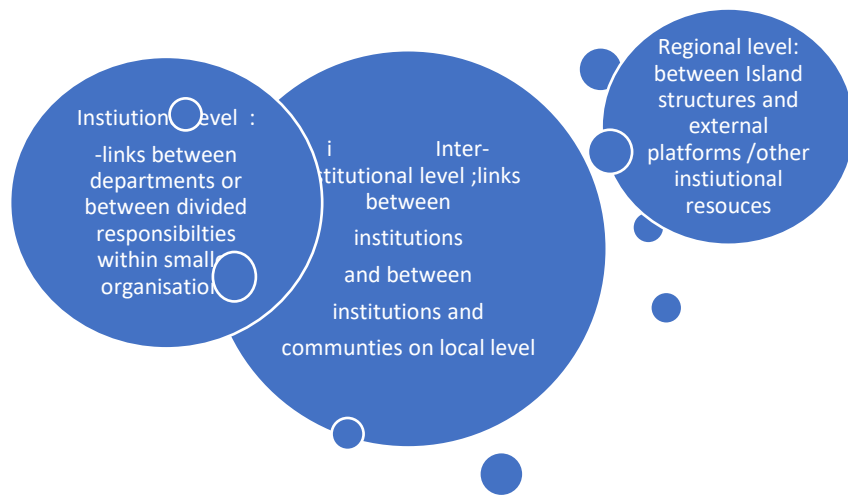


Figure 57 interdependencies between levels of analysis and key links affecting systemic behavior: institutional to inter-institutional and finally regional level

6.7.4 Reciprocal and linear links between impacts

In general, the qualitative analysis did not provide a very clear/direct way of documenting reciprocal links. However by associating benefits to institutions and benefits to communities through arguments that linked the two, some initial causal relationships could be established, like when reuse of historic spaces enabled multiple use of spaces by community groups, reinforcing social bonding and bridging at community level, which returned back to engaging further with history and heritage of the place.

Moreover, the themes developed before namely, enablers and constraints to effective participatory projects suggested how ideally reciprocal links can be developed and sustained through effective projects and what the gap to achieving this is.

Studying the existence of reciprocity suggested looking also into synergies (ie. impacts that can be shared, achieved simultaneously) or even transformed (from social to institutional and reverse).

Two main ways in which reciprocal benefits occur were identified through looking into impact pathways (see also fig. 58 below):

- (i) Firstly heritage benefits that lead or enable social and spatial development, thus resulting to increased social benefits. These were documented in projects that through restoration and reuse of spaces enabled multiple use of spaces by community groups, like the case of Hoy Kirk. By keeping an open door policy, they managed not only to connect local people, organise meetings', social events etc Interest for the site as core for supporting community life escalated and lead to topping up funding to further care for place.

- (ii) Secondly the opposite direction, which was less common: social capital -related benefits for communities and individuals have showed the way to further engagement with heritage, sustaining either community heritage at risk or supporting institutional projects ie. showing reciprocal behavior in the form of recurring participation (interest to return something back). Evidence that could support these claims was more hard to acquire, as it assumed enough information on post-project behavior (in the course of time) and motivations ie. Volunteers thanks to their interaction and peer-exchanges became interested in archaeology and following became official members of OAS to declare their support and share their positive experience within archaeological excavation projects. Role of institutions in endorsing those behaviours was important eg. recurring volunteering assumes that institutions were offering new opportunities for ongoing engagement and securing resources and programming could enable that.

As evident from these descriptions it was not always clear what came first, as in some cases we can actually discuss about synergies or simultaneous benefits (that occur more or less parallel in time like eg. young people’s increased wellbeing through finding life orientation goals, while assisting in protecting heritage resources at risk). In other cases as well, there were no bi-directional benefits but one positive impact for heritage protection was the trigger for a further enhanced management approaches and chain of events, eg. protection of more assets through the creation of trends like the establishment of heritage trusts all over the islands to protect community defined, local heritage assets.

In the case where projects were continued in the course of time though, either by repetitive session or by follow-up activities, it was possible to look for long term effects and provide evidence for reciprocity, as social processes admittedly move slower than project execution.

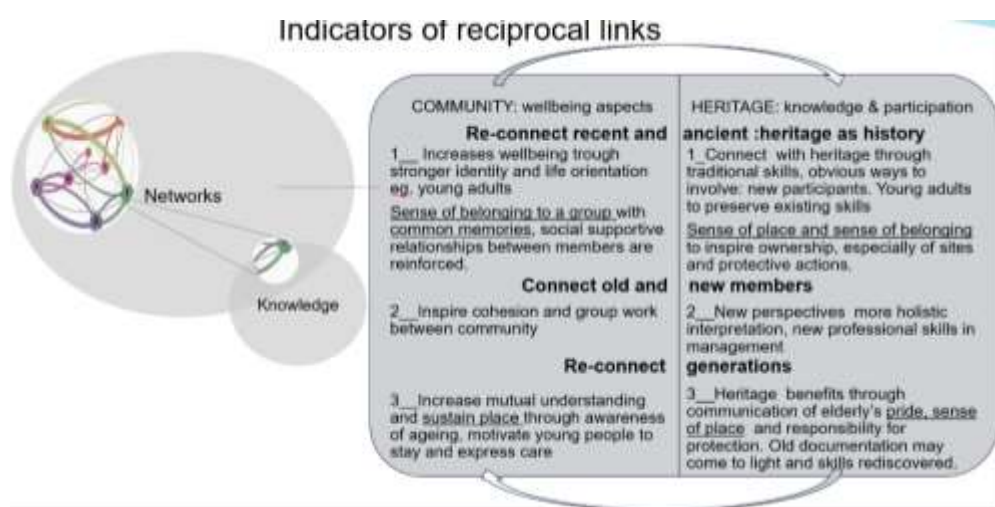


Figure 58 Evidence for reciprocal links between community wellbeing and heritage protection through engagement as observed through thematic analysis associations

Through analysing the cases where the reciprocal links manifested themselves, we could identify the following enabling conditions:

Conditions 1. Heritage activities that involve performance or interpretation with a lively contribution from people, had a direct effect through regularity of events on bonds creation between participants. They even enabled younger people participation that brought together with their grandfathers or parents.

Example include film outputs as community-based projects or even -documentation of intangible heritage, that stayed with community (in contrast to being part of a museum collection in a different place) enabling further social links between members who accessed it.

Condition 2. Intergenerational links and knowledge transfer –inclusive and cohesive communities

Specifically for the ageing community in some of the islands, heritage as recording living memories offers a source of psychological revelation and community spirit revival, where they feel that they preserve and promote this way their identity while bequeathing it to the younger generation. Passing up responsibility for protection to youngsters together with skills and knowledge transfer (usually through skilled incomers) was also an impact that assisted to incorporating new members within local community groups and calling them all to cooperate

Condition 3. By creating connections between history of communities and place, communities managed to embrace their relationship with place, rediscover or enhance their sense of belongingness to place and be part of decisions around heritage linked place-making.

For example project outputs like paths creation have directly enhanced use and access to places that were not visited beforehand, enabling further connectivity between landscape and people, from increased appreciation of place and better sculpted place identity to more active interventions in place-making.

Constraints to reciprocal links can be identified through: personal aspirations and perception of restricted capacity by managers (ie. not able to develop projects with communities due to resource restriction or role limitations), negative impacts or fears of risk loss of local supporters for institutions (ie. Fear of stirring conflict due to unsuccessful approaching of community or distant values) and need to sustain projects in time (eg. By devising smart ways for continuous local fundraising) in order to enable those reciprocal links to develop. The issue of time for development of reciprocal links will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, where the analytical tool enables easier follow- up of the process as timeline of events.

Chapter 7: Dynamic exploration via causal loop diagrams analysis: findings

7.1 Aim of chapter

This chapter will present the findings of the analysis through use of Causal loop diagrams, a tool adopted from system dynamics to map here causal interrelationships between various types of impacts as changes of behavior over time²⁵, stemming from heritage participation. It aims at locating changes on individual and community social behaviors, institutional practices and community perceptions toward heritage assets/historic places (see Ch. 5 for color codes for variables within those categories) and understand the types of links between those: are there causal links between changes of behavior of professionals and communities, how do they affect each other's actions? Are there discernible and repetitive patterns of behavior that show reciprocal relationships between them?

Applying a second method for the analysis of the data allowed for triangulating information between groups of participants- easier than in the thematic analysis- but also enabled viewing 'pathways to change' rather than simply providing a descriptive list of impacts / changes (either social, organizational or heritage/resource related, similar to those that the thematic analysis produced).

While some key variables were identified from thematic analysis (see Tables 14, 15, 16 for social-individual and community level impacts, and institutional impacts- divided under external and external) and transferred to this stage of analysis, new variables were added through a re-coding process of textual data to locate cause-effect relationships at this stage (see also Ch.5 tables 7,8, & Fig.55 for the process).

This enabled the author to detect variations in the process of participatory projects and attribute those to certain decisions made either by managers or community members during the flow of the process (following their distinct values and goals).

Finally, the process allowed to see clearly differences between indirect and direct impacts (social and institutional): when derived through use of outputs of conservation (usually related to changes in landscape or physical aspects of heritage assets) and when stemming for the interactions between actors and social exchanges through the process itself (which may or not be mediated by heritage assets) respectively. The interviews by planners offered crucial insights on impacts around place-making and changes in community attitudes around place and planning processes.

²⁵ The projects observed were finished in 2012 and the data collection was realised between 2016-2017, so that any changes from outputs to impacts could be documented.

7.2 Analytical Synthesis: Aggregated findings per group- managers, planners, participants

While the methodology towards developing causal loops diagrams (following Kim and Andersen, 2012) is described in the relevant chapter, few comments on the process of individual and aggregated loop design can clarify the relevance and amplitude of the findings between the various groups of participants.

The process followed (explained in more detail in the figure 55, in the methodology chapter) starts by creating individual causal loop diagrams for each of the participants and then comparing them to view key repetitive themes/common variables that relate to reciprocal relationships and links between impacts in the three groups (according to the different identities of the research participants as managers, planners and community members/participants). The last group was divided again later, separating the volunteering with the community-led participants initially due to the different process followed but also the different potential for reciprocal impacts and synergies mapped. A third emerging subcategory of volunteers who worked in collaborative projects, (museum/led or institutionally led but co- community delivered) offered insights for more effective collaboration for reciprocity during the process of project delivery.

Findings are presented per category of project, within each group, as the loops made clear the differentiation of processes of project delivery in those and data showed differentiated impacts stemming from various types of activities. The managers' perspective was key to realize this division as project design and delivery process differed between various types of projects.²⁶

By aggregating the causal loop diagrams within each group of participants (planners, managers and community members, divided again according to modality of participation), one can account for repeated patterns of behaviour and denote certain repeated causes that lead to specific impact pathways. Aggregation can only happen through comparing them for common variables and closed loops present repeated in many participants and redesigning the common loops in new diagrams. For brevity reasons not all the diagrams are presented in this chapter-however the long list of loops (balancing and reinforcing observed, and the themes within them-the phenomena observed) are provided in Appendix I. The list of repetitive themes observed between the groups is presented in Table 20 and led to the key conclusions, presented here through the causal loop diagrams chosen to illustrate those.

²⁶ The type of heritage itself usually involved certain key activities as part of project delivery eg. documentation activities focusing on archaeology vis a vis interpretation projects within museum exhibitions or archives or even celebration and sharing projects within festivals looking at performances and re-interpretation of intangible heritage.

The interviews by managers are divided in three sub-groups: the first one consists of interviewees M1, M2, M3 accompanied by M6 and M13 who depict impacts related to archaeological heritage volunteering and 'community-based' archaeology projects which recruited participants. The second group M8, M9, M10 depicts impacts related to museum-based volunteering projects which involve institutional collaborations with existing community groups, but institutionally-led projects. Finally M11 depicts impacts stemming from co-creating a project with a local community heritage Trust which led it, with the manager only guiding them to create a photographic archive of history of the area and interpretation activities to follow.

Managers have shared their experience on the process of participation, which differs in each of the above cases and reflects not only different societal impact but also different causal effects on internal and external organizational changes they may describe. The effect on institutional structure and norms of operation have also to be considered as two complex variables, significantly affecting the process of participation selected, designed and applied in each of those cases.

The interviews by planners are reflecting mostly on the planning stage of the projects and to institutional changes mostly within the local council departments (P1, P2, P4-P6). In some cases changes within organizations being part of the Steering group for the HLF scheme, like: VAO (P3), SNH(P7) or HES,/UHI were reflected also through the interviews by M1-M2-M6-M13. It has to be noted that some of the planners, while holding positions within the local council structure, devoted time for managing the delivery of some of the projects together with the main project manager for the scheme (M4). Most of the planners, engaged actively with all phases of consultation (participation in the planning stage) and thus provided a greater understanding of this process as well as their ideas of community desires as expressed in various stages of projects. Moreover, they provided an understanding of the baseline in terms of usual *modus operandi* of the council and collaborative governance/participatory planning in Orkney, clarifying role, relationships and networks with trusts and associations.

Finally the interviews with project participants are presented in 3 divided sub-groups depending on the type of process of participation followed:

A. First subgroup includes, participants C1-C5, C8-C10 represent perceived impacts stemming from various volunteering projects, including volunteering for wartime heritage documentation, exhibition design and set-up, artistic interpretation of archives and film making as well as simply assisting in commemoration events in the local cathedral.

The different typologies of heritage organization and assets involved, were linked with the variant institutional norms and structures: C2-4 volunteered in an archeological site/visitor center and University of Highlands and Islands (UHI), C5, C8-10 for a project directed by the local island council and C28-29 for a cultural institution, an independent museum working together with a local library/archive.

B. Second group includes C14, C15-C23 who represent perceived impacts stemming from leading a community project, as members and volunteers for a local community heritage Trust in Hoy Island, they worked together with one heritage officer who facilitated the processes. The type of activities realized were multiple: included archive creation and management, social history documentation, exhibition and interpretation events development while some of them had taken part in managing the physical restoration work realized in the parish church that hosted all these, some years earlier. Their input can be triangulated with the data collected through research participant M11 and some of the planners.

C. A third group, represent perceived impacts from collaborative projects, one museum-led and one balanced collaboration between community and institutions: C26-27 while being community-led project, collaborated with professionals to realise an annual festival and with a local museum curator (independent museum) for an exhibition of costumes co-curated by the locals. C24 and C25 represent impacts stemming from a collaboration between an existing historic boat society/association (OHBS) and a local museum in Hoy releasing boat restoration work.

7.3 Managers perspectives: participation in project delivery

A brief resume of the types of impact covered in the loops created by managers and planners reflect the themes identified by the thematic analysis and include analysis of community contribution towards short and long-term heritage protection and wider institutional benefits, see below:

Table 17 Short and long term types of impacts for heritage and institutions and relevant processes affected

Types of impacts for heritage and institutions	Heritage protection goals /institutional aims
1 Short term gains for heritage : resources	Project output: as resource for quality and quantity of projects
2 long term, post project improvements: institutional practices	Wider Institutional practices and approach to project planning and delivery
	a. learning and changes in process of delivery - process/practice/behaviour and perceptions/vision
	a. change in internal structures (eg new roles or supporting new vision/goal etc) to support participation
	b. change in external networks and platforms to support collaboration and participation

The second category (wider institutional practices change), allowed to detect connections with impacts on community/community behavior change towards institution (trust), enabling a closer

look to reciprocity. This part was used to corroborate and cross-check perspectives in similar data given by community participants.

7.3.1 Volunteering and training

Volunteering and training in Archaeological projects: managers M1 -M3, M6, M13

Starting from the accounts of managers involved in archaeological projects, participants M1, 2, 3 were all archaeologists engaging through a complex role that spans higher education, research and commercial archaeology, having experience in engagement around the WH site of HONO. They were all involved in community archaeology projects and excavations- the interviews showcased how a research and educational approach undertaken leads to positive impacts.

In terms of their involvement with the projects within SFLPS scheme, M1 and M3 directly guided volunteers and designed projects with them in two different sites of non-designated archaeological sites (one had been surveyed as well with the help of volunteers), while M2 (having strategic responsibilities in the organization) offering guidance in developing those projects. M3 also offered insights on impacts of volunteering within the WH site, discussing the relevant audience development strategy and with the relationship with the Trust of Friends of HONO WH site, a charity that gathers donations from lots of non-islanders.

Following we will present some causal loop diagram analysis which identified key impact pathways (how social and how institutional impact) was generated in those, and whether or not reciprocal links were visible as a result of the process. As causal loop diagrams are not linear diagrams there is not a starting point for reading them-however the key elements that locate findings within them are the closed loops named as reinforcing or balancing showing how variables can be linked in repetitive patterns. These provided insights on both internal institutional process changes and external impacts like development of networks and connections with communities and institutions, while showed many challenges for actually securing community level, social impacts.

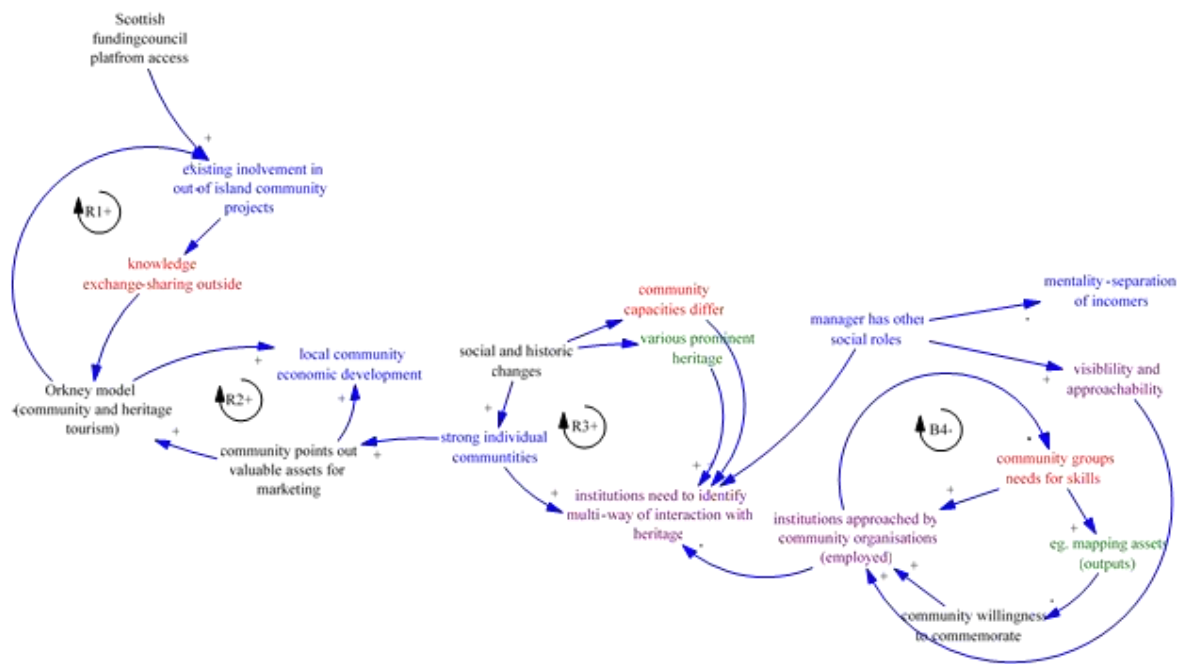


Figure 59 M1,2,3 Managers explaining the challenges in approaching and difficulty to define multi-layered communities, with different capacities (R3) and the potential for including community members' knowledge and priorities(R2) in promoting use of heritage and identify relevant ways for interaction with sites when approached by community (B4)

Figure 59 describes the common challenges faced by managers M1-3, to approach and define multi-layered community in Orkney as part of community-based archaeology projects: this suggests a key obstacle for achieving true social impact (when needs and community identities are blurry) but also establishing reciprocal links with community who is not always willing to engage with institutional representatives.

Managers referred to socio-geographical historical development of identifiable, differentiated communities and various typologies of heritage assets in various localities which needed different approaches due to their different needs and level of capacity to support heritage project delivery (loop R3, fig53)

When approached by community organizations, which had specific plans (eg willingness to commemorate events) it was easier to provide resources and skills to deliver [projects like (mapping heritage assets) that led to both heritage being identified and protected (through documentation) but also communities being satisfied and connected with it (loop B4).

The managers' social roles in multiple informal social networks, enable their visibility and approachability from community groups, balancing this way one-way communication and brokering new relationships.

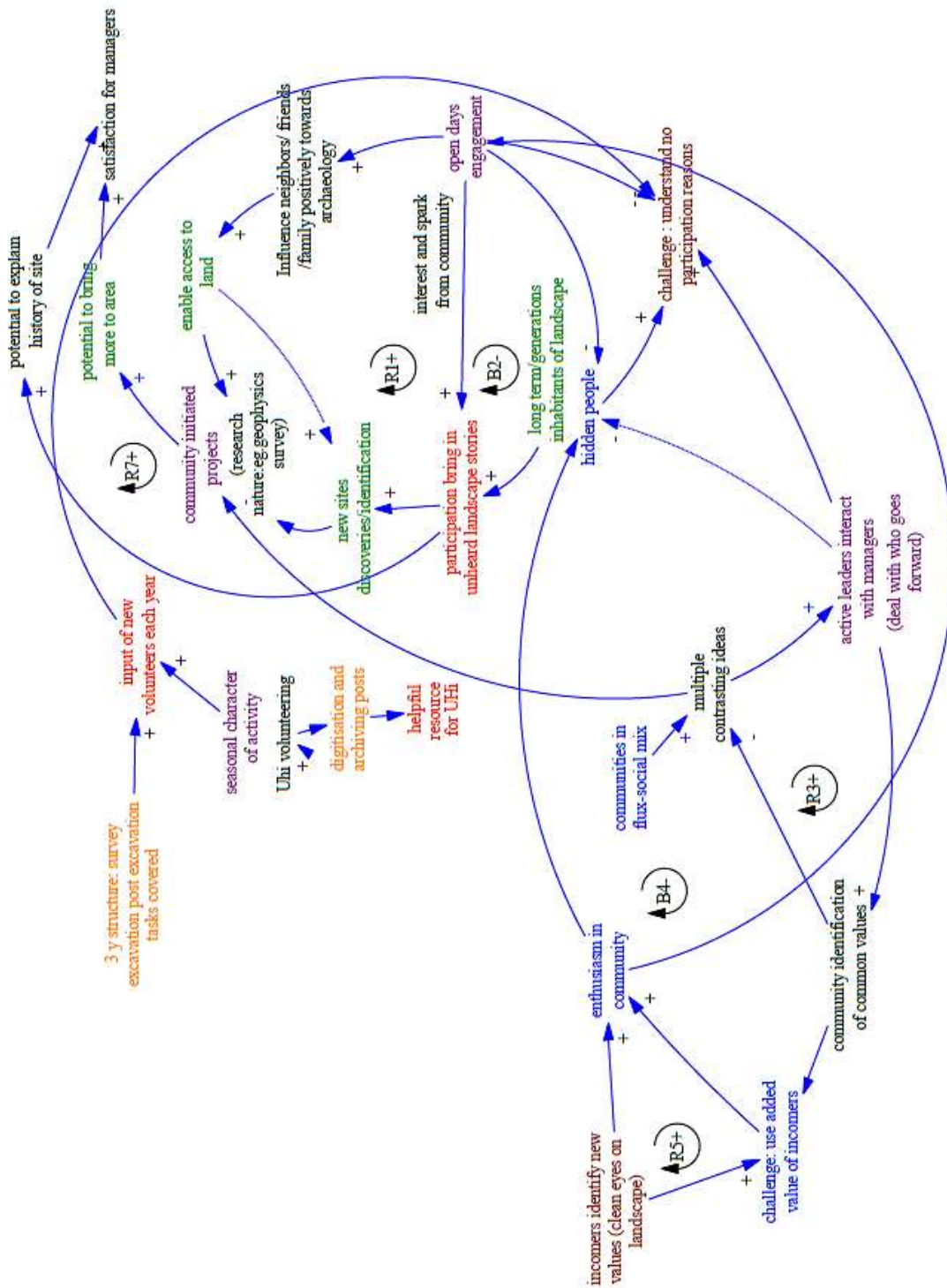


Figure 60 M1-3 Managers explaining how community knowledge contributed institution's operational needs : participation in open days allowed them to identify new sites, and include local knowledge in their inquiry (R1, B2-), to explain sites history (R7) as well as balance their relationship with community by understanding reasons for no participation. They also indicated how volunteering projects directly contributed to creating resources for teaching in the institution (top left)

The same participants (M1-3) also provided specific insights for the beneficial impact of community input in quality outputs of heritage institutions (heritage interpretation and hidden data/evidence on heritage significance eg. site identification or documentation is enriched)(Fig. 60, loop R1, B2)

By adopting multiple typologies of participation (including eg. open days) they were able to break the circle of indifference of certain '*laid-bac locals*' (Fig. 60 loopR1). This, particularly satisfied them but also increased the potential to bring more to the area by connecting people's identity with landscape features, by providing community's history of sites (loop R7).

The managers also indicated how volunteering projects directly contributed input for the institution at yearly basis: the resources developed by them to structure volunteering work, we reused in education as part of University's formal training programs, acting therefore as valuable resources for internal institutional functions (top left, linear links in Fig. 60).

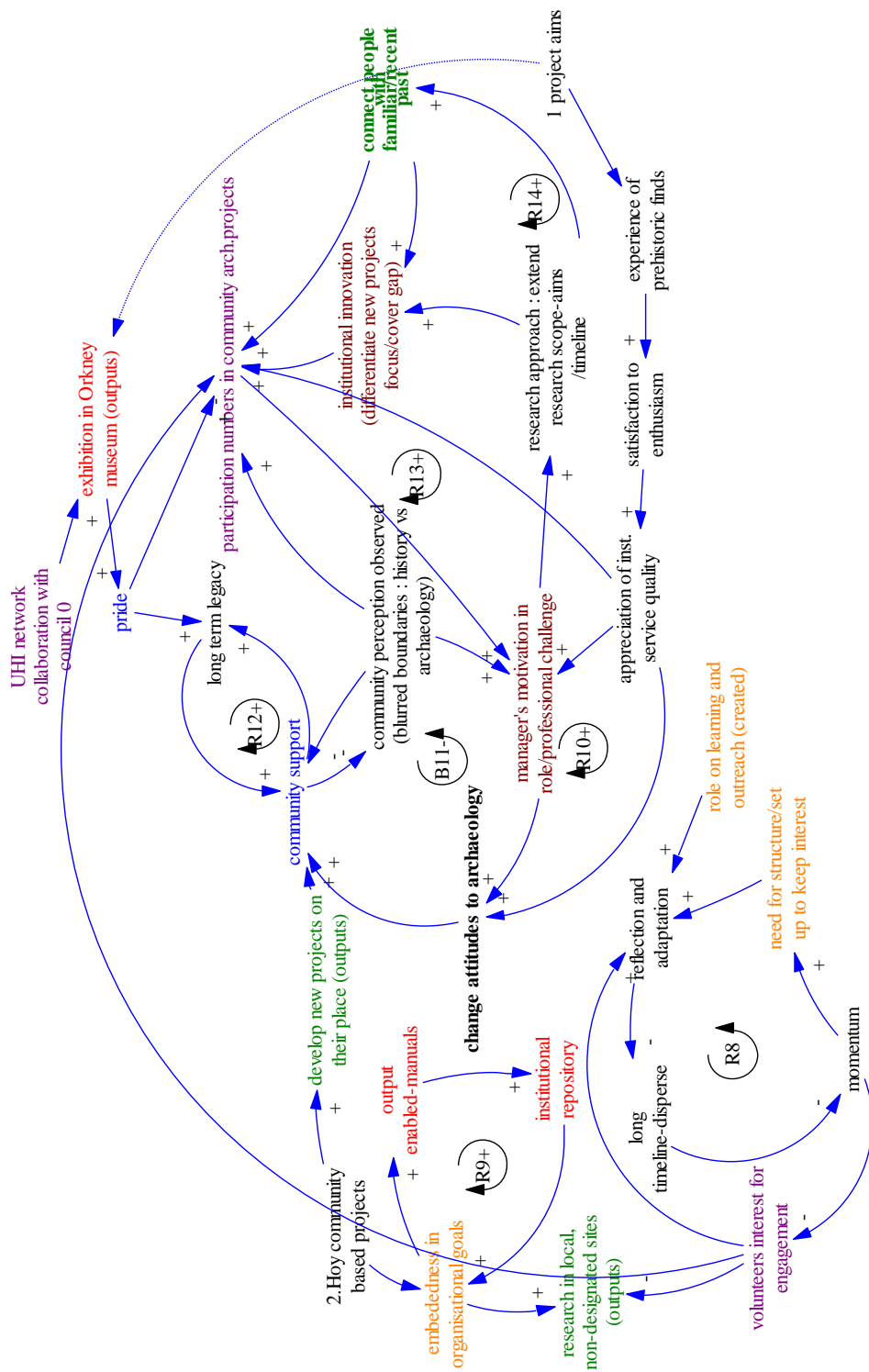


Figure 61 M1-3 Managers explaining how community-based projects allow them to support long-term links with communities: by slowly changing attitudes to archaeology and understanding community's distant perceptions of heritage (B11). They achieve that thanks to holding a reflective and adaptive approach to offering quality service to the public (R8, R13)

Linking with the role of managers, their agency and the institutional structure, mission and expectations within which they operate, was considered to be the level of embeddedness of

participatory projects in their current work. (see fig.61 and fig.67 later). For example M1 related the manager's effort to keep momentum for participants and create a structure for projects (R8) with the need to reflect and adapt sequence of activities in volunteering projects. At the same time some community-based projects yielded a set of outputs, like manuals for working with volunteers, that they could use within other institutional operations, like teaching (as is the organization is an higher education and research institution) (loop R9). Despite these managers recognized that to increase satisfaction of participants, appreciation of their service quality and truly embed projects in daily routine, for efficient internal working, they need to create projects 'attached to ongoing excavation projects' and not self-standing. However, this project presents challenges -due to the strict protocols, inherent to the research nature of archaeological excavation-: and the need to adhere to scientific processes in order to protect findings value and authenticity in documentation. This restricts the opportunities in the type of activities volunteers can undertake eg. post-excavation actions or the period they can actually actively contribute and suggests the development of attached training courses, following a meditated structure.

Managers did support however, their commitment to understanding community values, that their ultimate goal is changing attitudes to archaeology and that community-based activities do have impact as they assume community support and the opportunity for people to do something relevant to their place (loopB11). In regards to benefit for their way of working, they referred to community input combined with research approach being beneficial, as it allows them for creating new ways of viewing archaeology itself (extending their research scope to understand relation between past and present through landscape history). Projects about recent past also enable easier connections with community's perceptions (loop 14).

The example of a successful field walking community project (in terms of increased levels of engagement and local response) illustrated an alternative design, where the production of outputs as an exhibition, assisted in greater legacy and increased community satisfaction and support of the project (loop R13, 14). In that case the difference made by the centrality of participation in project aims (designed from the start as a project where community crowdsources material), with a training element for groups residing around the WH sites.

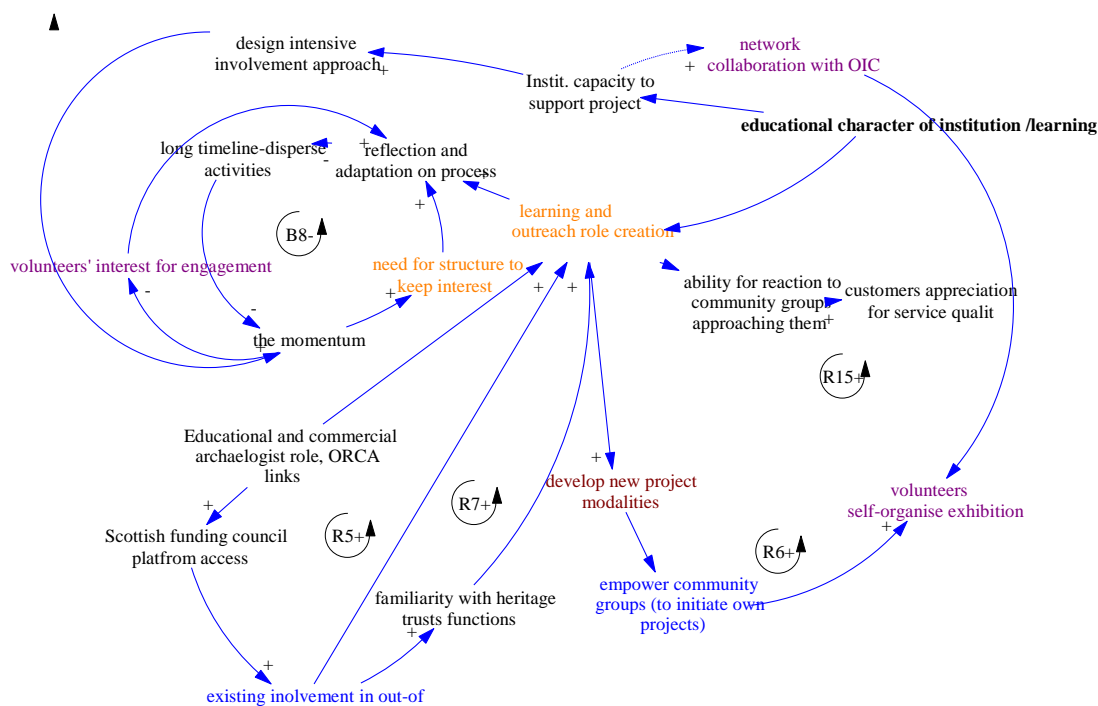


Figure 62 M1-3, Managers explained the limits of their agency to change or innovate (eg. develop new modalities/improve approaches to engagement) as long as their role in their institutions, supports the activities they undertake in terms of service quality (R15, R6)-giving a good example for new role development . They also mentioned the need to reflect and adapt on designing activities of participation to be able to maintain momentum in long term activities (B8)

Some specific data on the impact of planning and delivering community-based projects, show impacts transferred in the managers' internal work environment afterwards and external institutional networks:

A direct output was the establishment of a specific, designated outreach and learning role within the institution with recognized responsibilities around community projects- (fig. 62, M1-3)), aiming at "empowering local groups to create own projects". This constitutes a concrete institutional reaction to the needs of participatory projects and the need to be more reactive to community approaching the professionals within it (loop R6).

The same action, the key educational character attributed to community-based projects with a focus on learning outcomes and the need to devote time to design activities right (especially for long-term projects) to ensure satisfaction of volunteers and keep the momentum (Loop B8). This was difficult to do without a structure designed by the managers, which needed devotion and implies that participatory processes cannot be simply added to daily practice to be effective and reinforce reciprocity according to managers.

The issue of time devoted to brokering relationships and setting up community projects, was not totally reasoned for beforehand while now it is officially recognized for its value for the institution: not only institution is linked with groups, with managers empowering them to create projects (loop R6/R7, using his experience from working with community trusts) This has also reinforced links with local council, in order to guarantee support of further community activities and outputs, like exhibitions (loop R15).

Volunteering within museum settings: Participants M8, M9, M10

Similar to archaeologists, museum managers also endorsed the importance of connectedness with communities for reciprocal links that last in time, but also revealed issues of trust towards council initiatives that relate to its political and governance role but also its priorities and operational structure.

a. Structure of institution and managers mobility as enablers of connections with communities

Interviews with managers like M8, M9, staff of Orkney museums and galleries, explained how offering consultation and advice to multiple smaller council-run museums, (with decentralized responsibilities common in many of OIC employees) allowed them to connect with multiple communities in the mainland and outer isles. This connectedness dictates to a certain extent also the smaller museums' vision and subsequently chosen thematics around traditional way of life in the landscape. This reveals for another time the importance of choosing themes for projects that are relevant to community perceptions of heritage, place and interests (meaning including intangible aspects and unofficial heritage assets usually), as well as the extent to which these are part of existing vision and objectives of institutions.

External factors (like the National Museums of Scotland agenda for example who acts as funding agency) also interfere with the smaller museums vision and 'agenda setting' as well as the effectiveness of certain strategies for participation: by providing funding to realize specific chosen initiatives they encourage the active and performance element of open air activities that increased participation.

b. External researchers as mediators for achieving effective outputs and promoting heritage protection through attitudinal changes

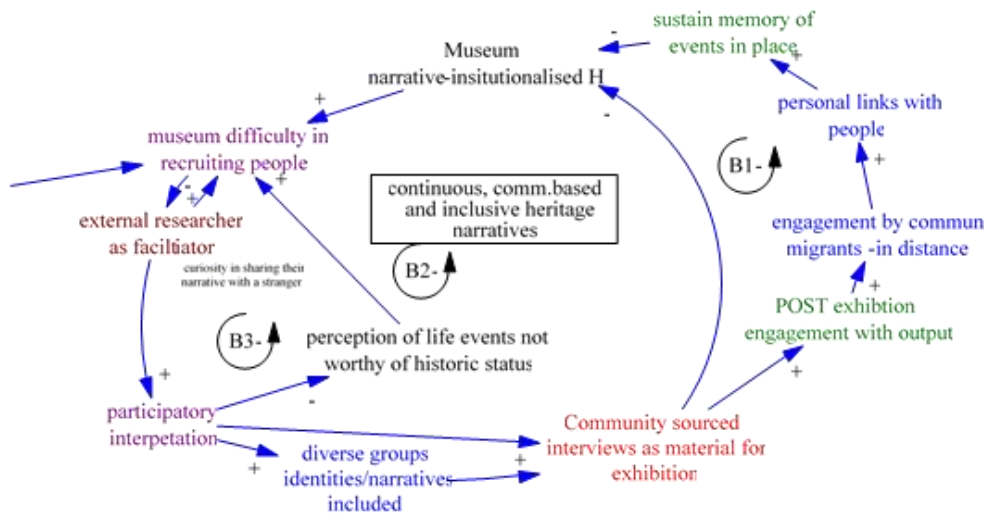


Figure 63 M8 showed how Institutions using researchers as mediators can crowdsource community accounts and gain inclusive heritage narratives

An interesting approach to reaching community's insights and knowledge was through using external (non-belonging to museum institution) researchers as mediators/facilitators (Fig.63, M8). This was viewed as a successful approach for participatory interpretation(loop B3): superseding issues of trust due to disagreement with institutionalized narratives promoted by the local Lyness museum,(loop B2) these external researchers, enabled community-sourced interview narratives for an oral history project, willing to create a 'bottom-up' archive. The project faced difficulty recruiting people and this was balanced by employing an external researcher as facilitator to 'bend' local resistance to sharing life events with officers (fig. 63, M8). The perception of some events as 'non-worthy' of sharing or having any historic value (loop B3) (due to them being a continuous flow of their recent life instead of a focal point in world history), was part of the cause of this local behavior, in contrast to the value assigned to these events by the council and the wider national interest for disentangling wartime history of Orkney.

The initiative proved effective with the museum gaining a more inclusive heritage narrative it needed for the exhibition but also instigated change of local attitudes to value of wartime heritage (loop B2) :by offering the results as display of a participatory interpretation of the events. (output) it increased visitor numbers underlined the significance wartime history as explained by the insiders or living memories, while connecting local communities with people that took part in those history outside the island (eg.local historic societies made new links).

7.3.2 Museum–led collaborations with community associations and the paradox: heritage safeguarded through divided goals

One of the most interesting projects that offered also explanations of what made collaborative projects, led by museums, impactful but also why institutions and communities may eventually differentiate their activities was the case of Lyness museum working with OHBS group of volunteers (represented mostly via interviewees M8, C24-25, see fig.64).

The process of collaboration was fruitful for the museum as the volunteers offered their time and expertise in restoration (coming from Stromness two times a week to work) on the collection items of Lyness centre. Despite the difficulty to manage them without a devoted volunteer manager, they shared their expertise with the curator delegating applied conservation decisions while learning the history of the boats. They also shared skills between volunteers as they were holding different levels of knowledge on boat building and had the opportunity to share the histories with the public offering guided tours, which lead to them gaining more individual skills and satisfaction (fig. 58 loops R8, R7).

Heritage has actually been recreated through their restoration efforts, with them intervening on the material of the boats with minimal professional conservation advice, and involved more people in teaching it. (see figures for M8 and C24 later on).

This encouraged the group to discuss with the institution for a follow-up project to be focused on traditional yoles. However, those were not wartime related though and together with other resource issues (the increased number of volunteers being unsupervised, with minimal budget) led to end of the collaboration with the OHBS volunteers (fig. 64 loops B6). The manager supported that the collaboration with this council-run visitor centre ended inevitably because of the access issues and the fact that the volunteers, were not locally based (loops B6), but a 'community of interest' from a neighboring locality looking for further development through his initiative. In fact the volunteers, went on to discuss more reasons: the opportunity of them to follow their vision, and establish their own museum with traditional boats as explained in detail by C24, 25 in chapter 7.9. The difference in vision is key a reason to stop collaborating with the local museums their intentions as an active charity/community group could not be integrated in the museum's core missions.

The whole experience was certainly learning for the manager: not only about volunteer management needs, should be including resource allocation and time planning but also it be included strategic decision making: eg. not undertaking many initiatives that the institutions cannot support due to restricted resources, but strategically chosen ones.

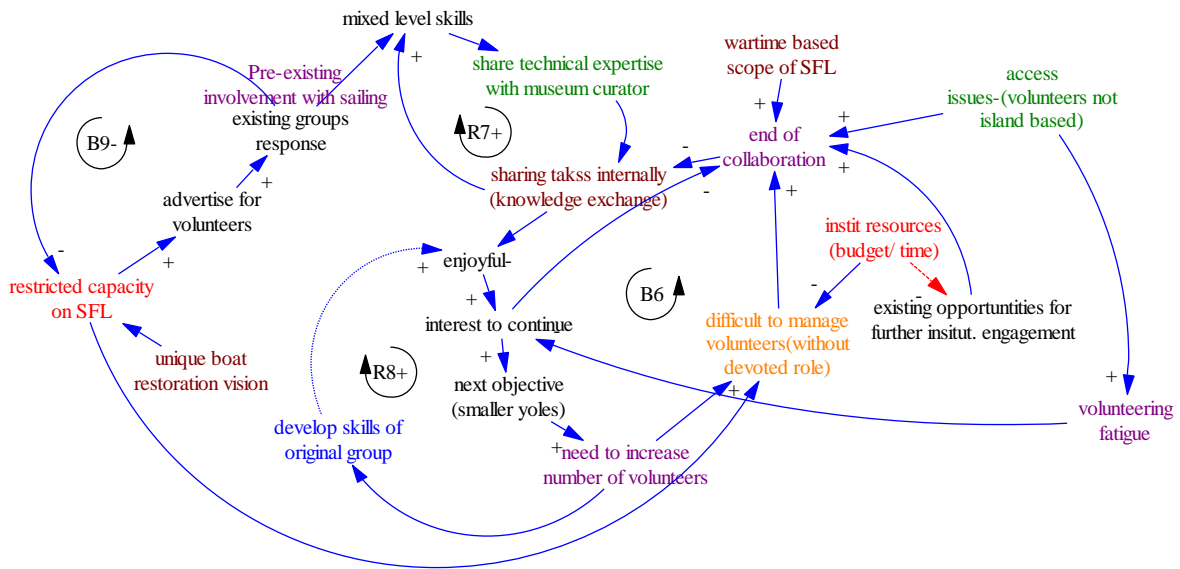


Figure 64 M8 Manager explained how volunteers by OHBS gained individual skills and satisfaction (R8, R7), Despite this, the difference in volunteers' group mission and institutional aims led to end of collaboration with the council-run visitor centre (B6)

7.3.3 Community led projects-the manager as facilitator

A very different approach to the process of participation and co-creation of material with participants was observed through the account of participant M11, employed as an independent heritage officer for the Heritage trust (FoHK) to assist the community group with pursuing their goals (does not belong to a heritage institution, in that sense does not refer upon direct institutional learning or changes as such) (fig. 65).

The process of co-developing the project with the community group described include references to networks developed with various institutions in Orkney (like St Magnus cathedral, Orkney library and archive etc) that assisted the community to cover missing resources (material or knowledge related) and share their work further (loop R4). The interview supported many claims by community members (members of the trust like C28, 29, 27 etc), explaining how ongoing participation led to the establishment of a 'sustainable heritage trust', with ongoing activities and a functional, 'organic way' of collaboration between manager and community trust members to deliver multiple activities within the scheme SFLPS.

The role of the manager M11 in this case, was exemplary in process structuring, but also allowing for consensus-based decision making on basic decisions the Heritage Trust members had to make (eg. the choice of digital archiving vs physical one that lead to a wider digital strategy, loop B5). M11 (see fig. 65) or operationalization of vision and decisions between desired accessibility of collections for remote -placed communities (loop R2), and core projects' character (archiving local

history), which would support further dissemination of outputs and increase community pride in outputs.

Local sense of place and need for differentiation reinforced the interest in this specific focus for the archiving project. In that sense the manager, acting as facilitator enabled links between local heritage- communities to be reinforced, while looking at how to empower people to create material for the interpretation (loop R4). This increased satisfaction in the group and willingness to protect local artefacts that signified relevant heritage values.

Her role was also assisting active participation (distributing roles for all members that are relevant to them, to the common vision and therefore are willing to support, loop R1) and supported management of the group, ensuring micro-level dynamics are managed effectively (See Jamal, 2004 in Arnaboldi and Spiller,2011).

Moreover the open access and sharing, triggered further engagement of locals with it, led to the manager bringing in more out-sourced resources (R4) : Orkney library' assistance could enable the digitization to happen, offering both a network and a successful output for the community and protection of historically valuable resources.

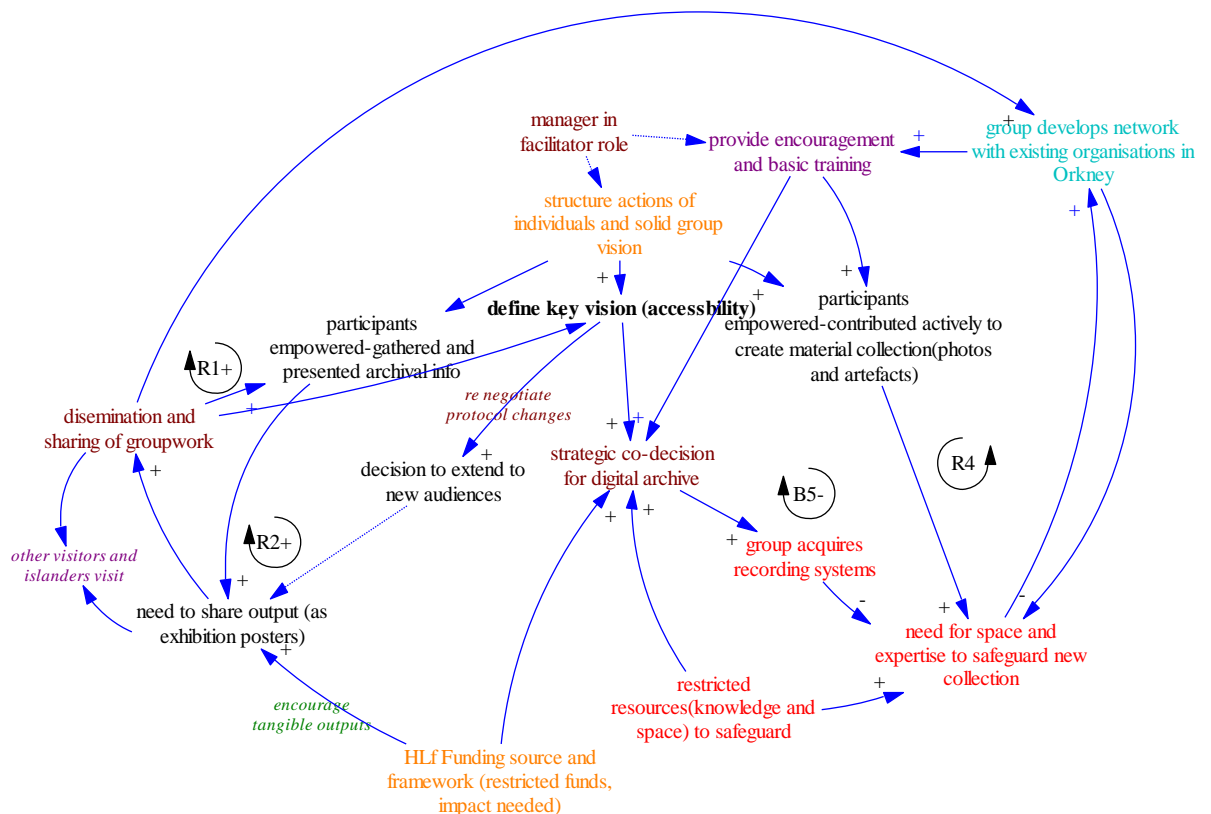


Figure 65 M11 explained the process of co-creation and manager's role as facilitator, assisting in decision making in community-led projects in the reinforcing loops visible (R1, R2) and how strategic co-decisions like the digital strategy balanced resource needs while empowering the group

7.3.4 Repetitive themes in managers perspectives for achieving reciprocal links with communities

Four common themes run through the analysis, regarding managers' practices and institutional level structures for enhancing reciprocal links between social and institutional impacts or institutions and communities. These are identifying behaviours that reinforce reciprocity, like:

- Firstly, managers as brokering informal links with communities or enabling multiple community identities to engage by different typologies of participation, which are defined here as volunteering/training, community-led projects and museum-led collaborative projects (usually with existing groups and charities'/trust's members).

- They also show key limitations to reciprocity or challenges due to current factors that obstruct it: the existence of rigid institutional frameworks.

Some themes identify areas where potential pitfalls may occur like how community balancing directly the missing institutional resources, can restrict the richness of collaboration (or ways that community can contribute more than simple helping hands), while also in understanding communities' sense of place and social needs upfront, requires changes in practices to be actually achieved and integrated in heritage management processes, facilitating finally reciprocal links. These key areas are explained hereby:

1. Role of managers and intermediates as brokering connections: co-defining values and allowing sharing heritage with a community in flux

The role of managers as brokers of relationships with communities was commonly considered key for reciprocity: in the case of community-led projects acted also as intermediary, relating groups with further institutions to locate resources and knowledge needed to realize projects (M11). Many managers working within "institutionalized participation", like volunteering and training projects on the other hand, (like M4, M3, M8) referred extensively to the challenge professionals face to access communities and ensuring trust from the community part in order to develop longer-term links.

Managers hold an exceptionally diplomatic role in approaching communities through their informal social networks, utilizing rural thick social networks. Another way for understanding local audiences and their different perceptions of heritage, identified by some (M10, C3) was the involvement of artists and cultural practitioners in interpretation projects as facilitators (like visualization of archaeology in Ness of Brodgar and artistic interpretations of the site), considering those particularly impactful in terms of audience development (institutional goals)(eg. they instigated a wider interest of Ness accessible to more audience, like incomers and young adults through educational programs and made communication of scientific research easier).

Key aspect in the interaction with communities, is the perceived danger lurking in over-protective behavior by some local groups towards safeguarding their 'own heritage', as opposed to wider perspectives of locally valued heritage assets and intangible heritage (this seems exacerbated by the spatial dispersion, social segregation and need for differentiation in a highly competitive context with livelihoods depending on heritage tourism, see eg.M9, fig.66, loop B6). Such behaviors are acting as obstacles to engagement with projects which may deal with other types of heritage and impeding sharing of information with external communities or others even new residents or incomers, as if heritage can only be enjoyed and experienced by its gatekeepers alone. Managers promoted sharing of outputs but also sharing of information between experts and locals.

This suggested use of institutional resources and networks with organizations for support, leading to institutional benefits: reinforced internal collaboration between museum professionals to realize such projects, synchronizing their activities towards a common goal. Sander and Lowney (2006) identify that social capital and specifically trust is built by working towards a common goal (may be considered an indicator of good connection) with next steps being further relationship building through undertaking common activities. Apart from assisting in development of the relationship between experts and community groups, such projects enabled links between various types of people, like incomers (willing to integrate in community) and locals (see loop R2, fig 66), elderly and younger, that bear different types of knowledge and can enhance social life of groups and social integration in community groups (loop R3, fig.66) and cohesion at parish level as well.

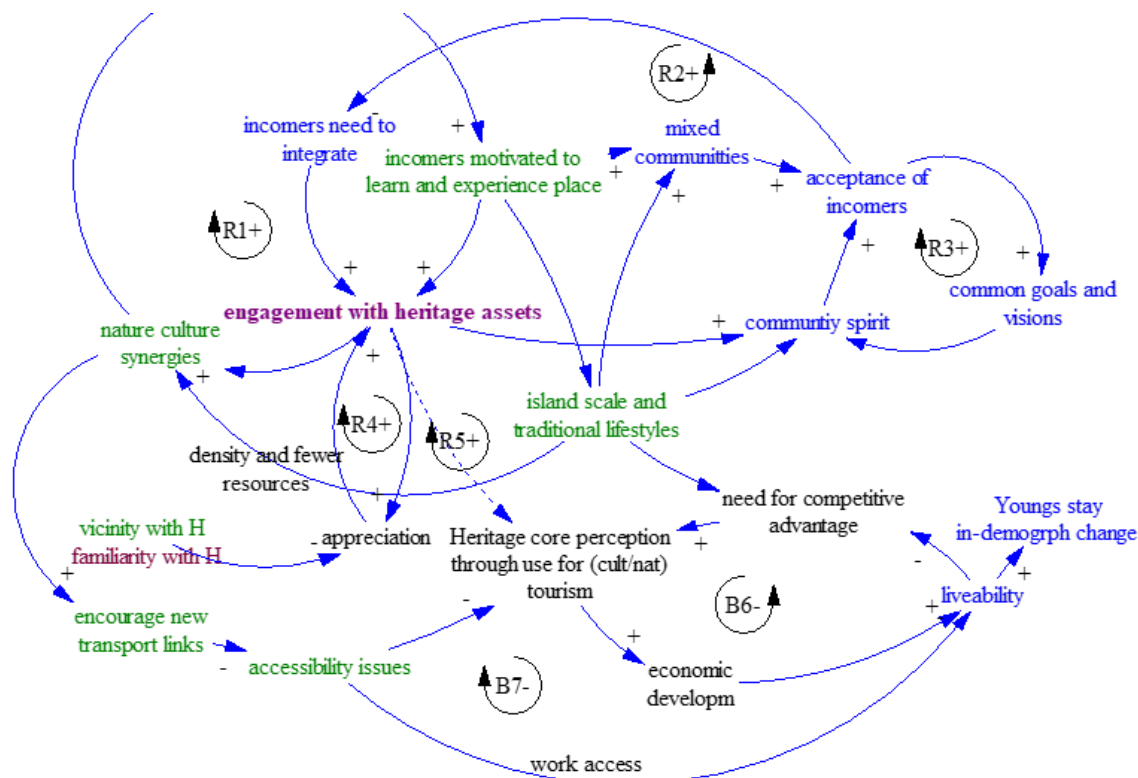


Figure 66 M9 illustrated how heritage aspects of island lifestyle, like heritage use via tourism and promotion of distinct identity to support competiive advantage, connects it with wider communitiies outside of islands (B6), balancing hostile behavior towards non-locals and enhancing integration of incomers (R2, R1)

2. Community inputs as resource boost for small institutions (knowledge and time): trust and dependency development

While community inputs viewed merely as resource balancing by managers see eg. M10, M1-3) (in terms of time and lack of human resources in local institutions), most of them, appreciated the quality input in the local community brought. However, the limited potential for wider social impacts' was also noted eg. museum's' contribution to sustaining community sustainability (M8, M9) was seriously questioned and connected with the ability of heritage to provide economic revenue to locals.

3. Enable multiple community identities to express, sense of place and community needs and capacities in place

This common issue relates to a common identified challenge for reciprocity: managers are dealing with multiple different communities, with variant values for heritage and place in constantly fluctuating social demography.

While issues of social integration are prime in this context, according to M4 achieving such synergies depends on both sides, ie. Existing levels community cohesion plays important role on the level of social impact achieved by heritage projects. In that sense understanding senses of place

(regarding perceptions of heritage pasts) in relation to future scenarios of function and use of heritage sites that would resonate with community needs and perceived values for role of heritage for their lives/their place were vital.

In some extreme cases, the challenges posed by strong community and place identity that lead to over-protectedness towards interpretation of local history were important impediments to impactful projects; community was rather divided and lacked common vision for heritage projects that could link with local development (eg case of Flotta, M4, C5). This had acted as an obstacle to realization of projects led by the scheme managing team, allowing very minimal freedom to institutional power to establish bigger scale projects or initiate partnerships. This makes an interesting comparison with the case of Hoy, which also faces serious risk for loss of community and place, but achieved more positive impacts through the community-led activities developed by local residents themselves, with manager holding only facilitating role.

4. Rigid institutional structures and perceptions of effectiveness and professional norms that restrict change (resistance to change)

A theme represented mostly in managers dealing with archaeology projects (fig. 60-63), and analyzed as well as part of the thematic analysis, was the effect of rigid institutional structures to their ability to allow participation in multiple phases of projects or even enable embeddedness in ongoing projects.

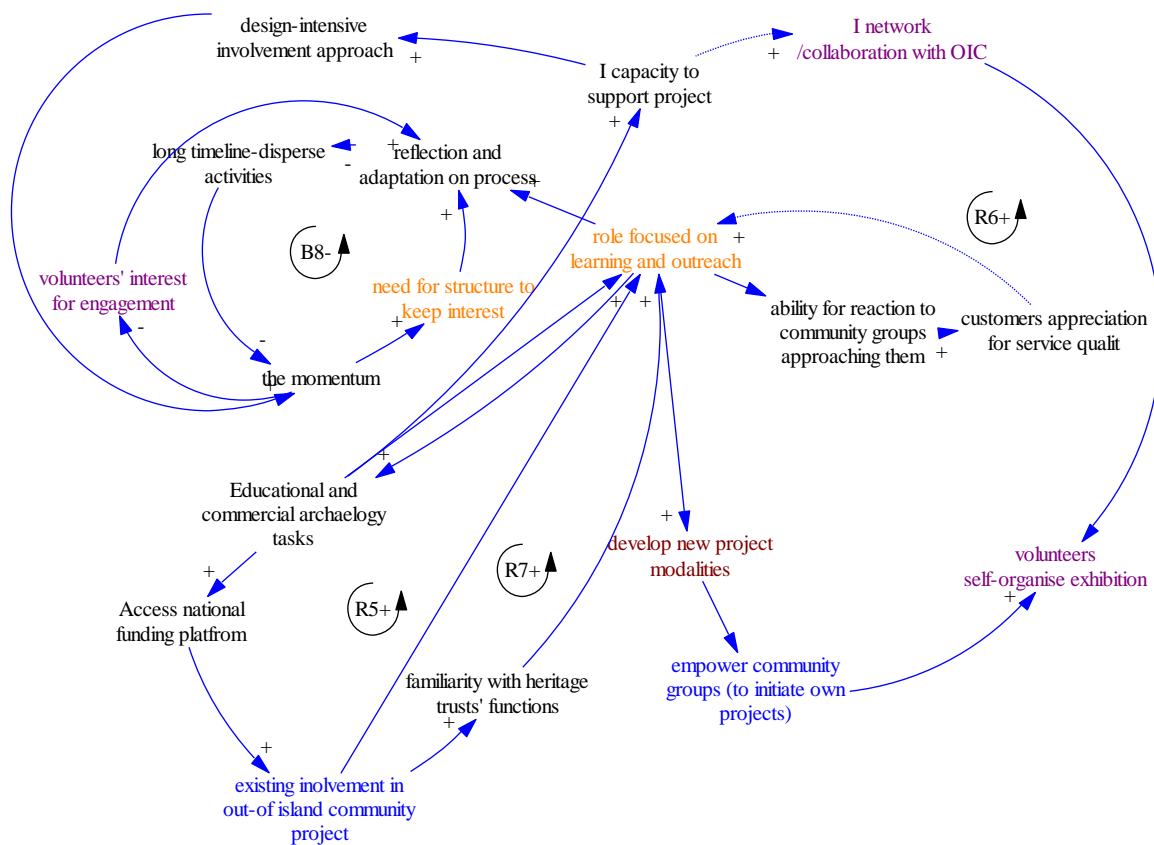


Figure 67 M1-3, Managers explained the limits of their agency to change but the importance of new roles that allowed pursuing wider involvement with community trust and familiarizing with their functions (R5, R7)

Managers referred to dealing with communities as posing a rather professional challenge for them, due to the need to follow 'strict research protocols' especially around excavation related, hands-on activities to ensure artefacts were dealt with care and evidence-based approach to documentation can be followed. This approach and its research-based framework impedes the incorporation of participation in daily activities, while encourages the training model of engagement.

However managers despite this institutional structure in place, strove through their individual practices to 'change public attitudes towards archaeology' (see also transcripts by M6 and M13): some worked outside the rigid institutional structures to engage with community trusts and familiarize with their functions (loop R7, Fig.67), taking advantage of the organizational links with funding regional platforms (loop R5, fig.67).

What is worthy to notice, is that managers tended to consider this an issue related to visions of effectiveness vs efficiency: their priorities to fulfil their role responsibilities-(including expectations form senior staff and appropriateness of devoting time to pursue participatory projects) needed to be embraced at institutional level as part of their role and wider institutional mission to be realistically possible and more effectively pursued in order to allow for wider impact for communities as well.

7.4 Planners perspectives

Planners are categorized here separate than managers, as they held a different role during the process both in terms of tasks, power and timeline of their involvement in the projects.

Most of the participants representing this group belong in fact to the local council staff, and got involved during the preparation phase where the planning of the scheme was on-most of them continued to be involved to the actual projects design phase, defining contents of projects around interpretation and documentation together with local community councils and other consulted parties. They offered valuable insights on participation in consultation phase for planning the projects too, which can be considered a vocal way of expressing community needs and desires in a crucial stage for project themes development. These subsequently increase relevance and perceived social impact of the projects later on.

Some of them did not have heritage/cultural management background but a core planning background (having worked within the marine development planning section of the council that deals with utilizing funds for development in most zones of Orkney like P1, P4, and P5). Two of them were also representing organizations that were part of steering committee of the Scheme like SNH, shaping the planning of projects but did not belong to the council. This is why, their insights were extremely useful to unravel causal links between restrictions to reciprocity related with projects around built heritage sites or landscapes (eg. due to access, ownership issues or other land use issue related to use of public assets, for which the council is the primary managing stakeholder as well²⁷). At the same time planning department was leading the realization of some more top-down projects of interpretations and signalling in various wartime landscapes as part of improving the access to nature/active travel strategy.

²⁷ The statutory responsibilities of OIC in relation to Planning and management of collections can be viewed here: <http://www.orkney.gov.uk/Files/Committees-and-Agendas/Council-Meetings/2016/13-12-2016/I06 App4 Orkneys Cultural Heritage 2017-19.pdf>

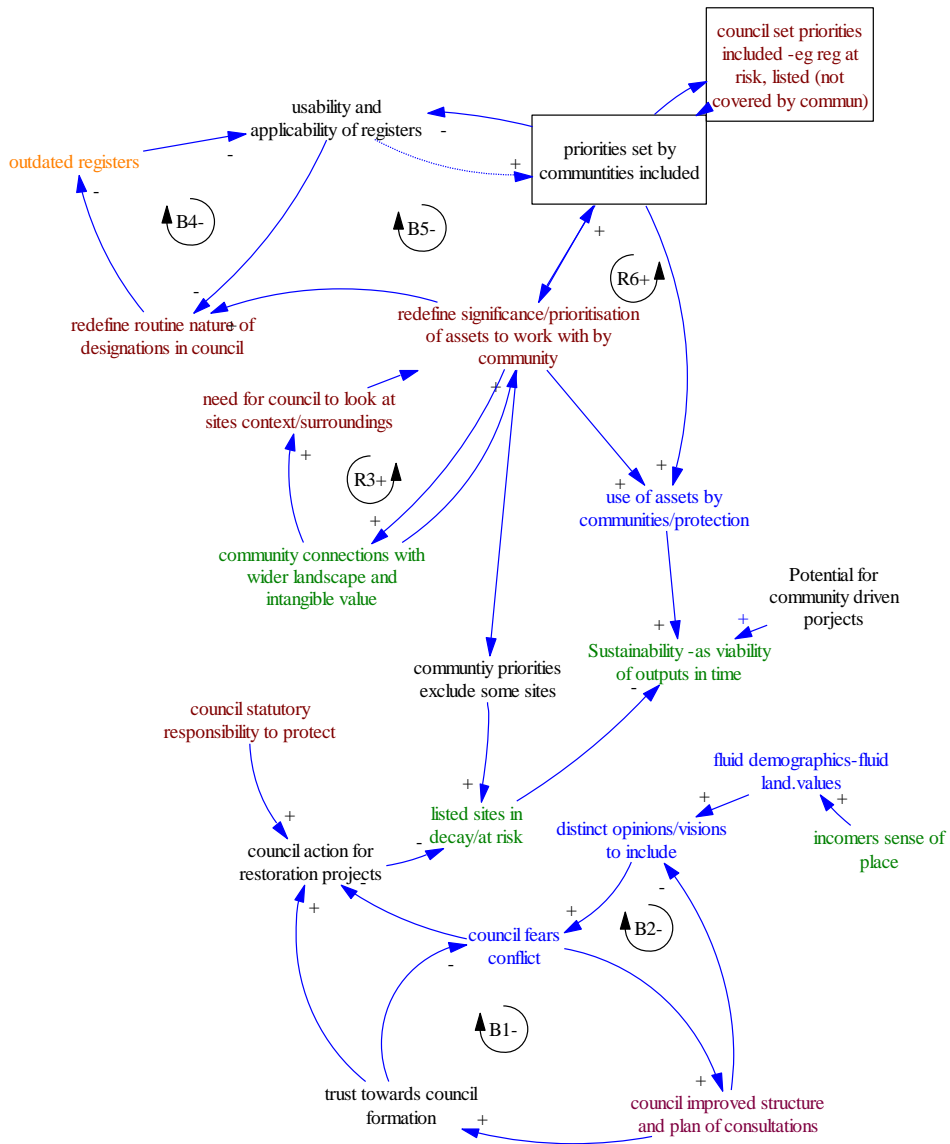


Figure 68 P6 Identified some reciprocal links within heritage planning: communities informing council's use of designations registers and significance records (loop B4). However differentiated priorities between the two sides bring challenges: council is striving to balance community's unwillingness to protect some designated sites at risk and avoid conflict due to distinct opinions on value (loops B1, B2)

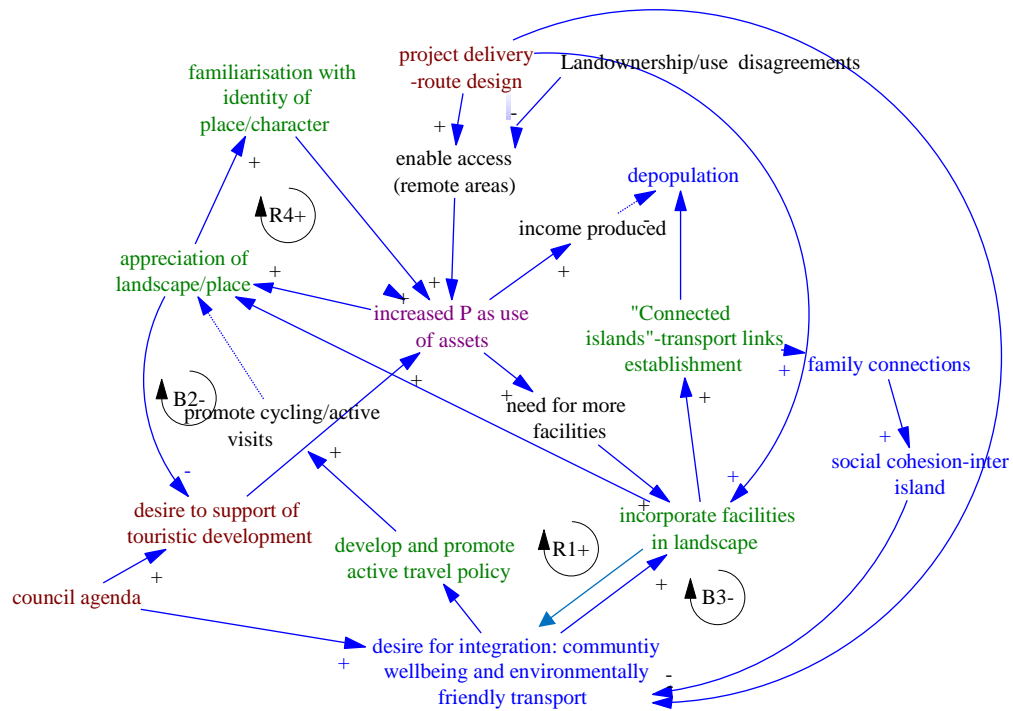


Figure 69 P4, 5 corroborated P7 described how the council agenda and perceived function of heritage assets - as facilities in landscape -are linked with expected impacts on policy around community wellbeing (via use and access to nature) and social cohesion

In that sense the projects developed (like paths mapping and opening, connecting sites), directly assisted in realizing institutional mission and goals, while supporting local wellbeing through natural conservation learning activities linked with remote, outdoor sites. Interviewees P4, 5 corroborated P3, supported that this aspect had emerged through community consultation and translated as well to relevant place-making policy by the local Council ("active travel" initiatives, referred also by planners P2,P4,5 figure 68 loop R1). This way the scheme design according to the planning officer P7, provided for aspects of community wellbeing and specifically physical/mental health through encouraging active engagement with nature, while also supported improved physical access to heritage (fig.69, loop R4) (it is also considered to enable long-term diversification of heritage tourism at the spatial level and wider links between communities of place, that can increase distribution of social/economic benefits spatially, loop B3)- a fact also endorsed by participants interviewed. In that sense the council acts reactively to consultation results and provides relevant strategic directions. However, while individual benefits can be harnessed from this approach, and expected increase in appreciation of landscape is reasonable (fig. 68, loop B2)there is limited consideration of more social needs of community life (social isolation) , showing there may be missed opportunity for the council to reach the full potential of the strategic directive, by including community-based projects in it.

Moreover, during implementation phase, the potential to allow access to heritage was admittedly restricted due to land ownership issues (access to private land obstructed by local owners due to health and safety liability etc., legal land-ownership by certain stakeholders)²⁸, thus reducing the spatial impacts and ability of use by communities and by continuation reciprocity.

7.4.2 Repetitive themes in planners' perspectives regarding reciprocal links with communities

There are few key themes that repetitively appeared in the interviews by most of the planners and connected or referred as well as to discussion with managers and participants regarding reciprocal links with communities. These include (i) merging nature-culture in thematic planning of projects to increase community connections with heritage, (ii) Sharing responsibilities between local council and heritage trusts: develop community empowerment and balance distrust and (iii) Institutional visions of sustainability and wellbeing as well as institutional structures that restrict reciprocity. The work of Innes and Booher (1999) helps to view how these different visions (institutional and multiple communal ones) can be added to each other and form a joint 'bricolage' when discussed around a process that enables exchanges in visions, shaping planning.

While the first theme effectively assisted reciprocity and community response, the other two show areas where council's practices could be improved to enable long term community benefits, along with heritage protection through efficient institution/community partnerships for collaborative heritage governance.

1. Participation in multiple typologies, merging natural and cultural heritage and heterogeneity in stakeholders involved

Interviewees P7²⁹ together with P6, P1 shed light on the role of community participation in planning by delineating the process of defining and refining themes and projects. At the same time the funder (HLF), posed certain focus on community engagement element and less interest in material conservation outputs, balancing council's willingness to focus on restoration projects or single site approach. (loop B8 and R7, fig. 70). Consultation at a first phase assisted in refining projects, making clear for the planners where community interests lied within the proposed

²⁸ SNH, based on designation statutes does not own land of its own, in contrast to RSPB for example (P7).

²⁹ P7 interviewee represented Scottish Natural heritage (SNH), a key organization for setting up the scheme and one of the main members of the Scheme's steering group, enabled via annual stakeholder 's meetings (between other forms of interaction).

thematic areas and landscape(loop R8, R9, fig.70) : starting by a set of pre-existing projects selected by the steering group, with a focus on training (education and engagement as supported by the funders' ideal as well) they went on to provide a thematic division of projects that reflected both the focus on natural heritage and landscape but also National and international narratives around Wartime Heritage (landscapes of Peace, of War etc). The 'merging' was realized thanks to wartime sites offering links between the two (outdoor activities and exploration of paths connecting natural heritage sites) finally widening opportunities for engagement with heritage (loop R9, fig. 70), enabling further recognition of the value of the wartime sites by the public.

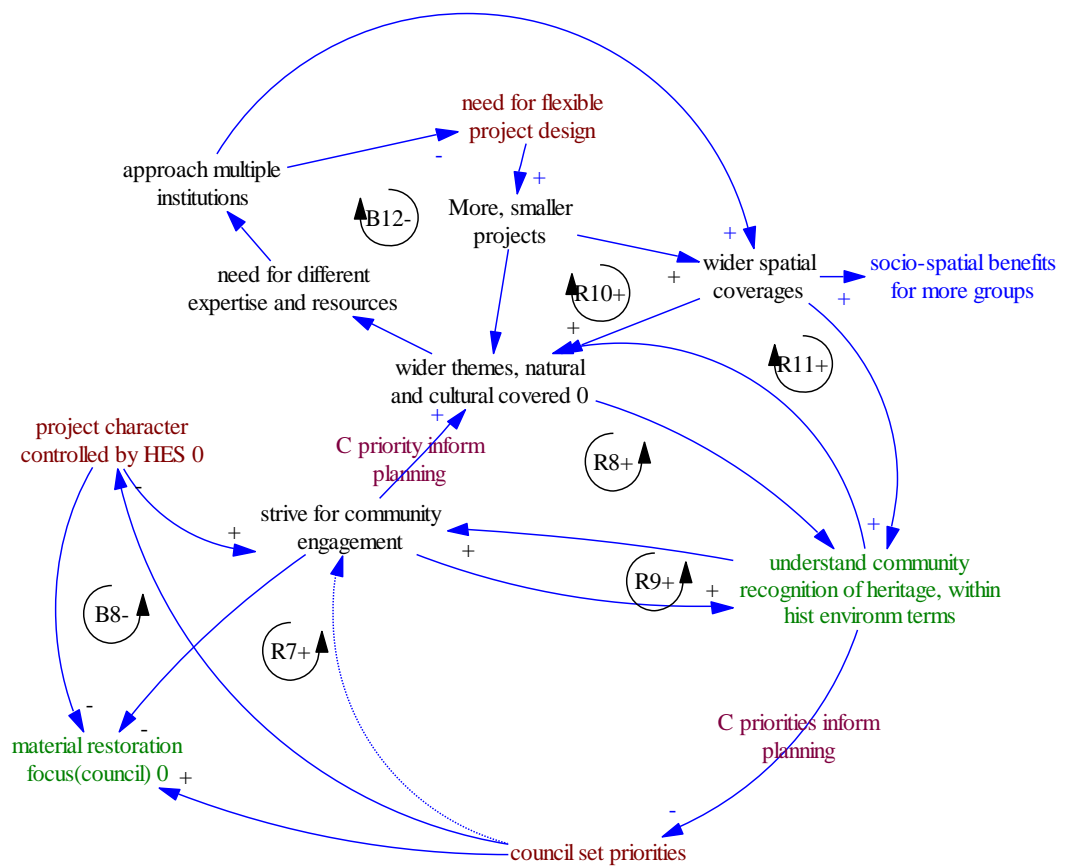


Figure 70 P7 together with P1, P6 supported the contribution of multiple institutions collaboration in shaping flexible, variant projects that covered both nature and culture themes an enabled wider socio-spatial benefits for communities (loop R11)

The division of projects in sub-areas by planners, allowed them to tackle the issue of physical/spatial distribution of benefits in a geographical area (showing some sensitivity towards recipients of benefits, see fig. 70, loop R10, R11 and fig.69 by P4, 5). Project delivery included both council-led projects (like signposting and paths creation) and museum led initiatives that worked with community groups for interpretation of landscape history and allow heritage values to emerge.

While authors have criticised the potential of a landscape-vision on its own to 'ensure a more sophisticated approach to critical land use issues' in relation to sustainability, (Avrami 2012; Mason, 2009; Avrami, 2012 pp. 249-50), we can see that careful operationalization of such a vision-combined with knowledge of land use issues -through consultations can indeed lead to beneficial outcomes for both variant communities (access, knowledge and appreciation of different aspects of heritage) and planning authorities (sustain spatial infrastructure, increase tourism potential objectives). Another benefit for the council was the network of institutions involved assisting to efficient delivery: the heterogeneous interests and objectives of the institutions involved had a beneficial effect in setting up projects with wider objectives that seemingly increased the impact of the scheme as a whole (fig. 70, loop B12, R10). Edwards et al (2000) underline the key role of 'heterogeneity' within collaborations (consisting of diversity of governance structures, including focuses, scales of operation, duration and histories, patterns of sector representation between others) for effective collaborative projects in the field of cultural tourism management, supporting as well its usefulness in sustaining long-term collaborations between stakeholders.

2. Sharing responsibilities between local council and heritage trusts: empowerment but distrust?

The council officer P6 (fig. 68) described a continuous search for sharing responsibilities between council and community groups, where the council strives for wider coverage of sites less significance to public, but legally protected (eg. registers at risk, usually privately owned). This suggests a division of remits and priorities (fig.68 earlier, loops R3, R3, B4, B5) that relates to the bigger issue of sustainability of heritage, which is council's utmost concern: in contrast to community owned assets that gather communities' interest due to the social history connections they bring, other public sites are forgotten or neglected. Council strives for achieving full protection of both struggling for resources to deal with all. In that sense, changing community's attributed significance: by supporting projects for physical restoration that make them sites accessible and visible again (eg. wartime) they can balance the lack of attributed value.

On the other hand, the planner critically reflected on the lack of usability of registers that direct council's priorities (statutory requirements to protect them, loop b4) due to communities priorities: he did support those significance due to landscape history of surroundings (fig.68, loop B5) by communities were challenging but informing council's use of registers or even contested their current priorities, to consider broader contribution of some assets to local potential for development, thanks to intangible (affectionate, symbolic or historic memory) connections (fig.68, loop R3 vs a vis B5).

Partnerships, on the other hand, with local charities and community groups, were reportedly developed by the council through reaching out to development trusts that hold financial stability and assisted in smooth delivery, or what was described by planners as "functioning" or efficient

projects, that would ensure greater confidence towards the funder in terms of reaching the milestones and outcomes projected. While dissatisfied community members may object these practices and express distrust to council strategies (emphasis on efficiency and economic independency required, fig.71, Loop R16) certain heritage trusts on the other hand (in contrast to local Development Trusts), seem to try to be part of these exchanges. This was visible in cases where informal groups were aiming for institutionalization (eg. obtaining museum status or accessing funds by obtaining formalized -charity status) that would allow them access to funding resources. This relates with the local planning authority's wider visions on efficiency but also on strategic priorities on how to operationalize capacity building; which we will discuss below.

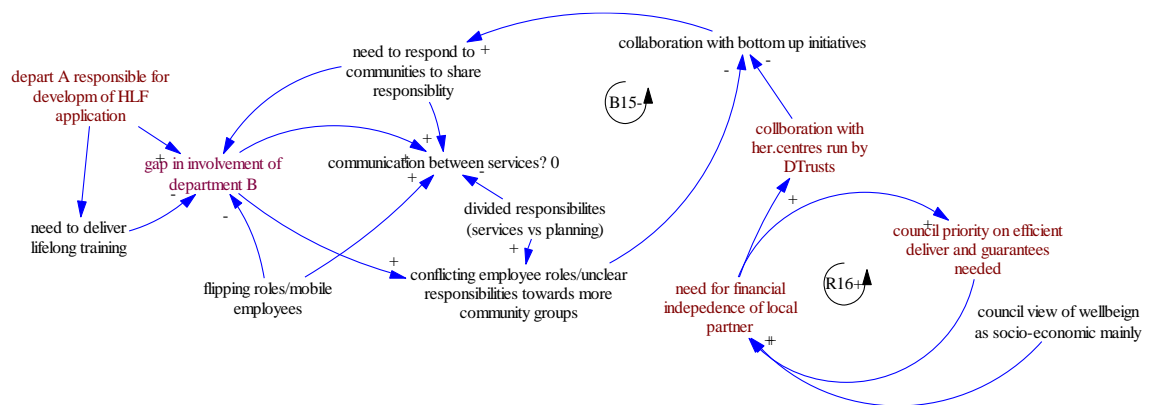


Figure 71 P6, P1 described through using common variables the linkage between community /council Collaboration and financial independence (R16), as reducing social impact and restricting the chosen bottom up community groups eligible (B15). A reflection on the negative impact on trust to governing institutions that partnerships with development trusts have on wider engagement with community groups

3. Institutional visions of sustainability and wellbeing and institutional structures that restrict reciprocity

Looking at planners' wider perceptions of role of heritage for development and wellbeing as mirrored in strategic decisions and operational activities of planners, illuminated various issues that hold council-communities partnerships 'a step back': the financial independence criterion for local partners for delivery of projects, suggesting as utmost priority the economic sustainability (vs grounded needs of certain communities to reach empowerment to act). Moreover, wellbeing presented by many planners like P4,5,2 as achieved through around access to nature and connectivity , but only randomly referring to improved mental health and sociability issues (for example as admitted also by managers) seem to restrict the potential for reciprocity in the form of trust from community groups, responsiveness to issues and mutual understanding of needs.

The internal division of responsibilities within the council visible in fig. 71 (institutional structure) also seems to reinforce this (loops B13, B14) due to disrupted communication between departments but also their clarity in communication with the community groups expecting support. With services unit, covering learning and education activities development, while planning unit focusing mostly on infrastructure development: the social wellbeing aspect (the part that deals with inclusion of communities for example) is operationalized apparently almost solely via third sector initiatives. However various other council departments develop health-related initiatives, without engaging the ones responsible for culture and heritage.

Communication with local groups was enhanced (at least balanced) thanks to mobility of officers and the need to actively include more services officers in delivery of projects (eg. Delivery of training activities) (see fig. 714, loops B13, B14). This suggests that while the organization holds some reflective power (eg. planners understood all communities are have different needs for capacity building, and that flexibility and responsiveness is necessary), community groups, still required more clarity regarding the limits of responsibilities of the body to access them properly and achieve effective collaboration (fig. 714, loop B15). It is only through deliberation and exchange that mutual learning can be achieved

While planners reflected on the impacts of this practices (ie. potentially alienate certain groups with less capacity, but willing to get involved and develop) due to need for financial independence of community groups to deliver projects, they were not willing to change them as this acted as guarantee for success but also contributes to sustainability of communities (viewed through economic development in their eyes), (Loop R16).

Developing more flexible approaches are necessary for change here, (eg. adopt more case by case approach in local collaborations with varying capacity groups, and look for further cross-sectoral project themes).

7.5 Volunteers and institutionally led participation

In this section the accounts of volunteers, who took part in institutionally-led projects are presented and repetitive causal links between social and institutional impacts located in those are identified. These accounts shed light on more areas of perceived social and spatial impacts (including increased sense of place) but also participants' behaviour towards heritage as a result of their experience and as a result of use of outcomes of the projects. They also allow for corroboration of areas of institutional impact mentioned by managers: they agreed upon the significant contribution of volunteers to institutional resources, as most of them directly offered working hours towards competing documentation/interpretation projects led by institutions. However, volunteers showed that the potential for reciprocity as a result of this modality, remains rather 'locked with' individual volunteers (who may engage again with institutions under

professional roles) and is not spread in wider groups/community level, showing evidence for impact for few social groups only. Finally, some volunteers suggested that the lack of ownership of projects also restrict the community members' willingness to reciprocate by engaging in further protection of outputs.

7.5.1 Views of reciprocity and synergy and key limitations to them

An ambivalent social benefit: volunteering benefits at individual level, skills development for the few?

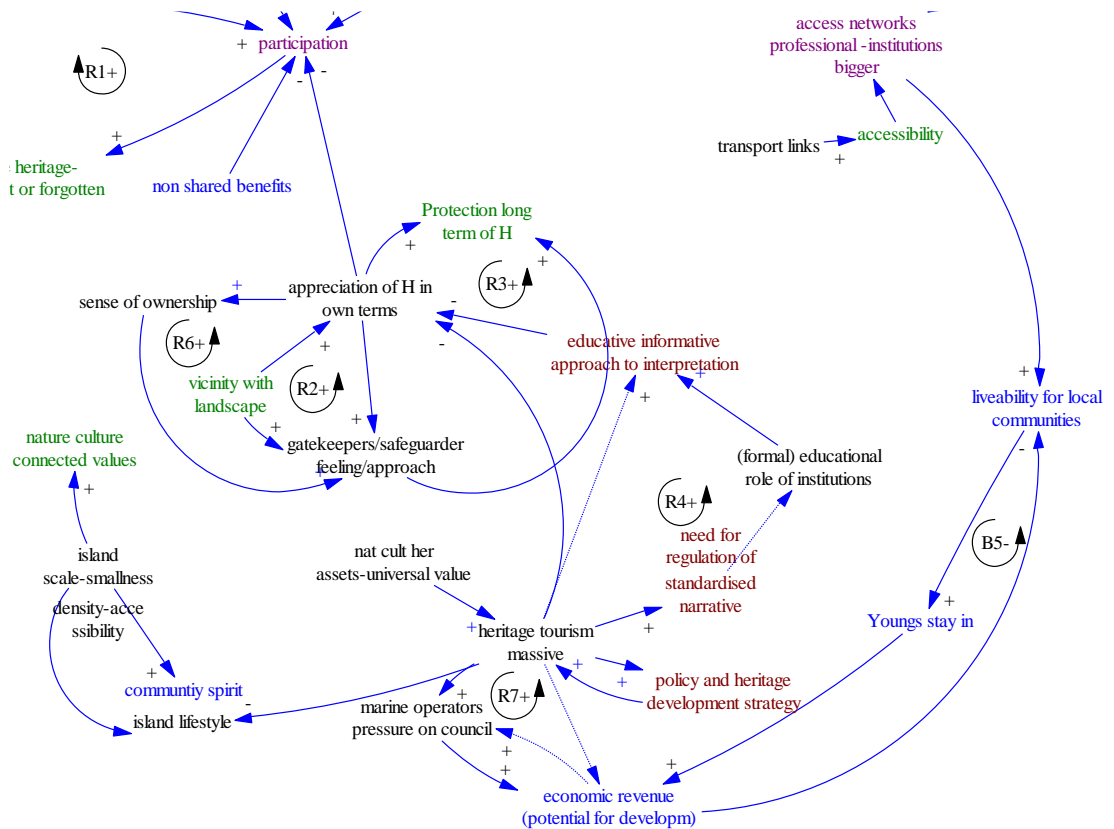


Figure 72 Participants C28-29 showed how institutionally -led participation with a focus on education, (R4) restricts personalized appreciation in 'their own terms that could support a gatekeepers' approach. Physical access was also considered restricted, while the economic revenue was not always transferred to local communities but stayed with big business operators (R7)

C28 and C29³⁰ offered key insights for the process of volunteering, as institutionalized participation and its restricted ability to produce reciprocal social impacts, mostly due to the restricted potential

³⁰ Participants C28 and C29 had the same background, working currently as practicing artists and one in collaboration with the Pier arts and another independently, while they were both linked with the institution since years ago being parts of the Pier arts group, when studying in UHI college. Both had previous volunteering experience: one with disadvantaged group through befriending

for linking different individuals (a rather uniformity in audiences) and a specific focus on individual's specific skill development (rather than group focus-wider capacity building). C28, 29 analysed their experience in a heritage interpretation project of a wartime heritage archive, [collaboratively run by a cultural centre in mainland]. (fig.72)

Key observations were drawn not only through this project but -for C28- through previous involvement in archaeology related projects under their professional identity. Neither of the two identified direct wellbeing impacts in terms of improving way of life, in terms of socialisation, feelings and relationships, however they recognised key links with opportunities for accessing employment in the sector.. They endorsed the greater potential of heritage role in Orkney for supporting community livelihoods, in terms of generating new avenues for income and jobs, but negated the effectiveness of an education-focused approach to interpretation and underlined the challenges by a tourism-based consumption of heritage, (implying it is supported by current organisational strategies) (fig. 72, loop R4 and R7 respectively).

More interviewees provided a depiction of heritage projects as providing roles for creative, skilled incomers to stay and professionally 'integrate' in the heritage sector (participants C10, C28, 29 claims are confirmed by C1) corroborating managers' perspectives on contribution being mainly around skills development (see M1-3, M6 etc.-see also Table 18).

These accounts also confirm, a focus on learning objectives as central when designing participation-[and in most cases supported by the institutional structure and mission of institutions focusing on research and education: designing (vocational and more) 'training activities', that can lead to professional accreditations is key pathway followed to structure and deliver participation with mainly educational objectives.

C28, C29 supported that economic benefits like the revenue from touristic commodification is not always transferred to local communities living around key heritage sites, but remains locked with private operators and providers , leaving local residents in those specific locations wondering about how shared benefits are defined (see loop B5 vi a vis loop R7, fig. 72).

Moreover both interviewees supported the need for 'formats of participation' with a certain flexibility, to enable appreciation of heritage by individuals 'in their own terms' instead of predefined institutional narratives and explanations imposed to various audiences (locals and tourists together³¹) as part of teaching heritage', considering them inefficient in terms of creating

activities and one within heritage related projects with children and schools (archeological interpretation).

³¹ parts of WH HONO Neolithic sites managed mainly by HES and a steering group with many stakeholders- Skara Brae or Maeshowe were referred by the interviewees

meaningful or long term engagement for locals. (loop R3 and R4). They connected the personal connections with heritage, with developing protective behaviour towards heritage, sense of ownership - reinforced due to physical vicinity with projects- and willingness to safeguard heritage assets as rightful gatekeepers (R2 and R6). In a sense their project offered them the opportunity for personal interpretation: through a film, the creative aspect and freedom to conceive histories of the landscape 'in their own terms was achieved.

Cultural industries are pictured as having a key role (similar to some managers' view on collaborating with creatives that allowed for wider appreciation of interdisciplinary perspectives) , this way combining forces with heritage institutions towards delivering successful and engaging heritage projects, where community members can easily connect and engage in interpretation activities and produce more nuanced heritage narratives for variant audiences. Authors like Loulanski considered the diversity of heritage values offering a "common context for different disciplines" (Loulanski 2007, p.48), suggesting a potential for multi-variate perspectives to co-exist.

The same participants (C28, 29), however, questioned the inclusivity and opportunities to access to such heritage projects: their involvement in the project occurred thanks to their pre-existing networks with the cultural center and educational background. They thus identified how processes of recruitment may favour certain groups already engaged with heritage or cultural/educational activities under their professional identity, an issue occurring in the accounts of more participants.

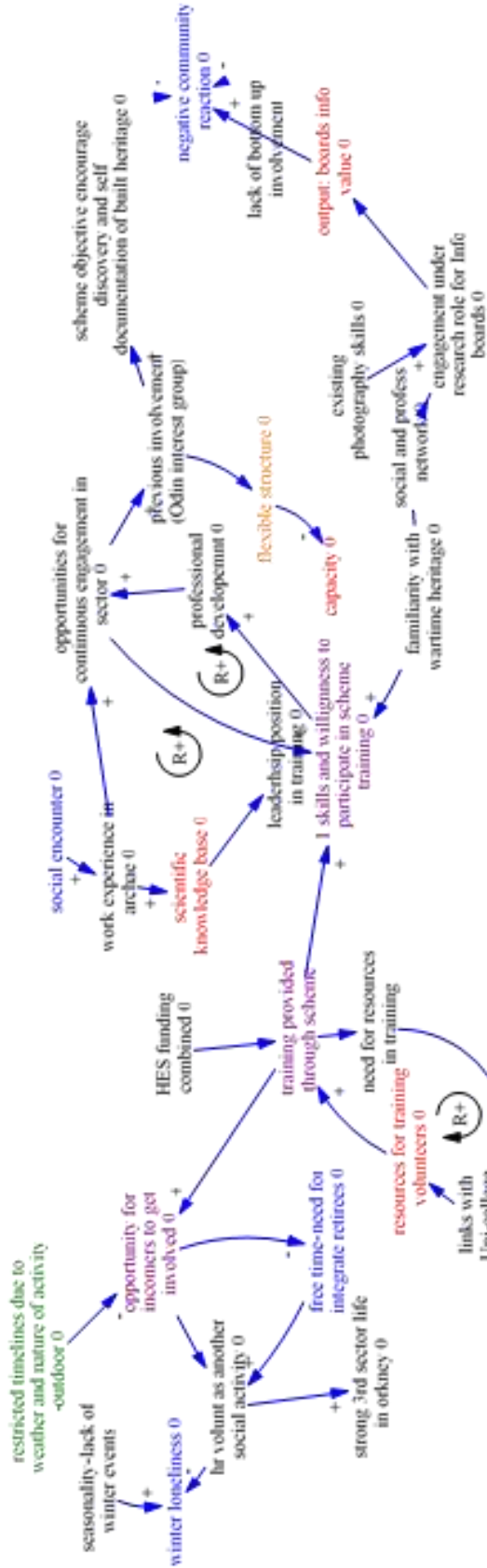


Figure 73 Participant C1, showed how skilled incomers are finding opportunities to get involved and enter professional heritage roles

C1 (fig.73) an incomer actively chasing work opportunities through social links, confirmed this: utilizing the ‘thick’ rural community links and personal links developed during his training within the Scheme (loop R1) for a career advancement and collaboration with same institutions later. In such cases, volunteers seem to actually involve with heritage initially under unpaid roles but eventually end up to get engaged in professional (ie. Remunerated) roles (ie. as researcher and data collector, eg. realizing interviews about wartime history). Their participatory experience, and familiarity with specific heritage assets supports them to work further within this area/theme, as they can offer scientific support that can keep them in continuous engagement with the sector (loop R2) and develop professionally (loop P3), utilizing their pre-existing skills.

Apart from skills development, these roles offered them connections with local associations and assist integration in some aspects (in C1 case like the ex-military Scottish legend, meeting survivors and experiencing how this research enabled them to their memory of an once living site). In that sense, participation seems to have had an impact for reciprocal behaviors at individual level (future engagement in heritage) but its potential remains locked with the individual and ultimately dependent on their pre-existing interest, capacities to act as well as existing social capital³².

What is important to notice is that recruitment initially is based on those skills, necessary especially for documentation projects: we will refer further to the potentially ‘exclusive’ or exclusion opportunities (see Sandell, 1998, 2002 or even Gard’ner, 2004) that heritage may offer to certain groups for changing their social status or finding employment in the discussion chapter relating these findings with the contrasting ones from community-led projects.

Table 18 List of other causal loops identified in diagrams of volunteering participants, loop themes named and presence of reciprocity or synergy identified

Volunteers	Relation between key themes mentioned by others	Main causal loops identified	Reciprocity or synergy between impacts
C1	Theme 10-Loop 4 Theme 4 Loop3	See Figure 73 Participant C1, showed how skilled incomers are finding opportunities to get involved and enter professional heritage roles	Loop 4- reciprocity
C2	Themes 3 and 2-loop 6 resource-structure link	Reinforcing causal loop 5 C2 : Cultural context reinforcing community sustainability Balancing causal loop 6 ? C2: Sustaining structure as an answer to restricted institutional capacity	
C3-C4	Theme 8-Heritage as survival strategy - loop7 Theme 3- Loop8	Causal loop 7 C3-4: A high competitive advantage model for institutions to developing interpretation strategy to empower visitors Causal loop 8 C3-4: Institutional networks to counter act for lack of internal resources-a social institution (add to partnership model with other institution not necessarily civil society)	

³² As previous volunteers, this participants was also actively involved beforehand in existing interest groups (eg. Odin) and such links evolved once C1 delivered professional / commissioned documentation projects (via ORCA, the UHI’ s commercial archaeology partner).

C5	Theme 1 and 6b-loop9 Theme 4 Loop10-	C5 Causal loop 9 : Distrust effect on sustaining heritage : negative effects of material legacy focus C5 causal loop 10: Community social connections reinforced through heritage activities	
C10	Theme 10	Causal loop 11 The impact of weak social ties (incomers effect) on over-protective behavior and finally to defining a common heritage	
C28-29	Loop2-Theme 2, 3 Loop1- Theme 9 ownership of project for capacity building - sense of responsibility	Causal loop 1,2	Loops 1,2 reciprocity
C24-25	Theme 4 loop12 –see same in C1, C3 Loop13 Theme 2,3 network and capacity	C24-25 : Reinforcing causal loop 12: Impacts of participation on individual level skills development and heritage -related activities C24-25 Reinforcing causal loop 13: Reciprocal benefits -delegation between managers and volunteer on authenticity of heritage objects/participation as social interaction C24-25 Causal loop 13 Balancing resources (lack of professional human resources) through outsourcing and network creation: towards sustaining local community associations	Loops 13 reciprocity

Synergies and linear causal connections between heritage and community benefits: memory connections between generations and places leading to heritage significance recognition

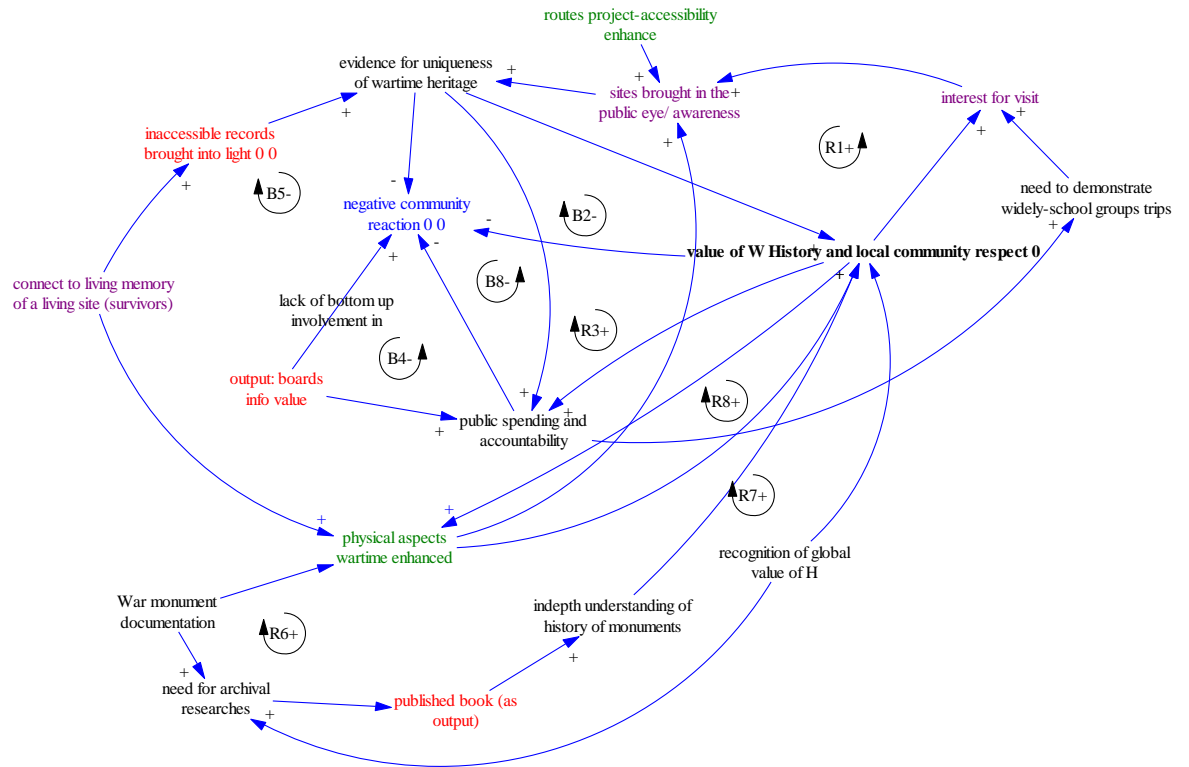


Figure 74 C1 demonstrated a multiple causal connection between changing public attitude (attributing value and significance, instigating appreciation) towards a certain typology, by physical conservation outputs (R6), accessibility (R1) and new community input (B5)

One of the key positive common impacts of few volunteering projects (identified again by C1 (fig 74) through a description of multiple projects around wartime heritage), was aligned with the projects' scope itself : indirect impacts in wider public recognition of such heritage assets and value of wartime heritage was evidenced (sometimes corroborated and demonstrated also via socio-spatial changes as experienced by elderly residents of Orkney). Activities like recording memories of place, enabled a greater appreciation of the world -wide value of such sites, recording the history of a World war and 'brought those sites to the public eye' (see loops R1, R3). With wartime histories being confirmed and narrated by the ones who experienced them, as living memories (fig. 74, loop B5) that were brought to light, offering them the necessary authenticity and validation to be endorsed by the community (loop B2) accompanied by evidence for uniqueness (loop R1) that revived interest to explore them and visit them: it seems that such projects actually were "making heritage" (Smith, 2006 pp.292) .

C1 described how national narratives and directives from funders, ending up in planning many documentation of wartime projects, lead to outputs (like physical conservation and books publications (fig. 74 loop R7, R6, that increased public value attributed to those sites (loop R8). Despite initial negative community reaction due to increased public spending, the outputs balanced for accountability (loop B4) together with the evidence on global or national uniqueness/value (loop R7) provided. Further dissemination of the value was particularly reinforced through connection with local schools, including visits in wartime sites during school time (loop R8) but also connection with external communities related to place due to long forgotten wartime family stories/memories (indicating indirect social impact for those).

The top-down management of most of wartime restoration projects, was considered by some participants (eg.C5) the cause of community's passive role (inactivity and unwillingness to engagement with project outputs) : lack of inclusiveness in process and lack of sense of ownership by local groups. This suggests that reciprocal behavior and protective community attitude are indeed affected by 'top down interventions', which focused much on producing material legacy/outputs rather than at imbuing interest and allowing space for active role of locals (eg. discussing the landscape history and role of new project outputs for local life).

In contrast same participant, admitted positive impacts from the contribution of community in projects relevant to local tangible heritage which focused on reviving, local craftsmanship and allowed for discussing land use issues (eg. techniques for dyking, restoring dry walls that form big part of cultural landscape in the area etc).

It makes a great comparison to look at response to such top down initiatives vis a vis response (and evolution) of community-led projects (eg. like that of Heritage trust in Flotta). Those projects were endorsed by some local groups, and despite existing "loud voices", or existence of local conflicts, those groups persisted in their vision to use heritage assets as points of local interest and parts of local community life.

7.6 Community-led project participants: organically evolving projects and empowerment

7.6.1 Views of reciprocity and synergy in many phases of the process and projects' life cycle: Instigation and management of projects around tangible heritage assets

A number of causal links identified by multiple participants in community-led projects (mostly led by local heritage trusts/ charity members like Hoy/Flotta residents' C6 but also C7, C20, C18-19, interviewed on projects 3, 4 as seen in Ch.4.5), reconfirm the impact of engagement with heritage on improving both socio-spatial aspects of life, with those interdependencies affecting social wellbeing in smaller Orkney islands, through various pathways.

The process described by many of those is not one of simply participating but rather one of instigating, developing a common vision and leading a project through time or an empowerment process: from the conceptualization (develop a vision for a family museum and a reuse of a crofter house to honour family hand personal history) and planning phase and resource acquisition and allocation (applying for funding through the scheme and outsourcing necessary skills and resources) to the realization phase (connecting local businesses and using personal family links to establish a network of partners), leaving a facilitating role to the professional supporting them.

In comparison to volunteers' experiences, these interviewees offered less insights about impacts of direct interactions with managers working within institutions (with M11 being an exemption). They did offer valuable insights for interaction with governing bodies and public institutions:

either to negotiate regulatory rights and access as part of a gatekeeping approach or as a capacity building and empowerment process, which also supports active engagement in many stages of heritage management/planning processes that covered even regulatory aspects, long term resource acquisition and management of sites. In other words, they allowed for capacity building at communal level, outside of the limits of individual wellbeing impacts (like personal development or understanding of heritage scientific value as in volunteering activities): they yielded synergistic benefits that could affect systemic changes more directly (eg. Civic participation in planning decisions and place-making processes).

Following, I will present two core findings from the causal loop analysis from the two projects regarding reciprocity and synergy, not only at individual , but at community level:

- (i) how social and spatial benefits are interlinked affecting this way multiple aspects of community wellbeing and life but also community's sense of place and behavior toward heritage self-initiated protection
- (ii) Indirect links between social and institutional impacts; how community groups developed links and collaborations with official institutions and how they interact with decision making process around development projects.

(i) Reciprocal links: heritage participation leading to physical restoration and sustained protection through community empowerment and community bonding

The key social impacts of the projects 3, 4 can be illustrated as community empowerment benefits and bringing together fellow locals and enable them' to act together (collective capacity). Figure 68 shows relations between social and spatial impacts: some direct, stemming from engagement itself and some of use of outputs, which changed the lives of local people). The links between variables show pathways through which engagement with the heritage affected live abilities on the island of Hoy. We can also see how willingness to safeguard community itself is driving protective behaviors towards reviving heritage of landscapes in those projects.

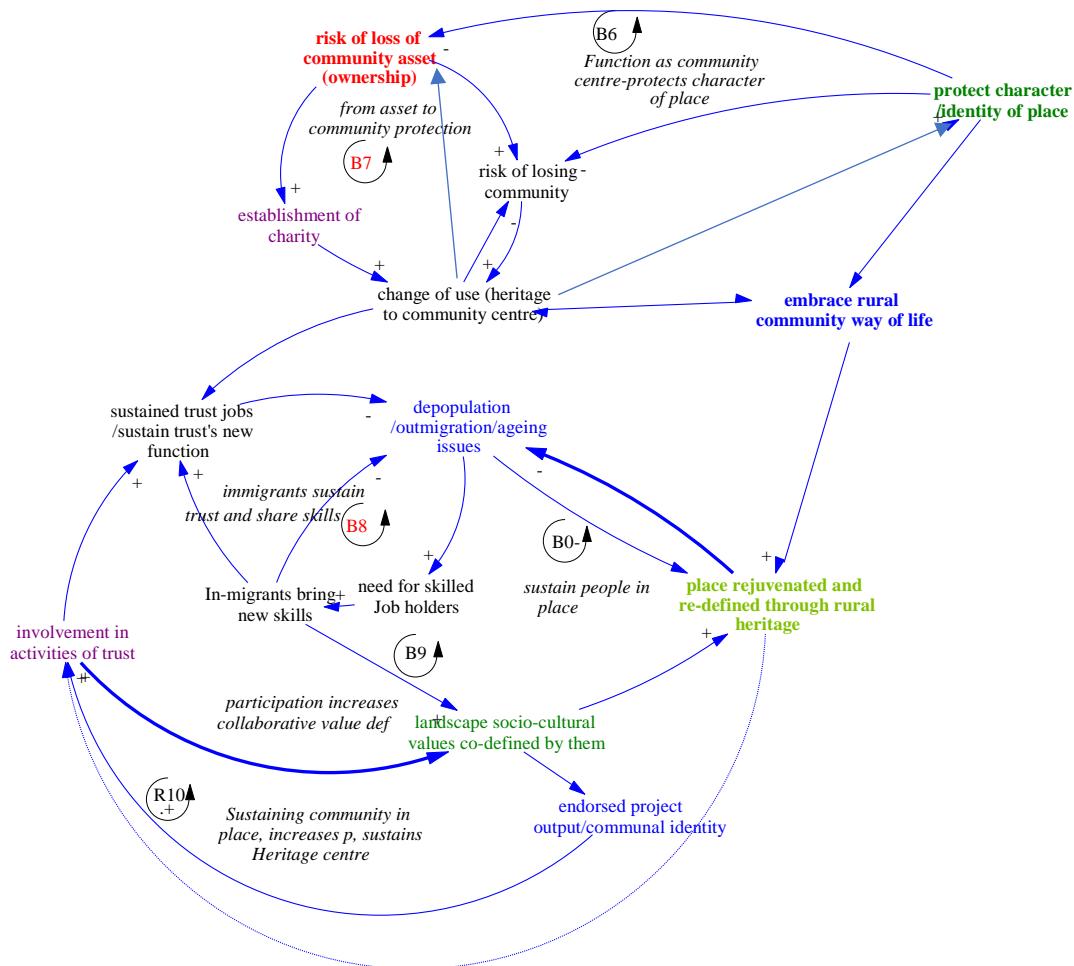


Figure 75 Common variables in loops by C22,23 and C21, C26/ 27: Role of immigrants in supporting the heritage trust (B8) and how integration of non-locals in the group assists in redefining place and socio-cultural values around landscape(B0, R10)

We will describe the process from initiation to outputs and then perceived impacts generation as shown in (fig.75) which depicts a process of placemaking through heritage adopting a co-creative approach:

Initiation process, social impacts and heritage connections: The interviewees suggested important links between the willingness to protect the character of landscape and spread appreciation for life of communities in it and their motivation to start a project with HLF (loops B6, B7): by reviving

forgotten community ideals that were part of local community's identity they could not only save the place but also the community that faces risk of extinction due to depopulation.

Process of delivery or community oral histories and physic archive: The process of creating an action plan and program of activities for the church spaces allowed young locals taking responsibility (transferred from elderly members, therefore enhancing intergenerational links) (see data by C18, C19), and dividing roles to create part time paid jobs in the Hoy Kirk community centre. What is more important they allowed for missing skills to be covered by incomers who could balance for this lack, positioning them within the community structures (loop B8). This way the project enhanced communications between the two age groups and sharing of valuable knowledge. The activities enabled discussions around landscape qualities of the island during the social events realize in the Kirk and allowed also incomers views on future of place to be considered (loop B0 and B9), while the continuous engagement with activities of the trust created social interest and job opportunities , rejuvenating the place.

While no clear role was held for professional heritage managers in this process initially, the local heritage facilitator hired later, acted much as social mediator in this process, enabling role sharing processes to be smooth and efficient (see M11 analysis earlier).The level of project ownership implied however, is high, and the fact that landscape qualities identified are community-based enabled further endorsement of outputs of interpretation activities and sustained participation and activities themselves ie. the heritage centre functions (loop R10).

Participants (C6 etc) recognized he social skills of the current heritage officer who enabled 'co-creation approach' (Heywood, 2008) in developing together thematic areas for interpretation projects.

Socio-spatial Impacts reinforced through use of outputs :

The common thematic area identified, locating landscape heritage values, allowed space for developing commemoration events, that further support pride in the achievements of the group. Those signify a functional use of a community center as heritage centre, counteracting for missing social infrastructure, and have socio-spatial benefits that spread wider: they re-connected the community that initially had quite loose physical connections (due to the sparse distribution of houses on the island) or even due to local inter- communities disputes, allowing for bonding and bridging. They reinforce also place bonding through further understanding of heritage attributes of landscape, and support community empowerment to protect those.

The causal relationships identified through by C22, 23, (and corroborated by C7, C24, 25) confirm similar perceptions.

(ii) Sustaining heritage trusts-sustaining local community and local heritage? From trust to institution to viable organization planning through brokering supportive networks

Reciprocal links and synergies between community and heritage benefits were visible, as part of the process of sustaining the community initiatives in time: this was achieved through developing network of relationships of support, knowledge sharing and capital exchange (see loop R3 in figure 76 which is representing common viewpoints of leading figures C22-23, with C21, C26, 27-see also Table 19). Their insights showing great similarities to the references of heritage managers and planners involved with them (M11, P4).

A process of outsourcing resources and knowledge consists a big part of the project realization, with intangible heritage being definitely a priority that should be shared and easily accessible (loop R0- digital strategy for oral history archive).

Through this process, empowerment was achieved not only through the participants undertaking active role in data collection and presentation but also:

-thanks to the contribution of local council officers (C6 for example expressed trust and generosity towards local councilor) who offered personal help to the trust members to set up the Hoy Kirk project, sharing needed knowledge (eg.on funding applications, that they were 'short of' in the group).(fig. 76, loop R2)

-thanks to the contribution of locally based immigrants' skills –such people joined the group to assist with digitization skills and technical knowledge needed and supported the delivery, while gaining the opportunity to become member of group and integrated in further local social structures

What is also interesting is that those leading figures identified the importance of networks to sustain the trust (fig.76) and its activities in time, and through this offer job opportunities to sustain/support local livelihoods (loop B5) .

The local heritage facilitator hired later, acted much as social mediator in this process, communicating needs to other stakeholders and approaching other institutions and societies (loop R2, Fig.76) (like institutions, council and trusts) and enabling further approach of the group by professionals for collaborations around eg. Working with archaeologists from UHI, they community group provided inputs in values of landscape, allowing professionals to widen their perceptions and co-define values of heritage assets within the Hoy landscape (loop R4).

Specifically they identified two different ways of the manager enabling wider access to activities of the heritage trust by brokering networks and links to organisations that could provide resources and audiences (loop R2) : eg. including more young people in Hoy Kirk initiatives or pairing with school activities and OIC festival program (eg. development of traditional music courses). Secondly,

by ensuring satisfaction of participants and an organic³³ flexible way of project development and participating (where they can choose relevant activities to their personal interests), older people continued being engaged. They could take an active role in projects and interpretation material for exhibitions in the church (loop R1).

The groups' willingness to protect their community from disappearing and the feeling of responsibility for sustaining it together with fortification of character and identity of place (that faced risk of loss or significant transformation due to developers speculating in the area for touristic exploitation) by taking collective action, by establishing the trust –as a social organization (Putnam, 2000; in Wiesinger 2009)- to pursue their common vision (Sander and Lowne, 2006); these were key in sustaining the motivation as well. This suggests they are the key role of communal vision and sense of belonging to group for keeping the community connected and engaged throughout the process. The role of place identity and affectionate links with place, suggests also the long-term benefits from increased sense of place and its role for shaping protective behavior by local groups. Limitations of 'over-protectedness' need to be accounted for (as in museum-led projects) due to restriction of sharing heritage –which were not at all visible in this case, due to the open access approach adopted, as part of community life norms of sharing- or even allowing for any spatial development potential in regional scale.

³³ referred by other participants (C21, 26, 27), as part of 'what constitutes being member of a rural community' and its relevant norms

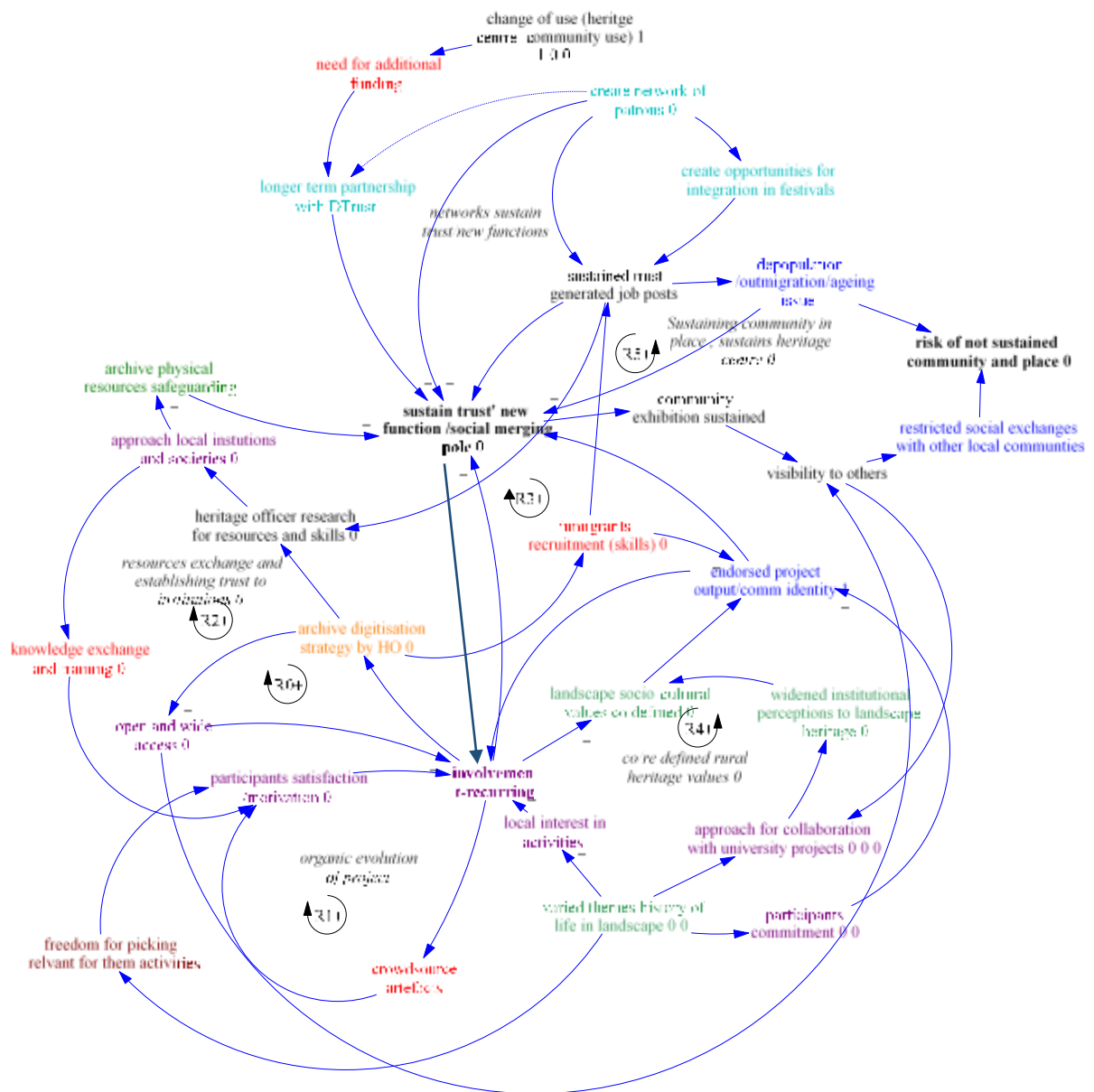


Figure 76 Participants C22-23 explained some common themes for community led participants: how organic evolution of project kept interest in their engagement with the trust (R1), and how approaches by institutional experts worked towards co-defining values of rural heritage together (R4). The upper part shows how networks developed as part of the process sustained the trust itself and offered resource support (R3).

Table 19 List of causal loops identified in diagrams of community-led project participants, loop themes named and presence of reciprocity or synergy identified

Community-led members	Relation between key themes mentioned by other participants	Main causal loops identified	Reciprocity or synergy between impacts
C6.	Loop1-theme 12 'heritage as connecting community ideals for place/ empowerment' Loop2-theme 11 'Heritage as social infrastructure', integration too	Causal loop 1 Heritage assisting in social transformation and reconnection after social degradation -reviving community life ideals Reinforcing causal loop 2: participation leading to physical restoration outputs and expanded /sustained protection , through social hub creation and ensuring livability support	
C14-15 C7	Loop3-theme 12,4//Loop4 -theme 11-12//Loop4-theme 13 Connections with outer communities//Loop5- Themes 9, 10, 4(relates with 3)	Causal loops 3-5	
C16-17	Theme 9 (relates with themes 10, 3 and 4)	Causal loop 9: Sense of place components and social cohesion/social integration relationship Causal loop 10 : memory and links to social history, as intangible heritage (how spatial connections inevitably are interlinked with social ones)	
C18-19	Theme 11-loop7// Themes 10,2, 12, 5 in loop8	Causal loop 7: (repeats previous) heritage to societal transformation via social infrastructure offer >direct wellbeing support Causal loop 8: Increase intergenerational links and decrease loneliness but reduce trust to local council? Empowerment as dividing civil society and governing bodies	
C20	Theme 11-loop 6 livability-social needs covered	Causal loop 6: organic process leading to livability support and sustaining people in place Individual and community level impacts and feedback to heritage benefits in time	
C21	Themes 12 , 2 – loop11/ Theme 2 -loop12 Themes 3 ,12-loop 13	Causal loop 11; Depopulation leading to lack of craftsmanship and rendering bequest urgent issue Process and effectiveness Causal loop 12: From trust to institution to viable organization planning/Brokering social networks Causal Loop 13: Recurring community identity at risk as instigating community action	
C22-23	Theme 3 , 11 /loop -14 //Theme 3, 4 in loop 15	Causal loop 14: Networks sustaining heritage trust and ensure long-term unofficial heritage protection and community wellbeing/infrastructure links(see fig 76) Causal loop 15 Integrating incomers who counteract for missing skills: societal transformation through heritage (see fig.75)	Loop -14 reciprocity
C26-27	Theme 12 and 10 (general) Theme 14-loop 16	Causal loop 16: Heritage as identity-differentiation and elitism, communities sustaining a non-shared heritage? Causal loop 17: Professionals assisting locals to share: a balancing loop showing a new role for heritage institutions?	

7.7 Museum-led collaborations with community groups and associations

7.7.1 Repetitive themes with managers related to reciprocal links

While these category of projects were not very common, they constitute a different typology of participation, as they lie between typically museum-led projects that recruit volunteers or community associations led- projects that actively and directly engage with museums/institutions. In that sense a pre-existing core of people, with a vision and common interests around heritage was key.

In the first case I explore hereby, the core participants belonged to a local association (OHBS) and volunteered as part of collaborating towards a commonly desirable goal. Interviewees provided the participants' point of view regarding to the boat building project performed within council-led, Lyness museum and the disruption of their collaboration in future projects (see manager M8 for corroborating and differences). They corroborate M8's input on individual skills and exchanges between experts and non-experts, but provide data on the role of group empowerment for independent vision creation and engagement with heritage, predominantly as non-institutionalized participation.

One second case study is also explored in this section, that of a community-group collaborating with museum for an exhibition as part of festival in island of South Ronaldsay, that shed light on the inhibitions of over-protectedness by community to achieving a 'shared heritage' or wider validation of heritage values and the role of professionals in balancing these behaviors to achieve positive social impact.

1. Participation supports individual level skills development

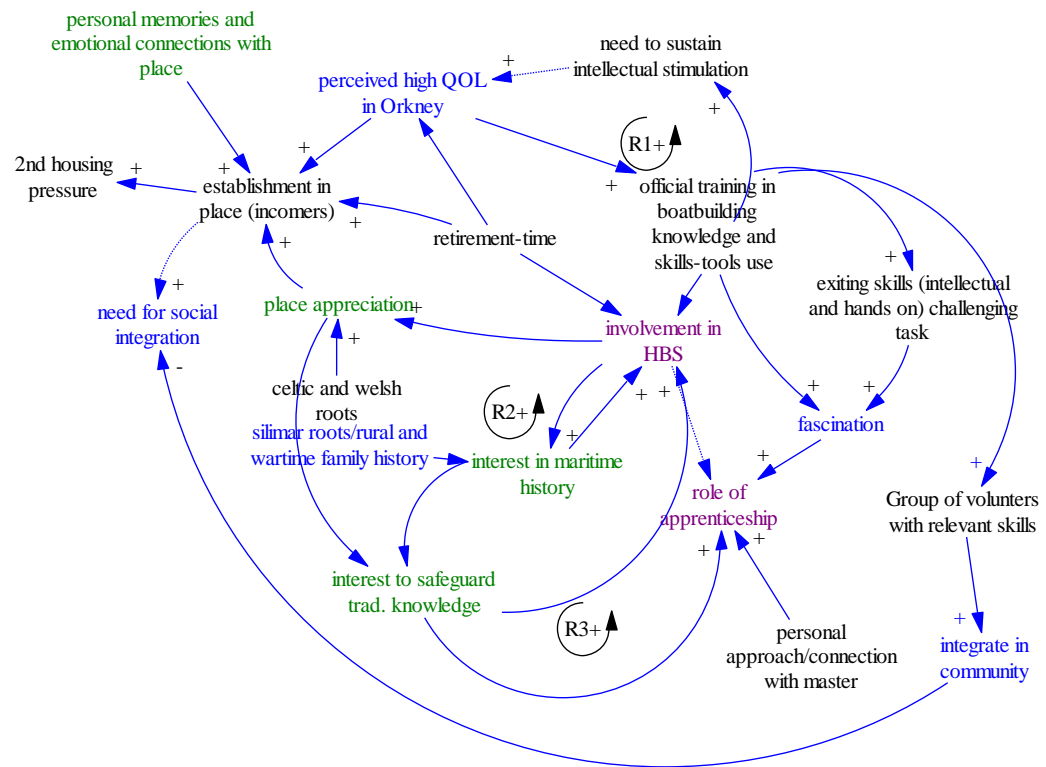


Figure 77 C24-25 showing how participation enhanced individual skills and offered intellectual stimulation (R1). These sustained involvement with the OHBS group, viewed here especially for the case of an incomer, with roots close to wartime and maritime history (R2)

³⁴Participants C24 and C25 (fig. 77), provided great insights both on the development of OHBS but also the collaborative project with Lyness museum and confirmed the ability of projects like this to enhance individual skills development for participants through mixed-level skills participants working together. Similar findings are common in other volunteering experiences studied here, but also in literature, in reports advocating for the high potential of volunteering programs with mixed-skill participants to assist formal and informal learning and personal development (Applejuice Consultants, 2007 for HLF, pp. 42, 57; BOP, 2005, Maer and Robinson, 2015 pp.14; Baird, L. and Greenaway, L., 2009 between multiple other evaluation or values reports).

³⁴ Starting from his life experiences, C24 is a recently retired professional coming from mainland England, arrived recently in Orkney to spend his retirement there. Holding connections from memories of older visits, when his young wife stayed on the islands he had basic social links to able him to adjust quickly (for example his wife involvement with institutions like the pier arts Center, enabled him a certain visibility on public position holders within the small island community and a smoother integration).

What is new in this causal loop diagram is the expected impact on individual wellbeing: the volunteer's spirit and cognitive abilities were supported as the tasks are both mentally stimulating and hands on demand find/ challenging as he mentioned(fig.77, loop R1).

Moreover the motivation of engagement as well as some factors that define efficiency form this perspective: C24 developed a close, personal relationship with mentor C25, together with another trainee, sharing his knowledge and unique technical skills but also motivation to get engaged with the scope of the OHBS and understand better maritime history (loop R3). This comes as complementary to the existing interest of C24 as incomer to explore heritage of pace (maritime) and explore aspects of personal family history and roots (loop R2). These need to be viewed in the light of motivation revealed by the thematic analysis but also in relation to rich literature that supports the personal character of links between heritage and identity.

2.Participation as social interaction, delegation and exchange between managers and volunteers on authenticity of heritage objects

Once the museum set up a call for volunteers for handwork related to restoration of historic boats, a group of volunteers from the OHBS group offered to assist (loop R4, Fig.78, C24-25) .

Figure 78 (top right corner) shows linear causal links regarding the interaction with experts in the museum and with visitors, and social impact generation for individual participants : they had the opportunity to familiarize with the curator's point of view on authenticity in conservation, principles to be followed in the process, and they could familiarize with a different perspective on rarity of the collection and its value.

Moreover they discussed on their ongoing work with visitors, gained the benefits of interaction and confidence through this communication role entrusted to them. (Learning and personal development benefits). Same skills areas are common in multiple volunteering evaluation reports in UK and Scotland (eg. Baird and Greenaway, 2009).

3. Participation is balancing resources for community groups through institutional network and the role of different visions between groups with institutions

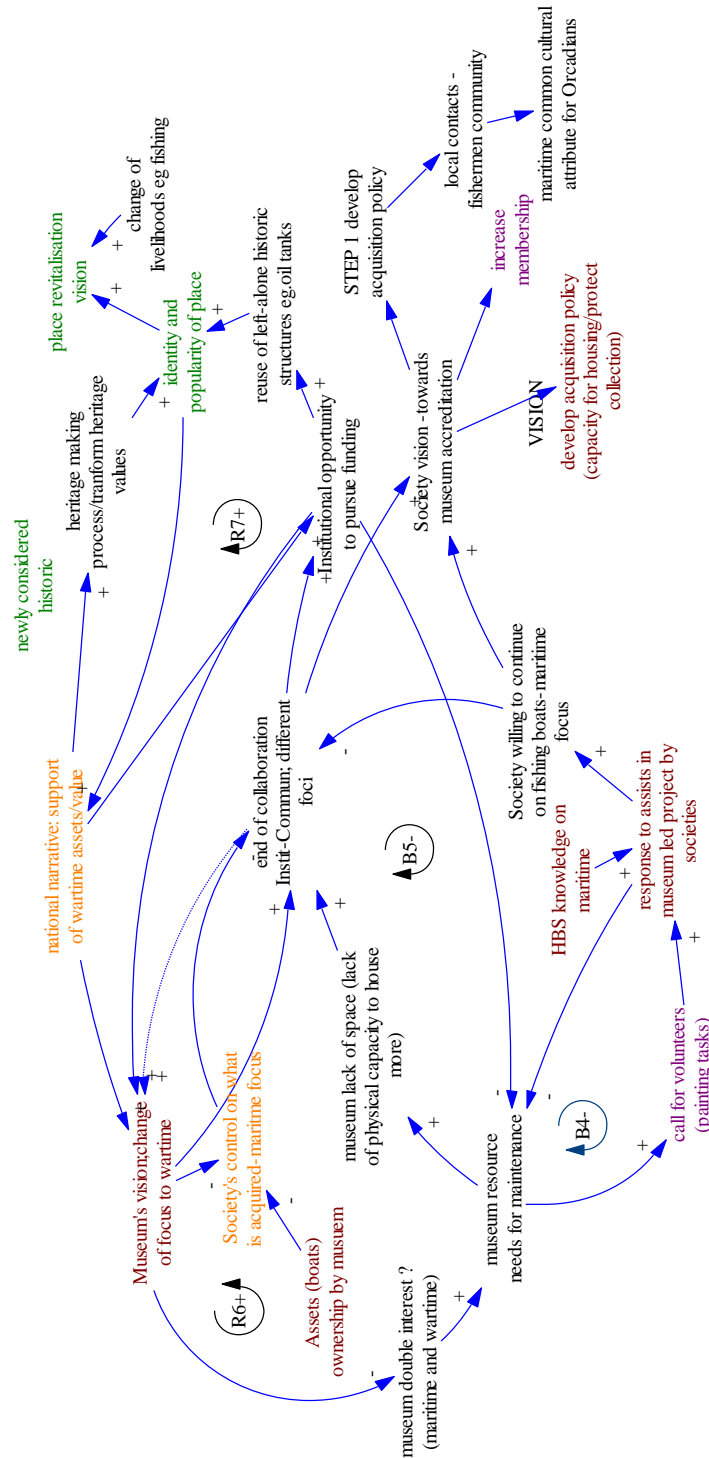


Figure 78 C24-25 provides another explanation for the disruption of collaboration with the council-run museum, inserting causes like: need for ownership and distant visions (B5, R6) between the museum and the heritage group/society

Reviewing what those participants said (Fig.78) in conjunction with the testimony of the volunteer manager (M8) confirmed that their contribution was crucial to balance the low resources in human workforce but also lacking skills within the small council run museum (loop B4, Fig. 78). From the perspective of the OHBS this worked as preparatory and empowering experience to follow their own, independent vision as a group that seemed distant from the need of the museum to focus on historic vs their vision to endorse maritime cultural aspects and boat craftsmanship (Loop B5), therefore ending the collaboration.

While the council museum had grasped the opportunity to apply for funding, responding to national calls for wartime heritage protection, willing to reuse an oil tank for shed for historic boats that could potentially revitalize the whole area's character, (loop R7) the community group that evolved into a charity followed step towards its institutionalization or museum -level accreditation:

The acquisition policy they developed and the business plan, together with funding acquired also assisted them to develop an understanding of risk assessment and stage of conservation as those were key elements for applying offering data on the proposed collection, reinstating some of their experiences within Lyness museum. The collaboration with the museum could only offer controlled acquisition policy directed to wartime boats, which were not of their interest (loop R6).

Considering the community groups as informal organizations, these development activities can be viewed in the light of literature around gaining 'Organisational resources' : by accessing those, the capacity and behavior of collections of individuals in regard to leadership, management, planning and coordination of group projects increases (Barney and Clark 2007).

In terms of capital, such resources have been described as 'institutional capital' (Cocklin and Dibden 2005), which can be reflected upon community institutional structures and mechanisms, including the public sector, private enterprise and the third sector. These 'organisational resources' also reflect the ability to build linkages across institutions to access resources (Lusthaus et al. 2002) as the OHBS group did to acquire resources for realizing its vision, or develop stronger linking social capital utilizing their personal and existing connections(in Winterton et al, 2014).

7.7.2 Views of reciprocal links between communities and managers

1. Cultural or traditional knowledge exchange as key for triggering intergenerational links and heritage bequest

The importance of cultural knowledge transfer for allowing social integration but also enhancing intergenerational links was also unveiled through another community-led project that included activities (exhibition of costumes) in collaboration with Orkney Museum, the festival of the horse in South Ronaldsay. Interviewees, C26 and C27 (fig. 79) were leaders of the recurring festival realized in St Margaret's Hope island of South Ronaldsay every August. The project was incorporated in Scapa Flow scheme adding a new feature: the ability to build new horse ploughs

and **training individuals to continue learning** to do so, through developing metal work, craftsmanship skills but also the development of an exhibition on the costume designed by the community with the help of creative professionals. The scheme funding support, allowed the festival to be realized again, opening up to new collaborations with local professionals and attracting new audiences as well.

The development of intergenerational links are inherent, or part of the nature of this project: grandparents and parents show to young boys aged 6-12 how to plough by the seaside while competing for the best results. Young girls compete on the best horse costume, with mothers and grandmothers preparing meticulously decorated handmade costumes with symbolic interpretations of the plough horses.

2. Heritage as identity- differentiation and elitism, communities sustaining a non-shared heritage and negative impacts on social cohesion?

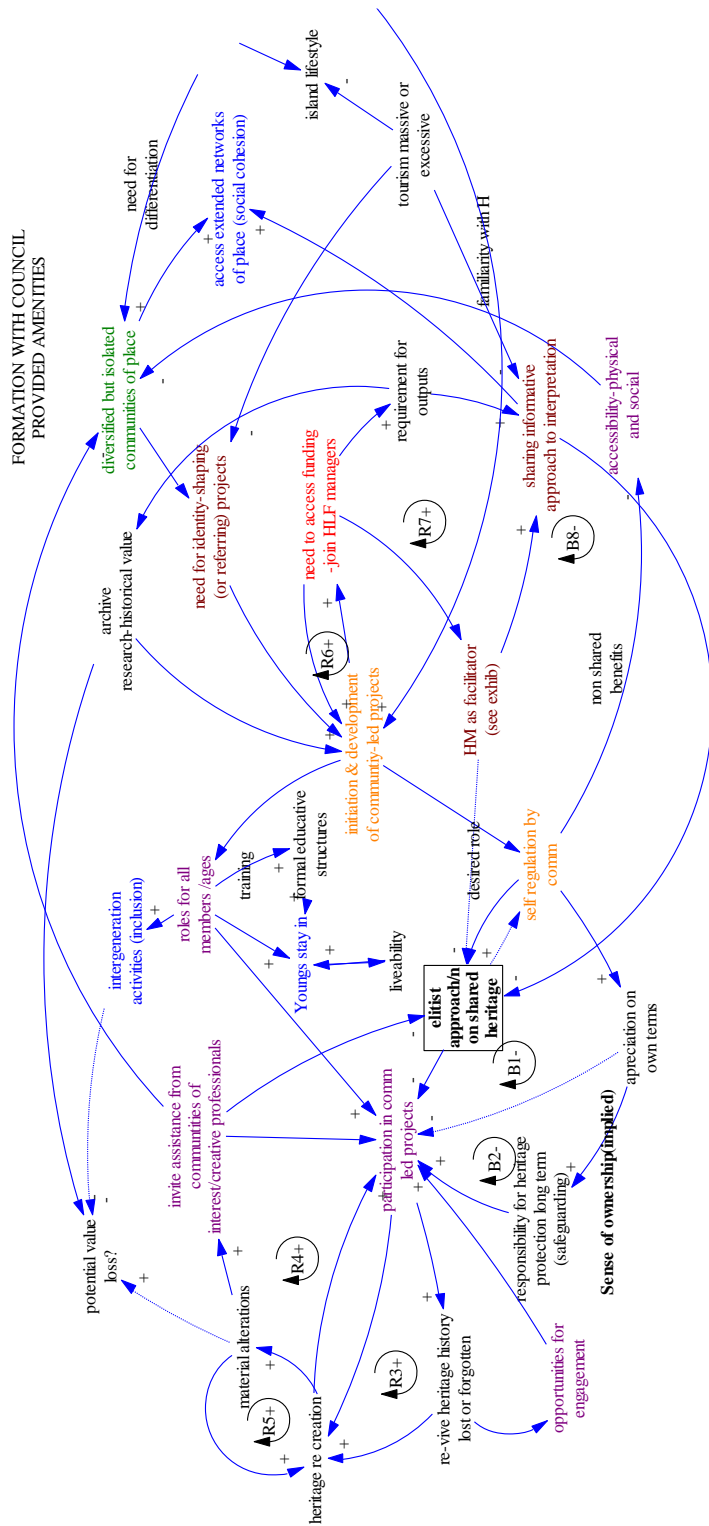


Figure 79 Participants C26-27 show the role of managers and HLF requirements for shaping outputs for increasing accessibility and allowing for new resources for the relatively isolated community of place, through connections .

The character of the festival indicates the willingness of local people to differentiate themselves from other Orkney islands, that also hold Horse plough races, as the ones that first invented the festival and still respect it and own it. This approach enables them as well to appreciate their heritage 'in their own terms' (Fig. 79, loop B1), reinforce their identity and enhance their willingness, while maintain their leading/regulating role (loop B8, fig.79) and responsibility for safeguarding (loop B2) and protect it for long term (as their doubts on alterations in the physical form of the costumes).

The case shows a perfect example of intangible heritage protection by a community of safeguarders, that while protects the materiality of it, automatically excludes participation of wider groups (loop B1) (both locally based and external communities from practicing it). In other words, their over-protective behavior leads to a "non-shared" heritage (loop B8) and heritage practicing in this case can be viewed as inhibiting social cohesion, by keeping differentiated local communities well divided.

3. Professionals assisting locals to share: a balancing loop showing a new role for heritage institutions?

In figure 79, Loop B8, shows however, how community group's self-regulating role may lead to restricted access and sharing of their heritage with outsiders, ;this balanced through a re-creation process of heritage through artistic interpretation (R5), led to re-negotiation of access instigated by creative professionals and manager(HM) involved (R7).

Despite the divisive character of the festival, the HLF scheme proposal, supported by the manager/facilitator (Fig. 79, loop R7) had provisions for training and metalwork activities to be realized parallel to the festival, and relevant outputs to be shared, but also a reinventing of the costume materialization (Loop R5, fig.79), opened up the circle of contributors. The Scheme offered funding for such activities to be developed and support the festival (bottom-up) (loop R6) : by suggesting a trainer metalworker that was not a local resident and a costume maker that was also independent professionals (loop R4). Those creative individuals offered their expertise while the training workshops opened up for more than the local family descendants, who were the legitimate continuators of the festival. This activity enabled the community to open up to further locally based 'communities of practice and of place', (loop R7 in relation to B8) breaking up the strict rule of regulation of participants (that was intended to include only descendants of previous participants, residing on the island). In other words, the scheme manager's approach, balanced the 'rather elitist approach' of local leaders (see also Lowenthal, 2015 for community possessiveness of 'their' heritage and refusing sharing), adapting their attitude to protection, by allowing sharing.

Looking at the processes from a social capital perspective (and particularly thought the criticism around the "downside" of social capital by Portes and Landolt, 1996), the case depicts an example of communities or networks that are isolated, parochial, resulting in a rather ""perverse" social

capital, which hinders or at least restricts development. In this case however, the role of managers as authority and knowledge bearers is catalysts for changing the norms and allowing for opening up of the community and its heritage through incorporating local organizations in the exhibition making and sharing of their traditions with wider communities of place, reversing the dark side of bonding capital.

7.8 Concluding remarks: common variables and views of reciprocity

The table below –presents the key themes discussed by the majority of participants, identified through the causal loops designed for each.

Table 20 List of repetitive themes per group of participants identified through the causal loop diagrams drawing

Participant group	Theme	Description	Aggregated presence of theme in Interviews
Managers/Planners	1	Developing trust via infiltrating informal networks and connectors	M1-M3, M8-9, P1, P6
	2	Rigid structures and resistance to institutional change	M1-3, M11, M6/M13, M12, M4//P2, C18, C21
	3	Balancing resources and capacity for delivering projects via institutional networks Balancing safeguarding behavior by understanding social needs	M1-3, M11, M6, M12, M4 P7, P6, C21, C22
	4	Enable integration of incomers	M1-3, M10, M8/9, M4 C14/15, C22, C10, C1, P6
	5	Heritage protected but gap towards participatory governance remains	- M8 P4/5, C18
	6	a. Heritage tourism balancing social tensions-shared heritage b. mediating role of managers' interpretation for shaping common perceptions?	6a M9- 6B P1, P6 M8/9
Participant group	Theme	Description	Aggregated presence of theme in Interviews
Volunteering participants	8	Professionals and personal networks in flux	P2, P6, M8/9
	9	Social skills and conflict resolution skills in managers necessary	M8-M1-3 M11 C14,C16
	10	Partnership and cooperation	M1-3, P6, C14, C18 C26
Community-led participants	11	Heritage functioning as social infrastructure	C6, C14, C18, C20
	12	Heritage as connecting community ideals for place- empowerment	C14, C18, C21
	13	Positive connections with outer communities	C14
	14	Shared community heritage; key to balanced stewardship	C26

This offers an easy way to cross-check relevance between those themes and compare with findings of thematic analysis (for example checking whether the initial variables defined to follow formation and interlinkages between social and intuitional impacts relate to the thematic analysis main nodes).

It was definitely easy to detect variables related to descriptive linear social and institutional impacts identified earlier (see Table 14,15 in Ch.6, findings of thematic analysis and variables in loop diagrams in tables of Appendix I, as well as Table 48). Such common variables are eg. network creation or internal changes in processes and managers behaviors. It was harder to establish

connections between those themes and the analytical themes produced through thematic analysis like “Embeddedness of participation in process”, however some themes relating to difficulties in the system to overcome gaps or ‘Restrictions to reciprocity’ or ‘Effectiveness of participation’, like “constraints and enablers for reciprocity” were definitely featuring common variables (see overarching Themes 1,3 in the table below) that were further explored through the CL analysis. Some of the themes like the third one, reciprocity and synergy, were best exemplified through the second phase of analysis, due to the power of loops to showcase pathways of impacts and existence or not of causal links between variables or simply impacts occurring simultaneously, creating synergies. New variables were visible within this theme: eg. role of incomers to allow for new knowledge and resource access, or indirect impacts through use of spatial outputs (heritage conservation outputs) or even affectionate and dependency links with spaces and landscape and their role towards behaviors of sustaining heritage. Similarly in the second overarching theme new variables emerged that allowed to describe the role and actions of managers for establishing networks and mediating for allowing a ‘shared heritage’ and opening up of closed, communities, with subsequent social benefits for them in terms of bridging social capital.

An interesting exercise, post-analysis was to cross-check how many themes were repeated between one group and between different sub-groups in order to have an overall image of representativeness of themes in the sample, as in the tables 20, 21 here. The themes interrelate with each other to cover three main areas around the questions of reciprocity as viewed below:

Table 21 Overarching theme categories identified through causal loop diagrams regarding conditions for synergy and reciprocity. Reciprocal links were observed through different mechanisms-pathways. Most common references by all categories of interviewees were around themes 11, 12, regarding the role of heritage for synergistic socio-spatial benefits through community role in place-making processes

Overarching theme-relation with reciprocity	Description	Themes represented
1.Restrictions to reciprocity due to managers’ and institutional practices in process of delivery	Recommendations for institutional changes and redefining roles for reciprocal benefits/successful collaboration and co-creation	Themes, 9,10/1,3, 8,2,5
2.Potential for reciprocity through role of managers in enabling shared heritage	Whose heritage? Debating ownership and sharing heritage	Themes 14, 6a,b
3.Reciprocity and synergy for sustainability	Heritage for social and spatial change (: sustaining local heritage, place and creating resilient community)	Themes 4, 6b for social impacts (heritage supports social cohesion and inclusion) Themes 4, 11,12 for spatial/place-making impacts

Chapter 8: Discussion- Integrating social and organizational impacts within a reciprocity framework

This chapter aims at connecting findings from thematic analysis with the causal loop diagram finds and discussing them in relation to the theoretical and conceptual framework, including notions of linking, reciprocal and cognitive social capital. Impact pathways and impacts stemming from the two core modalities of participation will be discussed and their implications in level of heritage management and heritage governance/planning will be presented.

The biggest challenges in the findings, as the issue of developing empowerment in communities while enhancing trust to institutions and the role of spatial impacts and sense of place on shaping (individual) behavior towards heritage, are analyzed.

A key part of the chapter is devoted in delineating the ‘preconditions of reciprocal interactions’ between communities and institutions ensuring effective collaboration towards heritage safeguarding in the long run. Through discussing where and when reciprocity was observed a framework for reciprocal impacts that links institutional practices with community’ behaviors is presented, that can be adapted to both modalities of participation.

8.1 Data emerging from the two methods: triangulation and enrichment of scope of analysis

Within the system dynamics methodology-key reference point for analysis is the evolution of behaviors in time, as one event may leads to the other through causal links: actors’ behaviors may be therefore acting as mediators for an impact or change to occur. In many cases variables were mapped as ‘enablers’ to explain impact pathways or ‘how impacts are produced’. Moreover we can understand differences eg. Between individual level perceived impacts and community level ones that may affect wider groups through looking at the loops.

While the themes described earlier allow for perceptions of issues related to reciprocal impacts and sustained impacts in time by each category of participants, they also allow for individual experience to unravel. This way they offered explanatory pathways to impact creation in contrast to the thematic analysis, which merged ideas from various groups to describe impact types and categories (eg.to enable structure further evaluations or focus of engagement projects) while also located core issues perceived as restraining or enabling participation to happen and impact participants.

Moreover, it was easier to restructure the thematic analysis findings per project phase (focusing on program planning vs delivery phases/parts of heritage management process) only after the causal loops had identified clearly the roles of each of the participants and key issues in specific time points /parts of process. The role of participation in each phase was therefore easier visible,

while the time dimension played crucial role in revealing differences around when impacts may occur (short term outputs vs long-term and repeatable or cumulative impacts) or who may be affected, by viewing behavior change subjects (direct on participants vs indirect/knock-on impacts on wider communities of place) or similarly change of behaviors towards heritage planning/role in place-making or engagement with heritage project delivery (see planners section in ch.7).

While thematic analysis offered a clearer view of the context (social needs and existing issues of communities, heritage management system was mapped with the values per group identified), the causal loops enabled viewing of relation between variables emerging from the associative part of (axial coding) thematic analysis. This way allowed to explain and understand effect of external factors, that may have important leverage in system's behavior: eg. the difference made by the nature and structure of the Scheme as a framework on the behaviors of planners/managers.

The whole process of defining variables based on the NVivo coding connected the two phases of analysis. In the second, codes were revised to reflect cause –effect relationships, allowing to exclude information that is not causally related even if it forms part of the narrative (see example, table in Ch.5.6.5). However, key variables for the social and institutional impacts were also identified in the thematic analysis (Table 14, 15), reflecting the conceptual/analytical framework (like attributes of social capital and sense of place).

The tool allowed for a crucial differentiation between the two core modalities/ typologies of participation and one emerging or hybrid, due to the processual differences observed: the discussion will refer to impacts in each of those.

8.2 Discussing findings according to theoretical framework

This part will discuss the findings around social and institutional impacts in relation to the cognitive and relational aspects of social capital. The cognitive approach (Putnam, 2000; Svendsen and Svendsen, 2003), when integrated with the network focused/structural approach (chap.6), enables us to reflect upon qualitative aspects of developed networks (nature of relationships) or capabilities for resource exchange (what contributes to network formation and sustaining). These are studied through:

- a. relational capital formation (reciprocity and trust, development of norms of respect through and via those networks), but also
- b. Cognitive social capital (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer 2002a referring to common beliefs, perceptions, values and understandings), that are studied in both levels: between individual/group and group/institution interactions. (see also for an analysis of various types and forms of social capital Claridge, 2004a) (see Table 2, below)

Our second method employed (causal loop diagram analysis) offered evidence to cover this gap. The structural perspective (ch.6), was particularly important as it enabled an integrated view of the individual and collective levels of analysis, necessary for our explanations: by looking simultaneously at the macro structure of social relations and at the individual location in this structure (Torche and Valenzuela, 2011). In that sense it can help to compare how different network structures can affect (and in our case potentially lead to) diverse outcomes (as viewed as well in Burt, 2000, 2001 and the literature cited therein; Lin et al., 1981), by looking at composition and activities within those networks. This resonates in our case with the analysis around social structures in place (ch.7) and their function related to impacts of participation.

This holistic approach to analysis, allows to respond to criticism (Torche and Valenzuela, 2011) on controversies in use of the concept of social capital due to the single focus on the structural and functional (see Table 22b more related to network approach) dimensions of social capital, with a relative disregard of its experiential dimension (cognitive and relational aspects). A short description of the theoretical types and forms according to both perspectives at this point is in the Appendix C, while the tables below describe the kind of indicators considered for the analysis.

Table 22a Mapping dimensions of social capital (source: Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998) and relevant indicators for evidence in cases reviewed related with various forms of participation

	Dimensions (based on Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998)		
	Structural (social structure-lies in presence of a network of access to resources)	Cognitive (Shared understandings- defines capability for resource exchange)	Relational (Nature and quality of relationships-defines capability for resource exchange)
Short Description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Network ties and configuration • Roles, rules, precedents, and procedures (Claridge, 2004b) Structures and elements that facilitate collective action by making peoples' behaviour more predictable and beneficial by lowering transaction costs	Cooperative behaviour, common beliefs, norms, pre-disposed towards communal action	Flow of resources through interaction in social relationships (trust, norms and sanctions, obligations, expectations), history of interactions see role: obligations and expectations, also see expectations in perceived role of council etc)
Key indicators in case study	Enablers/constraints and efficiency for participation related to 'structures' See also participants motivations for transaction costs (chapter 6) related to : Physical accessibility issues (place dependency)/seasonality/working schedule of local people etc	Sense of belonging to community/ sense of communal life as way of life on islands (links with memories of crofting communities or other of practice)	Unclear responsibilities/overlap of roles in existing institutional practices Expectations in role of council to facilitate group initiatives (overlaps with linking)

Table 21922b Mapping types of structural capital from a network approach (used for study of structural aspect) and relevant indicators to use for the analysis

	Network approach (used to study the structural dimension)		
	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Description	Close networks, support between individuals within same social group. Horizontal-people are alike, Assist in «Getting by»	Ties between individuals which cross social divides or between social groups (2 levels). Vertical-people are different, «getting ahead»	Networks, norms and Trust between people who are interacting across explicit, formal, or institutionalised power/authority gradients
Key indicators	Ability to form community groups with common goals an vision (acting in consent, Granovetter, 1973; p.1376) Cohesion at neighborhood level	Social inclusion and accessibility issues Social cohesion at island or archipelago level	Lack of institutional initiatives on supporting infrastructure or unclear responsibilities of council towards local trusts. Overlap of roles in existing institutional practices enabling exchanges (overlaps with relational)

8.2.1 Social impacts and heritage protective behaviours: the role of cognitive and relational social capital as enablers

Cognitive social capital was mostly pre-existing in relationships between community group members and mobilized to lead behaviors/actions directed by common values or beliefs.

a. Community-led projects

Cognitive capital can be reflected in presence of existing positive predisposition to community action, expressed either as cooperative behavior by the participants in community-led projects (see participants, eg. C6, C7, C21 corroborated by M4, M11 and more). These were deemed crucial for effectiveness of community-led initiatives (see Chapt. 7.6, 7.8). Belief in community responsibility stemming from being part of a cohesive group – (see Obst et al, 2002; Nowell, and Boyd, 2010 behavioral psychology perspectives on ‘belonging to community’), which seemed to also support protective attitude for place identity /community identity.

Common past experiences/ attributes of agricultural, crofting communities were mentioned as binding people (see Convery, Corsane and Davies, 2012) (a “communal way of life” or cultural lifestyle, either indigenous in Orkney/existing or brought in from other rural community experiences, like the incomers from Cornwall or Ireland). These were reinforced by the project content itself, which focused on safeguarding intangible aspects of this culture. The communitarian principles of ‘sharing’ instilled in such participants, guided their behavior towards trusting others (including visitors and other communities of place), developing trust through participation and bridges.

While these are mostly pre-existing features as said, belief in effectiveness of community ventures was definitely cultivated through time in more, non-leading members of those initiatives, who

became part of the group and conformed with the norms set by the leaders, (but also valued the positive socialising benefits they gained).

Regarding trust and reciprocity to others, incomers interviewed in their majority, claimed feeling supported and trusted by locals. However, their behaviour (entering heritage participation projects) was met with distrust by few locals. These interviewees were older adults, belonging in close-knit groups (see also Wiesinger, 2009 on effect of close links with community on bringing about rejection of incomers, innovation and xenophobia), who questioned their motives/intentions and during the process their potentially leading roles in projects or even in existing community structures. However, the interaction between the two rather 'eased' these suspicions and led to locals appreciating the resources incomers had to offer (see also 8.2.1) towards end of the projects, as the activities seemed to be needing *skills and resources* they had to offer.

b. Museum-led initiatives

Projects like this assume a positive predisposition by both sides (institutions/ professionals and participants/existing groups) as well as enough relational capital³⁵ towards the institution to enter the collaboration. This can be sanctioned either by positive previous experiences or by agreement and alignment on goals/common vision (see Ch. 7.9 and authors like Inkpen, et al, 2005; Sander and Lowney, 2006) that may assist individual visions and common benefits for parties involved. Theiss-Morse and Hibbing (2005), discussing participatory dynamics, underline the effectiveness of such collaborations to allow for negotiation of competing interests, but also connects it with future expectation for reciprocation of the 'good deed'. In that sense motivations and expectations are inextricably linked with perceived impacts and evaluations of success of such ventures from the perspective of participants.

c. Volunteering projects

Looking in the case of participation in the form of volunteering from the participant's perspective, existence of cognitive social capital supported effectiveness of the projects in terms of delivery (participants functioned effectively within a group, assisting in achieving group goals- see M1, 3). However, in projects like this, participants may lack a 'common sense of purpose', being a 'community' with value system (professionals and local people), posing challenges for the managers, like conflict resolution (Fouseki, 2008) due to the variant perceptions and (expectations of the projects, having detrimental effects on the experience of the members but also managers).

³⁵ see Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998 for the interchangeability of concept with social capital and Still, Huhtamäki, & Russell, 2013 for use of it in organizational studies context

This however had the benefit on allowing for bridging, where people with different background and perceptions mix.

Relational capital (in terms of trust to institution, as well as alignment with its strategic aims, reflecting its credibility, authenticity and integrity) appeared also key for supporting motivation and also continuous engagement as a form of reciprocity.

8.2.1.1 Reciprocity and trust to public authorities as enablers of collaborative governance and planning

Finally, looking at the trust towards public heritage institutions, and specifically emphasis on local governing bodies, participants' indirect indications on trust were linked with expressed confidence in their contribution to community wellbeing, in the cases that the latter responded to local issues: covering for local needs, directing strategic decisions and resources towards those.

OECD (2013) identifies an overlap between service quality dimensions and governance dimensions that matter for citizens, such as inclusiveness (access), responsiveness and reliability, all visible to our findings (see also ch.7.4.1 for access and 9.2).

In cases of community-led projects, locals showed active steps of engagement in public decision making processes eg. Attending consultation (heritage related or not). Volunteers also engaged with further unofficial groups that advocated on public land use etc. openly supporting institutional decision making at different levels.

However, I argued that trust is reciprocal in its nature and therefore cannot only be examined by observing citizen's behaviors towards institutions: the way institutions operated and delivered participation at planning level was also key aspect of trust development. The interviews with planners underlined the *bidirectional/reciprocal nature of trust*: trust by councillors to community groups and belief in their capacity was key to allow them to flourish, develop a collaboration and enable them continue managing resources, projects and specifically manage funds. It was evident that informal and constant communication (flow of information) enhanced the successful maintenance of those relationships (eg. case of Hoy trust, council member acting as mediator).

Sharing responsibilities between the two parties (the council and community organization/body) and having clear roles, even dealing with different heritage assets, through informal but constant communication has worked perfectly for both: satisfying communities' willingness to preserve and safeguard assets' future, according to planners' testimonies.

Concluding we can argue that a collaborative governance approach (Ansell and Gash, 2007), can only be established upon multi-directional knowledge sharing, clear roles and responsibilities and mutual trust that includes legitimacy of authority of institutions.

Moreover 'thin trust' to institutions, plays a role for long-term sustainability of 'official' or legally protected heritage assets, due to its interference with sense of a common or 'shared responsibility' for protection (of project outputs): this seems to be a recurrent, unsolved issue, due to low 'sense of ownership' of most council-led projects. The community-led projects on the other hand, showed that through networks and commitment, the members managed to link with institutions, creating thin trust, and support longer-term maintenance of outputs after the end of funding period.

8.2.2 Linking and relational capital as enablers and prerequisites for reciprocal links with institutions and effective participatory projects

Participants actually located the capacity of participatory projects to harness positive impacts for both managers and participants, based on types of connections created linking capital but also on the quality of exchanges during the process in terms of knowledge sharing/transfer practices (leading eg. to development of closer and longer term collaborations with common goals being affected by cognitive capital and relational capital). Therefore, we can argue that linking, together with cognitive and relational capital are key for effective participatory process and its leverage towards reciprocal impact generation. Some specific, commonly drawn factors that affect their development present in the various modalities of participation were:

At the phase of project planning and resource accessing:

- relevant project scoping to guarantee reflectance of community's heritage perceptions and community needs (mentioned by participants and planners)
- existence/ offer of capacity building opportunities that can balance community members' lacking skills/capacities and connect them: knowledge transfer and social mixing.

At the phase of project delivery:

- role distinctiveness for both managers and participants (with managers holding a facilitating role),
- adherence to collaboration norms during the process (ie. Enable and support the other party to achieve their tasks, retain a clear role and communicate what is needed and what was achieved)-these two allow shared responsibility to function effectively
- flexibility from the managers' side to change project objectives according to the flow of the project ('organic way' of project delivery and development).
- Mediation role of managers to allow for resource and knowledge exchange and sharing/access to those coming from other social groups (eg. cultural professionals) or local heritage organizations (these were not widely present between the body of professionals in the study)

Of course, before even entering the participatory projects, existence of basic institutional resources devoted to them, was critical to enable them to flourish : from an institutional perspective, access to funding and supportive networks of collaborators that could balance missing internal resources. From the participants' side, these preconditions relate to accessibility physical and social. In that sense linking social capital appeared also as 'enabler' of effectiveness for institutions, allowing them access to economic capital/resources while some of the managers widely discussed access issues related to participants access to capital, as well. Authors like Brown et al (2005) and Mitchell et al (2005) have also argued on the importance of *networks as resources*: developing partnerships and collaboration 'can increase management effectiveness through enhanced civic engagement and local participation' by creating 'networks of communities and partners across the landscape' (in Laven et al, 2010). Similar approach to network-based delivery processes are supported in natural resource management, to enable access of resources "*outside of organizational boundaries*" (Reed , 2008; Brick and others 2001; Harmon 2001; Knight and Landres 1998; Koontz and others 2004; McKinney and Johnson 2009; Richardson 2000; Selin 2004; Wondolleck and Yaffee 2000) or even deliver public benefits (Mitchell et al, 2005).

8.3 Locating differences between modalities of participation regarding accruing social, spatial and institutional benefits and reciprocity

By comparing the processes of participation described by participants we clearly identified three modalities of participation as well as related impacts with each one: modality (a) in volunteering projects (mostly reflecting institutionally led participation), (b) community-led projects (compliant with definitions of participation, as community-emergent (Etzioni, 2015) as well as a third emergent, mixed modality (see chapter 6) that describes the collaborative projects (often delivered by existing community groups or trust members but led or started by museum and other organisations).

In that sense, the research suggests creating modalities according to process of engagement in heritage and link those with impacts observed, following an inductive approach (that enriches the approach of existing typological scales of participation [like Arnstein's (1969) and followers' variations by Agarwal 2001; Choguill 1996; Cohen and Uphoff 1980] which are essentially that attempt to stratify degrees of power-sharing between an agency and the public (Buchy, Ross et al.2000).

Our core modalities of participation identified, still reflect differences in power sharing, described through different level of responsibilities and roles of each in the process (eg.in terms of leadership, facilitation etc) including an overview of the less studied relation with pre-existing motivations, expectation and initiation processes in shaping the outcomes.

Applying a causal loop-based, systemic analysis allowed to follow up the distinct processes and:

- Delineate the different potential for creating social impact for specific groups (which was hard to do via thematic analysis) as well as
- Recognise barriers to reciprocity and their causes (through balancing loops or behaviors that described resistances) by designing impact pathways -that actually explained 'how' impact was generated.
- Locate interlinkages between social and institutional impacts (how social capital development could lead to further changes and finally affect institutions in some cases) but also connections between impacts and behaviors towards heritage safeguarding.

The process of analysis, by aggregating repetitive causal links, resulted in producing two generic abstract loops created for the two core modalities of participation: these show clearly the two different **impact pathways generated**. Not only the social and spatial impact of the two key modalities differ but the links between impacts generated and knock-on impacts also differ. The pathways are also described in table 23 and the next sections are elaborating in key differences observed.

Pathway 1 (fig.73): *Community-led projects initiation > reinforced sense of community+ sense of place and bonding/bridging/linking social networks (with other social groups and with institutions)=social infrastructure (rectify and temporarily alleviate some local authority's responsibilities for sustaining place and supporting communities)> responsibility and social needs recognition > empowerment and community needs-driven place-making with heritage in its core*

**IMPACTS OF
PARTICIPATION AS
COMMUNITY ACTION**

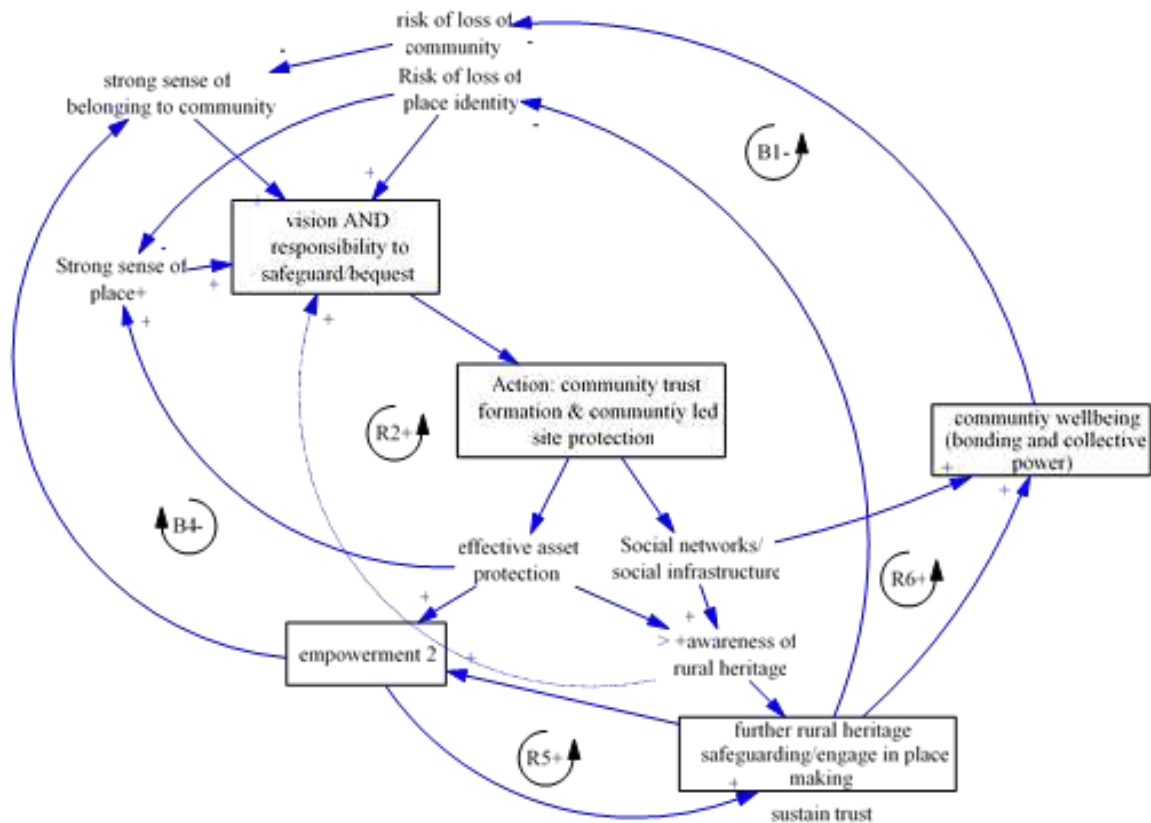


Figure 80 Generic impact pathways loop 1: impact of community-led modality of participation. Compared with next figure shows clearly the two different pathways to impacts and interrelation between social and heritage protection impacts

Pathway 2 (fig.80): Institutional recruitment calls>participation in volunteering> >individual wellbeing benefits + increased awareness/sense of place > engagement with same institutions, linked heritage associations on voluntary or paid work>social integration to community (for incomers) + facilitate conservation of (institutionalized/defined) heritage assets

IMPACTS OF PARTICIPATION AS VOLUNTEERING

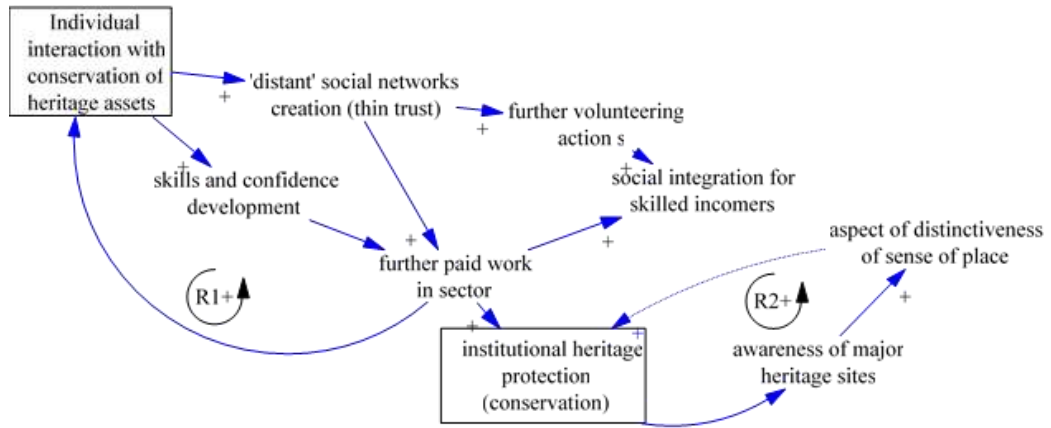


Figure 81 Generic impact pathway loop 2, Impacts of participation as volunteering

Those major differences observed relate with:

- (a) the level where direct and knock-on social impacts occur (individual vs communal),
- (b) the type of experienced social impacts (aspect of wellbeing) (in the range between learning, personal development to socio-spatial wellbeing) as well as
- (c) the core group of impact recipients and their ability for 'spillover effect' that affects reciprocity ie. shaping attitudes towards heritage and developing trust and rapport with institutions involved in heritage management and planning.

Moreover, as expected the two main modalities relate with institutional benefits in a very different way (volunteering having direct implications while community-led projects rather indirect effects) and those variances (eg.potential for inclusive and integrated planning) were explained according to the perceptions of professionals involved in each modality.

Table 23 Pathways of social and heritage impacts produced by the two heritage participation modalities and benefits for heritage and communities (short term outputs and longer term direct and indirect impacts)

a. Community led projects:	Direct impact for Heritage and place making	Indirect social and heritage- via use of project outputs
<i>Community-led Project initiation >> sense of community+ sense of place and social networks (with other social groups and with institutions) =social infrastructure (alleviate council responsibilities)> So community, responsibility(R3) and Social needs recognition lead to action, empowerment (R3) and community place making</i>	"Unofficial" heritage values identification from the bottom up, "heritage making" (heritigisation) Key values for place making, while sustaining community	-Community adoption of model of heritage trusts - _Including social integration for incomers,

<i>(R5) around heritage >bonding and collective power (R6)</i>	identity and balancing risk of loss of place identity (B4, B1)	<i>through collaboration and sharing community ideals</i>
b. Volunteering/Institutionally led projects:		
<i>Institutionally led project initiation >>individual wellbeing benefits (R1) + increased awareness/sense of place (R2) >heritage associations engagement or social integration through professional development (for incomers)with risk of conflict due to inequalities in resource distribution</i>	Conservation of institutionally identified (mostly statutorily protected) and valorized heritage assets	Support public heritage projects for major restoration (eg. wartime and archaeology)

8.3.1. Different levels for social benefits: from individual to communal

While in volunteering projects individual participants reported high levels of confidence and skills development, these did not connected to change in their communities' behaviour towards heritage participation. (see 8.2.1 section vis a vis the analysis in 7.7, compared to analysis in 7.6, 7.5).

Most of participants in volunteering reported they made new acquaintances and had chances for recreation (to face solitude and depression) but not close friends, in contrast to to community-led projects where they had the opportunity to socialise in a rather regular basis and therefore build closer bonds with people they already knew (bonding social capital). Working towards a common goal has been considered strengthening of sense of belonging to community and closely linked to reinforcing their communal identity³⁶ and through that delinaeating aspects of their personal identity (Appadurai, 2006 pp.13).

Furthermore, as already described, the community led projects had usually in their core community defined 'social needs' (like restituting lacking social infrastructure) and utilised heritage spaces to sustain localities and create liveable places. In that sense their initial aims, objectives and finally their outputs are closely linked to improving aspects of social wellbeing as they clearly identified strategic actions towards this direction. In comparison to that, volunteering projects mostly revolved around educational goals, achieving skill development, learning objectives and training individuals, letting community needs nd direct wellbeing goals aside.

Finally the type and groups of people who benefited from each of the two categories differ significantly: people participating in volunteering had either previous relevant professional

³⁶ See Gans's (1962) or Silk's (1999; p6), suggestion of a definition of a community that it infers "common needs and goals, a sense of the common good, shared lives, culture and views of the world, and collective action"

or educational links with culture and heritage-or were linked to institutions through personal connections and were relatively younger. Viewing this from a networks' perspective around social capital, we should be careful to acknowledge potential groups that are excluded from accessing those benefits or the potential

Attainment of those outcomes at another group's expense, given outcomes may be sub-optimal, or that desirable 'outcomes attained today come at the price of significant costs tomorrow' as described by Woolcock and Narayan (2000).

On the other hand, community-led participants were predominantly local elderly people and their families, with less educational resources available and more restricted skillsets, motivated by their high levels of bonding with the place, with long standing residence and memories. Some young adults and incomers complemented the mix of participants observed in such projects.

In that sense, one can argue that heritage volunteering projects seem to maintain the "status quo" and re-generate social capital for the privileged ones (following Bourdieu's analysis on the negative aspects of social capital on class segregation, stratification and inequality (Bourdieu, 1984), [Hall (1999), Wuthnow (2002), Warde et al. (2005)] (see ambivalent impacts described in 7.7.3). However, both project typologies included and affected lots of 'incomers', (with volunteering seemingly even more as managers' admittedly had more difficulties in attracting long term residents or even identifying community members) proving the potential of heritage in its wider function, to facilitate inclusion and integration of new members in existing communities in time, through a negotiation of a common identity or a common appreciation of the place they belong (see Scannel and Gifford, 2010b and Stedman 2006 for the role of sense of place). Especially the role of incomers in community-led projects was crucial to share capacities with locals and this way achieve a smoother integration for them in local groups but also protect heritage resources.

Concluding, we can support that both modalities of participation enhanced aspects of participants' wellbeing, but experienced at two distinct levels: mostly individual level for volunteering projects while mostly communal, closer to the definition of social wellbeing for community-led projects. What is important to underline though, is that diffusion of individual impacts from volunteering to wider groups was restricted and usually remained 'locked' with certain profiles of individuals (assisting them to find public roles or even permanent jobs), while community-led projects achieved to influence wider norms and value shaping amongst groups: members that were empowered to act and entered further community-related activities, reinforcing intergenerational links, opening up to neighboring communities while supporting the core values of theirs /sustaining the community.

8.3.2. Variances in institutional benefits and links with communities

As expected volunteering projects lead to major institutional benefits in terms of resource balancing as seen in Ch. 7.7 and 7.5, 7.3.1 from both managers and participants: it was easy for managers to direct participants' capacities (human resources) to assist in project objectives and enhance efficiency and effectiveness in terms of heritage conservation goals. In many cases, projects were designed to allow many levels of engagement, enhancing satisfaction through learning, socialising and interacting with others (even for participants with less pre-existing skills).

In general, training projects, led to direct reciprocal behaviour in the form of individual recurring volunteering or future engagement of participants with the specific institutions or related associations, dealing with same typology of heritage: most of the participants though reported passing onto paid roles or professional collaboration rather than recurring volunteering, which was limited to age groups like students and retirees (which concurs with existing research findings around time availability as a catalyst for participatory work see Brodie et al., 2011; Holmes and Slater, 2012 or even Long and Sweet, 2006 in relation to WH impact on the phenomenon). Institutions did establish certain core audiences this way and focused their activities on satisfying the needs of those (eg. skills development for younger individuals and need to offer for older ones).

Indirect reciprocal behaviour towards institutions (in the sense that it affects attitudes towards heritage but also perceptions of institutional decisions and policies) was observed through changes in public opinion and attitudes, viewed in Ch.7.4 and 7.5, 7.6: where people supported public projects or investments in certain restoration works, by recognising the value of previously not endorsed "official" heritage (eg. towards safeguarding wartime or archaeological monuments). The impact of external contributing factors, of wider scale (like national campaigns on redefining national identity through wartime history was evident) and has to be taken into account when accounting for such knock-on impacts of participation. Together they build upon legitimacy of institutions (White et al, 2010; Kiitsak-Prikk 2017), while participation allows for greater discussions on accountability on public spending to develop.

One could argue, that community trust towards those institutions was enhanced through volunteering but mostly indirectly (and therefore not as a core impact of volunteering): researchers (Lim and Laurence, 2015) found that participation in formal volunteering has the same (if not stronger) relationship with levels of trust as what they call "informal participation" or what we view here as community-led activities.

However, in cases of the third modality (Ch. 7.7, museum-led collaborations), volunteers despite being satisfied from the experience, separated their way and vision from the institutions' one. This

shows the incredible power of existing social networks that individuals belong to to formulate common vision, and drive group behaviour towards heritage protection and even affect the function and mission of institutions by acting as informal institutions themselves.

These interactions underline the need for institutions to be reflective and adaptive (Pelling et al, 2008; Gupta et al, 2010) to support reciprocity: reciprocity presumes that both sides are willing to interact and perform changes in their modus operandi, to accommodate each other's visions while negotiating their definitions and perceptions of heritage. Institutional goals and policies cannot therefore be fixed, but need certain flexibility to incorporate community perceptions of heritage and grounded definitions of significance within their missions (see also chapters 9.1 for recommendations at the different levels).

For community-led projects, links were established through cooperations but we can talk about "thin trust" formation (see Ch.8.2.1), as communities did not always work closely with professionals nor acted always in conjunction with local authorities' goals for action. In fact, empowered communities seemed to act independently from local institutions, pursuing their own objectives that may complement those of institutions and local authority but they may also contradict their priorities.

In the cases where reciprocal communication was present between planning authorities' officials and community trusts (either official via consultations or unofficial via specific local councillors, who mediated in projects' realisation), responsibilities for protection may be divided between those actors, but aligned to existing capacities residing in each. This describes a collaborative model of heritage planning and governance, where actors are aware of each others' plans, priorities and even strategies but focus on actively working towards achieving different objectives (interestingly enough activities usually focused on different heritage assets too, reflecting again the gap in priorities to safeguard official vs unofficial or vernacular heritage).

Positive institutional impacts in terms of quality of project planning outputs and process were mainly observed due to involvement of community members with/ in developing themes/priorities and planning community led projects. Learning benefits were observed within council members who collaborated with communities also in the phase of project development and delivery, engaged in knowledge transfer and exchanges of information or even securing funding streams for the Heritage/Community trusts. These exchanges seem to have enhanced the low levels of trust of The Heritage trust members towards council priorities, while assisted and empowered communities to manage more independently the financial aspects of their projects.

8.3.2.1 Implications: official and unofficial heritage definitions and values, the relevance of the AHD

In strict terms, the division of paths and modalities between organisations and community groups leading, represented in the data, reflects the wider issue of separation between 'official' versus 'unofficial' heritage being protected. This aspect constitutes the contribution of the thesis in expanding the discourse on 'Authorised heritage' as the same division is presented as a power issue but also as a socio-cultural preference issue [eg. traditional techniques, vernacular elements etc see Williams' (1958) notion of 'ordinary' culture] within the Authorised heritage discourse (Smith, 2006). The two "types" of heritage are seemingly drawn to different modalities of participation (individual focused structured training and conservation skills development through volunteering versus unstructured, organically evolving and flexible, community-led interpretation projects) that choose to focus on different assets too. What most communities choose to engage with and participate in in the cases studied is *unofficial heritage*, in two ways: usually the built assets are of local level of significance and not always featuring statutory protection and the focus is much more on safeguarding intangible aspects of value of place, including wider life in the rural landscapes that change through intangible expressions, performances or even oral histories and documentation that tends to ignore existing collections or at the best uses those only as starting point. In that sense engagement with conservation of material is minimal and remains with the experts to deal with.. Participants seem to make heritage as we saw -through a process of social construction (as in Hall, 1997; Mason, 2002,) consolidated in a form of 'ordinary heritage' more directly linked to the local identities and community history. This is supported also by physical outputs, through people's sharing and transfer of artefacts, memorabilia, traditional knowledge and practices (e.g. the passing of craftsmanship knowledge across generations).

However despite observing this division, especially this type of projects enabled communities and planning authorities to take steps to bridge their gap mainly through the active engagement of local groups in shaping future scenarios for placemaking, looking not only at the role of a single built asset but an area as a whole; the visions of their place driven by the historic character of place and the life of its communities that they identified through their interpretations and shared with local authority and wider audiences. On top of this, did engage with the planning process more actively since claiming responsibility for custodianship of a specific built asset (like Hoy Kirk) or in case of war memorials where they engaged in collaborative management, contributing to local authority's roles, even without legal ownership. They also developed an important number of new social links with local cultural institutions to support them in their projects, which allowed for knowledge exchanges, viewing the work of institutions and their expertise (eg. presentations by archaeologists on new areas of interest for excavations) but also a preview to the artefacts and collections the institutions may protect. In other words the process allowed for steps towards bridging of official and unofficial heritage protection worlds within an ecosystem that could allow for co-existence of different forms of governance, best suited for various heritage tangible and intangible assets

navigating between stakeholders interests; a re-approachment rather than distancing between authority gradients and local community members.

The observations around museum-led projects underlined the power of communal visions to form new networks of actors in order to engage in 'insitutionalisation' processes that would offer to those trust or charities legitimasation in entering discussiosn with planners and affecting the formal heritage protection mechanisms. In this process we see that succesful engagement may expect more form community gorups than the opposite-planning authorities tended to focus on statutory or nominal reposnsibilities, on protection of protected derelict buildigns for example, while realising only through engagement platforms (consultation in planning phase) that communtiy interests and values may lie elsewhere. This suggest the strategic value of early engagement in planning decisions in co-developing priorities that repsond to local sense of place and can therefore stimulate wider engagement in managing heritage projects under a collaborative approach.

The types of engagement adopted/ the modalities and the relevant expectations from engaging with the projects, have to be reviewed in conjunction with the differences in identified heritage values between experts and non experts (Smith, 2006) (and subsequently identifying what is heritage and why it is important, as well as instrumental value for society and for local development specifically observed in the analysis Ch.6, eg. experts emphasized the formal educational role of heritage while participants focused on the links with family history and identity more), that have to be considered constantly negotiated and redefined through social exchanges through active local engagement.

The research also confirmed the key role of active engageemnt in the form of performing or interpreting heritage and its intangibility which Smith had earlier underlined another aspect of this negotiation and redefinition process: "within a cultural process that privileges the performativity of "doing" and "being",which emphasizes association with intangible values rather than the possession of, or association with, material objects' (Smith, 2006 : 237-8). The research showed how this enabled connecting local participants with heritage, support identity formation and increasing sense of ownership that led to further responsibility to share and bequest hertiage values.

These two principles are supported by the findings and can form recommendations for changes in managers' practice;

(i) encompassing performative aspects in projects, as they allow for subtle negotiations of values: moreover Smith (2006:3) emphasizes the creation of bonding via performance and action. This was actually very visible in one of the projects (Hoy Kirk archive, project 4) where interviewees expressed themselves more passionately about the celebratory events, or in wartime restoration projects, participants specifically referred to the power of Commemorative events. Performativity

allows for louder dictation of social memory, referring to what Till defines as “the ongoing process whereby social groups “map” their myths of self onto and through a place and time” (1999) and reflected through communities creating socio-temporal and spatio-temporal links with heritage assets & communities in past and present through memory.

(ii) This brings us to the importance of intangible heritage for enabling these discussions and informal negotiation or even redefinition of heritage and its values (as seen in the case of the festival, heritage is re-defined and made through a process of value redefinition and involvement of material artefacts as well). We also saw that communities may only focus on safeguarding the intangible aspects, also due to issues of legal ownership of material assets that complexes the responsibility for safeguarding, which makes the role of managers as mediators and knowledge holders on conservation even more crucial to balance this.

However from the perspective of managers, handling in both aspects of tangible and intangible heritage and manage them together (as supported by Boylan,2006; Giaccardi and Palen, 2008) while enabling aspects of performativity, has not always been easy, especially for the ones that were focusing on protecting material aspects of specific assets and dealt with conservation projects (like archaeologists M1, 2,3 for example).

Further implications for professionals around this, and the related issue of ‘embeddedness of participation’ in project lifecycles discussed in Chapter 6, are mentioned in the conclusion chapter and exemplified in the published paper by Gallou and Fouseki (2019). The paper suggests that building up recognition of local social needs for communities of place is equally important as mapping the various stakeholders when planning activities within heritage projects. By including it in the process of planning, we can ensure project contents are linked with needs *on the ground* and this way guarantee wider local approval, responses in calls for participation and impacts that can significantly boost local development not only spatial but also social. It proposed how this process of developing programmes and projects, can happen in a collaborative way and connects it with the key Burra charter principle for values-based heritage management that is anchored to values attributed to heritage by different stakeholder groups.

8.3.3 Variances in sustaining heritage as place and the leverage of community-led projects for socio-spatial change, synergies and reciprocity

In this part we would like to look at different leverage of the modalities to instigate or produce changes in attitudes and behaviours towards historic place protection irrespectably of institutional engagement: both the tangible features of place but also its qualities.

A key point, in relation to participant/heritage further links and attitudes towards protection of heritage as place, for almost all modalities, lies in satisfaction stemming from feeling of pride offering to sites of universal importance -not very different from Wilson’s (2000) observation on the “importance to servicing the public interest”. This directly connects to a body of literature

supporting that heritage participation is enhancing sense of place and differentiation (or even “territorial identity”) in a globalised world, positioning pride for heritage and distinctiveness of place in the forefront of the discussion, with risks of commodification being challenging (Loveday, 2011).

However, community-led projects appear having important impact on participants behaviour (Chapter 7.6 and 7.3.3) towards sustaining not only artefacts or specific assets but heritage places, or the historic environment as an enclave of life and memories, including safeguarding of intangible aspects of heritage landscapes. They also suggested greater knock-on, longer term impacts on protecting features of local place, through increased members’ participation in local development planning decisions. Their leverage for incurring synergistic benefits (where both community existence, its wellbeing is supported and heritage at risk is protected in the long run) is stemming through a set of inter-linked impacts occurring through a long term process with many stages:

(i) The high level of **ownership** that the community felt and had over the projects from the start (and the assets involved), combined with the **intergenerational exchanges present as part of project initiation and development**. This way they achieved a successful transmission of bequest values from elderly to younger members, increased the **sense of shared responsibility** towards maintaining identity of place and informed heritage values of rural landscape (similar to Gibson and Koont findings around environmental stewardship, 1998). **Community ideals, vision and approach to management of sites** (especially rights and decision share around regulating use and access of heritage assets), showed an effective way to reinforce participation and ensure protection by inspiring responsibility towards heritage and place to visitors as well.

In fact, the idea of **initiating** a project makes more difference in terms of accepting responsibilities and committing to engage than given the opportunity to **lead** it (which is connected with the level of agency and control over the outputs and the process itself):

Existing levels of bonding within community structures and norms that rule belonging to the group, play crucial role for igniting feelings of responsibility to the social group itself (see also Lewicka, 2005 but also the intersections with seminal research on *sense of belonging to community* by Obst et al, 2002, Nowell et al, 2014, contrasting some of the foundation by Mcmillan, 2001). This can be viewed in the light of relevant research implying that social interaction in participatory contexts has the power to activate people’s altruism (Andreoni and Rao, 2011) and as such willingness to return to the community or offer to the common good or ‘public interest’ (Wilson, 2000).

(ii) Ultimately the strong sense of responsibility was combined with empowerment at community level when community groups entered the phase of active management of assets (capacity to submit and prepare funding applications, to develop business plans or delegating changes in regulatory aspects of historic spaces, like access), following a **gatekeepers’ approach** (as in Mackelworth and Carić, 2010) to self-regulation and management of local heritage assets with the managers/experts working as facilitators and mediators only (see figure 82). Figure shows

also how trust to managers developed through processes of mediation for developing networks (B1, access to resources) and their facilitating role for project delivery (B2) that allowed for ownership to be maintained and supported empowerment (R3)

From these, we can deduce that **community involvement in multiple phases of the projects**³⁷ allows for not only developing understanding and affection towards heritage assets, but empowers and develops management skills of local people supporting their wellbeing in the long run and their cooperation with professionals towards setting up self-regulatory strategies and gatekeeping heritage sites in their localities. As such it can reinforce reciprocal links between social and heritage benefits.

As the projects developed, communities not only found a way to complement missing skills but also to collaboratively act together to achieve a common goal towards their common good (turn a non-used asset into heritage-community center), through a self-reinforcing **process of empowerment** (Hegney et al., 2008, cited in Markantoni et al, 2015) or we could argue increased levels of capacity³⁸ towards collective management of historic assets locally owned. However this role undertaken by the community cannot be viewed or judged in isolation: the role of planners and especially of manager/expert facilitator (see figure 82) in this case allowed for achieving the outputs and ensured heritage assets protection by sharing of “know-how” to provide community leaders with understanding of processes of interacting with official regulatory mechanisms. Connection with planners also enabled the legal aspects of regulation of the resources by them (eg. by approving the change of land ownership).

³⁷ Studies agreeing on importance of range of activities in which volunteers are involved- has for success/high impact of HLF funded projects see (Applejuice, 2006, p. 63 in Clark & Gareth Maeer , 2008), noting that is key to differentiate from what they called traditional volunteering projects. It is important though to analyse flow of activities per individual to be able to deduce such results and trace real impact.

³⁸ Resilience is another term used by authors describing this: “the collective capacity to engage and mobilize community resources to respond to, and influence change” (Leigh et al., 2011)

TRUST TO HERITAGE MANAGERS & EMPOWERMENT IN COMMUNITY LED PROCESS 0

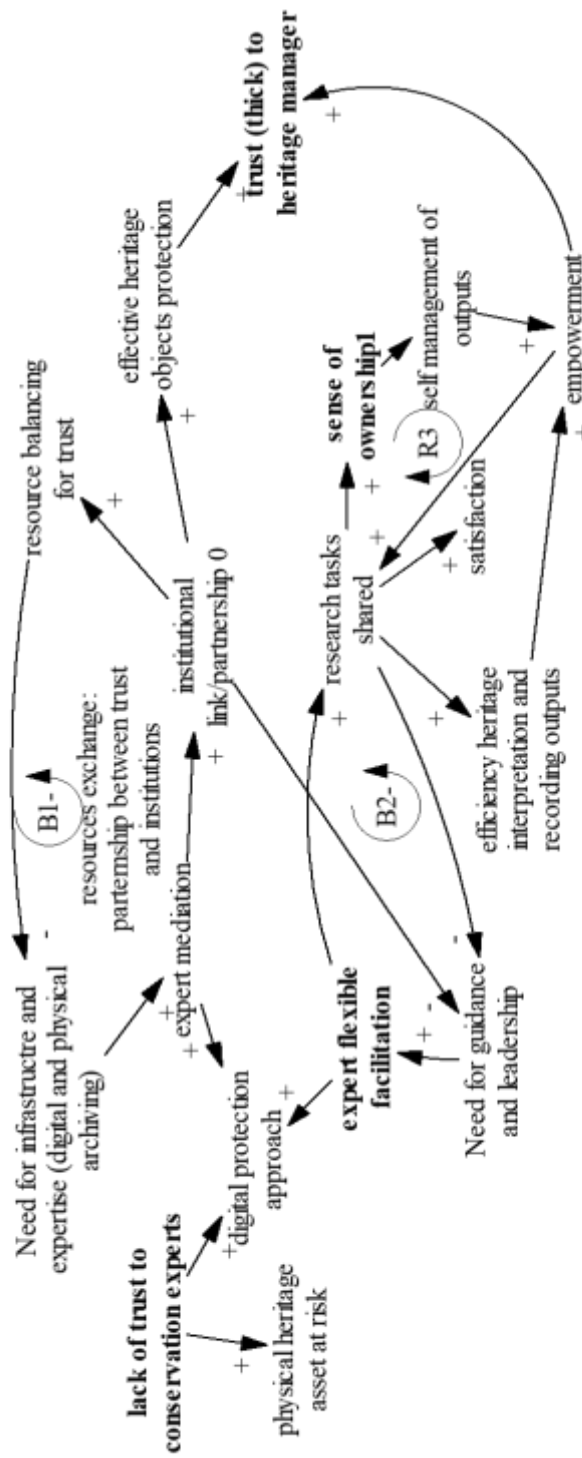


Figure 82 Generic loop explaining how indirect development of trust to heritage managers/experts takes place within community-led projects

(iii)The way empowerment is linked in our analysis to wider social benefits, is through leading to further, **active involvement in broader decisions related to place making** (Newman,et al.2005 link it to wider boost of civic engagement) (eg. react and actively obstruct touristic exploitation and

relevant development projects in the area that may put heritage attributes and character of place at risk). Landorf, (2011 and following Chhotray and Stoker,2008, p. 169) also considers empowerment as condition of social cohesion, linking it to social benefits for communities.

While engaging in process of regulation and access management for tangible assets, but also in physical restoration of the building, the local groups actively engaged with local councilors and planners to consult on local planning regulations and ensure their plan's terms could be approved, developing interactions that can reinforce **thin trust through knowledge exchange and support to access needed resources** (see figure 83 trust to institutions). Figure 83 shows how thin trust development works between community members and local council representatives in community-led projects : it can relatively balance existing distrust to public authorities (B).

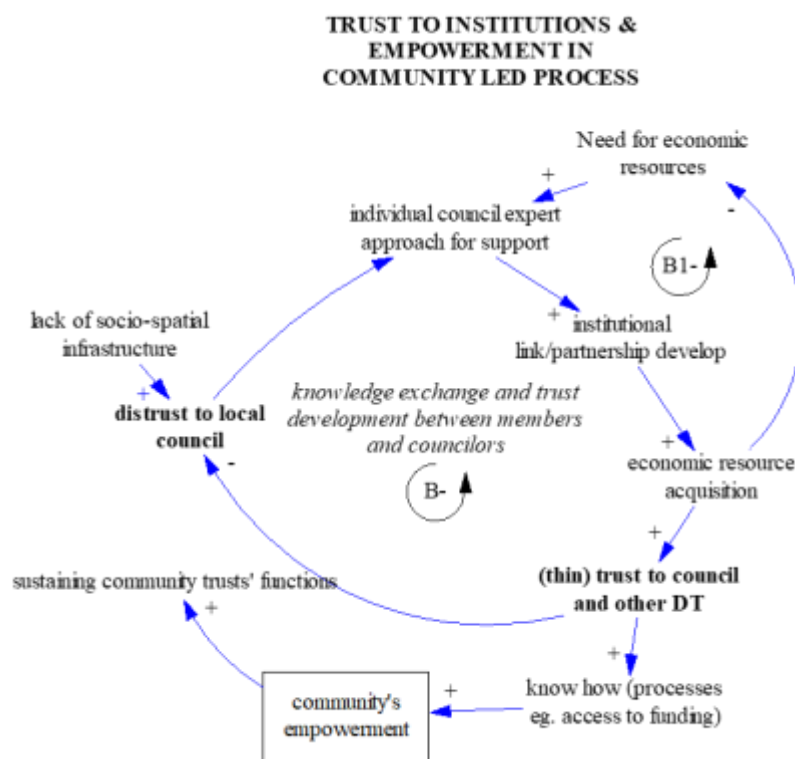


Figure 83 Generic loop diagram showing how trust to local governing institutions is created: need for resources (B1, material-financial and immaterial, know-how) leads to social exchanges and balances thin trust to council representatives

This shows evidence for **collaborative governance and management processes** having informally developed as an impact of the project: a model considered reportedly difficult to achieve (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Especially when discussing participatory approaches to management of heritage and cultural resources this has been considered risky or inefficient, due to potential conflict involved in group decision making and the time required for delegations. (Borrini-Feyerabend et al, 2013 on protected areas governance types and conflict; Dragouni 2016:208; Rubinstein, 2007 on decision making process; Vargas and Diaz, 2017 on deliberations processes and multiple writings on heritage management within development and approaches to conflict resolution, like

Turner and Tomer, 2013, pp.193). Despite this critique, collaborative governance structures have been reported as bringing more sustainable outcomes for communities, particularly within contexts in which tourism and natural heritage management are of utmost significance to the local economic life (Mbaiwa, 2004; Stronza and Gordillo, 2008)

However, other researchers (Reis and Hayward 2013) discuss the role of collaborative governance as an enabler of increased ownership, its potential to reinforce sense of ownership in island contexts, something really crucial as it can influence the instigation of the process of community-led projects as seen earlier.

In our case, the existing openness of local councillors to public consultations and collaboration with local groups definitely acted as an enabler, but the community itself also devoted time and developed skills and capacities to support new network creation, knowledge exchange, resource attraction and finally sustaining of small projects within the community/heritage centres. Botchway's quote on self-sustaining of a process becomes more than relevant:

"The local control over the amount, quality and benefits of development activities helps make the process self-sustaining" [(Botchway 2001, p. 136 in Claridge, (2004c))]

These outcomes of empowerment, resonate with White's perspective of participation acting as empowerment or " the practical experience of being involved in considering options, making decisions, and taking collective action to fight injustice" as an inherently transformative process (1996).

Developing empowerment and responsibility of community groups to 'take charge', albeit supported by flexible and appropriate policies, are considered necessary to be promoted in the sector especially in relation to small, rural community groups (Bryden and Geisler, 2007 and Bryan 2005). In the broader international discussion, empowering local communities to 'affirm their rights and act on their responsibilities' is considered critical to the current best practice conservation approaches (World Heritage Committee is encouraging the inclusion of communities as 'legitimate stakeholders in decision-making processes' through promoting a right-based approach (in relation to poverty and resource issues in marginalized contexts Oviedo and Puschkarsky 2012, P. 285, Williams and Stewart, 2008), also supported by the Faro convention (Council of Europe, 2005).

The contribution and role of heritage managers, as scientific experts in this pathway suggest, that a model of **community guardianship of heritage resources or gatekeeping** can be really efficient where those local experts are also consulted for resource complementation and partnerships are formed between them, communities and local planning authorities (Wells, 2017).

Place-related impacts are in fact included in the initial aims and objectives (and the theme) of these projects (the great power of heritage projects when integrating place-making goals that

represent community's vision of their place and are based on clearly identified and mapped social/spatial needs (Esteves, 2009, Imperiale and Vanclay, 2016) of the community, increase relevance and endorsement of projects.

Concluding, the main gap between volunteering modality vs community-led lies in the restricted potential of the first to incur direct impacts or active engagement (ie. changes in behaviors towards acceptability of previously non-significant official heritage restoration projects, mostly via use of outputs or legitimation of institutional spending/strategic project planning decisions) without actively engaging in assisting towards protection of outputs or contribute to further institutional goals. In community led projects, people took a step further and followed-up with rather proactive attitudes: they actually actively engaged in place making through directing their activities/engagement to respond to social needs and social infrastructure needs, covering a gap in provision of services by public, institutional resources (and loss of vertical bridging capital as seen in 8.2.1, see similar results in Alston, 2002b, 2007) while actively collaborating with the council and other stakeholders, a whole network of actors, (including Development trusts) to achieve their goals. Community groups priorities, like protecting the wilderness and their living memories enabled them become part of the tourism planning and 'have their say' on defining the character of their area for any visitor.

Comparing the two core modalities of projects, while impacts of volunteering remained restricted to educated and socially connected participants in their majority, while linked to engagement with certain typologies of heritage assets (institutionalized heritage), impacts of community-led projects were spreading faster and longer: towards other parishes, wider community/ies of place through the use of outputs by the community and development of concrete models of guardianship and heritage protection. All these, show the **leverage of community-initiated heritage projects (linked with tangible heritage and rural landscapes) for supporting rural socio-spatial transformation in remote localities** as they can ensure the relevance of projects with local needs and firmly connect them with spatial infrastructure network affecting the lives of multiple adjacent communities.

The two diagrams below (fig. 84 and 85) show how positive social and heritage protection impacts may occur simultaneously (**synergies**) or as a result of each other (linear causal links and few reinforcing causal links), during the process of participatory heritage projects:

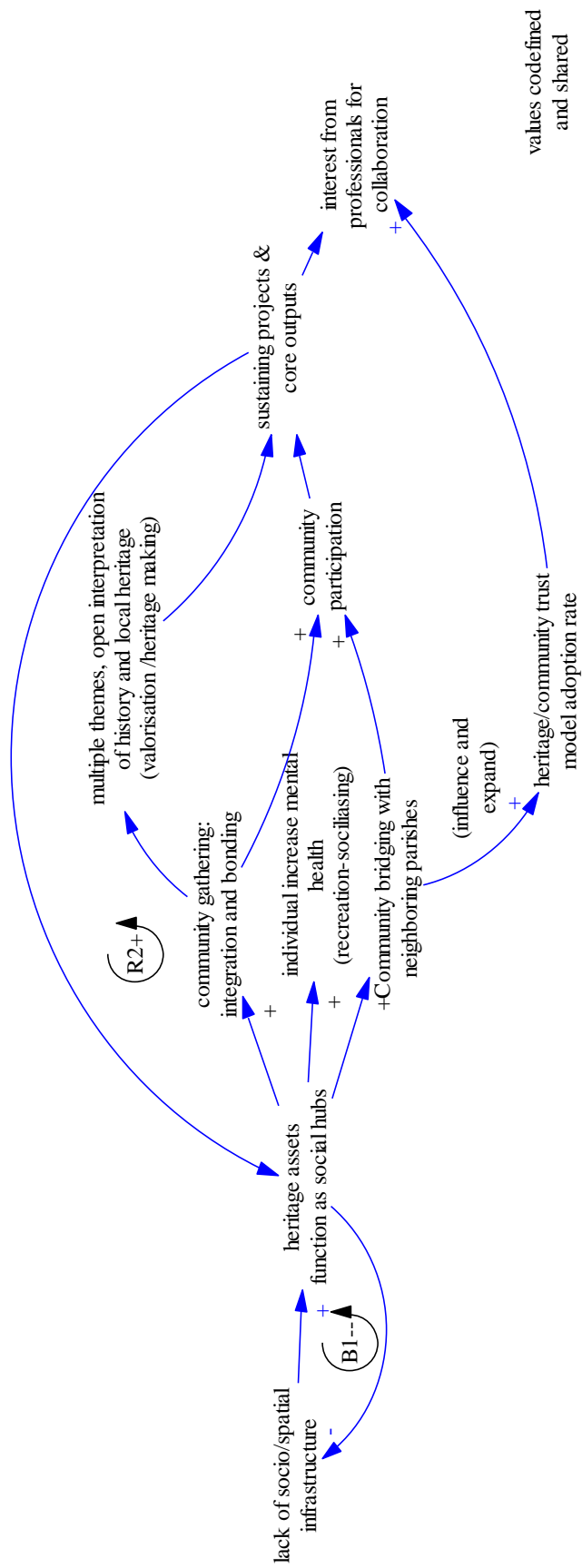


Figure 84 Abstract loops showing synergies in community-led projects: the process of social transformation through process of heritage making: community is reinforcing bonds with neighboring parishes, while balancing lack of social infrastructure (B1) by reusing local heritage assets as community hubs

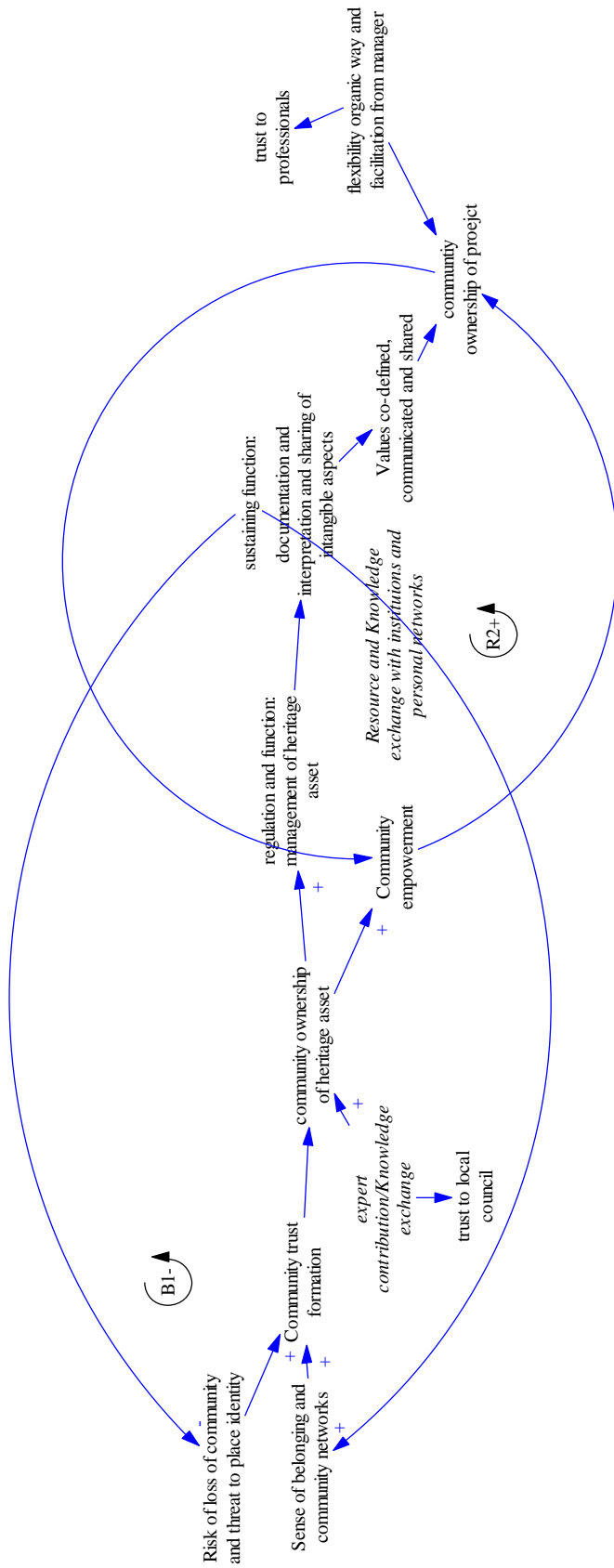


Figure 85 Abstract loop showing synergies in community-led projects: how process of empowerment is 'embedded' within processes of heritage protection and management, with community engaging in multiple phases of the process - including ownership and regulation (R2)

8.4 Reciprocity, synergy and preconditions for achieving it: variant impact pathways and links between social, heritage and institutional impacts

Up to now, we viewed reciprocity towards institutions but also reciprocal behaviors towards heritage places, and how the various modalities of participation led to one or another form.

We can locate reciprocity also at another level, through mutually reinforcing, causal links between social and heritage impacts. Such effects were manifested through two possible impact pathways/directions of impacts as viewed in chapter 8 (from social to heritage impacts and the opposite) for the different modalities of participation (figures 80,81 impact pathways) :

- Participation triggering beneficial social change that subsequently triggers further engagement with heritage and this reinforces the effect of social benefits for communities or
- Participation supporting heritage management within or outside institutional frames, that is leading indirectly to social wellbeing benefits for local communities. This, in turn, supports enhanced long-term involvement with heritage safeguarding through responsibility and commitment from community.

In most cases simultaneous or synergetic benefits (but not necessarily causally related or reciprocal/mutually reinforcing) were observed: where both institutions and communities would benefit from the process at the same time. Those benefits were not always triggering long term changes through reciprocal exchanges that continued in time.

- Reciprocal behaviors towards both heritage and institutions(looking at finds form both modalities) were observed in cases where attributes of the process of participation allowed for:

(i) social and knowledge exchange enhancing knowledge levels and enabling efficient, inclusive approaches to heritage safeguarding while enabling social integration or reinforcing intergenerational links. This made evident the important role of incomer sand mangers in bringing knowledge resources in community projects.

(ii) heritage projects and activities within them to serve directly a primary social function or addressed socio-spatial needs of communities, supporting place liveability (eg. fig. 75, 76 participants C22, 23 loop diagram) that as a consequence increased local engagement and ensured sustaining of heritage interpretation and making activities. These led to increasingly important heritage benefits, that extended reciprocal volunteering/increased sense of place as an outcome to touch active involvement of participants with many extended aspects of heritage management and planning (like community regulation of heritage resources/assets and active role in local place-making).

(iii) reciprocity was present where participants were able to relate to themes and content of heritage project, including perceptions of local place and local heritage assets. This suggests that taking into account communal sense of place, allowed for co-developing visions for development and re-defining heritage values. Similarly, when project was designed to align with existing needs (social needs and problems) persisting in the community their impact was evident and the immediate effects on assisting wellbeing locally higher.

(iv) more benefits for both (simultaneous) but also reciprocal links between community and heritage safeguarding (mostly non-institutionalized management) was observed when community's contribution to management was possible in multiple phases of project planning and delivery : from interpretation to regulation, empowering communities to engage in collaborative guardianship and even have an active role in place-making (and not only contribute in the stricter frames of a certain project). When participation was already embedded in project structure (especially in the delivery phase) this was easier to achieve.

(iv) Similarly reciprocal community behavior towards institutions (especially engaging with local authority in planning and development through heritage) was observed when trust was established through continuous collaboration, multilateral information exchange and clear sharing of responsibilities and role in specific projects. This way communities are also empowered and gain ability to act, without losing their wider trust to institutions.

(v) As an observation to this, the role of managers in brokering relationships was crucial-when they managed to act as facilitators or intermediaries (on the same principle as rangers role) they could provide long term collaboration between institutions and communities (gap identified in the ability to community scientific value of material conservation to communities that could further enhance heritage safeguarding together with community –ideal in collaborations). Their curial role allowing communities to share their heritage was visible, enabling further uses of heritage but also opening up ways for social connectedness between communities.

Those preconditions that form the base of our framework for designing and delivering projects for reciprocal impacts, are represented schematically in the following diagram and accompanying table, which shows the role of the preconditions in different phases of project management:

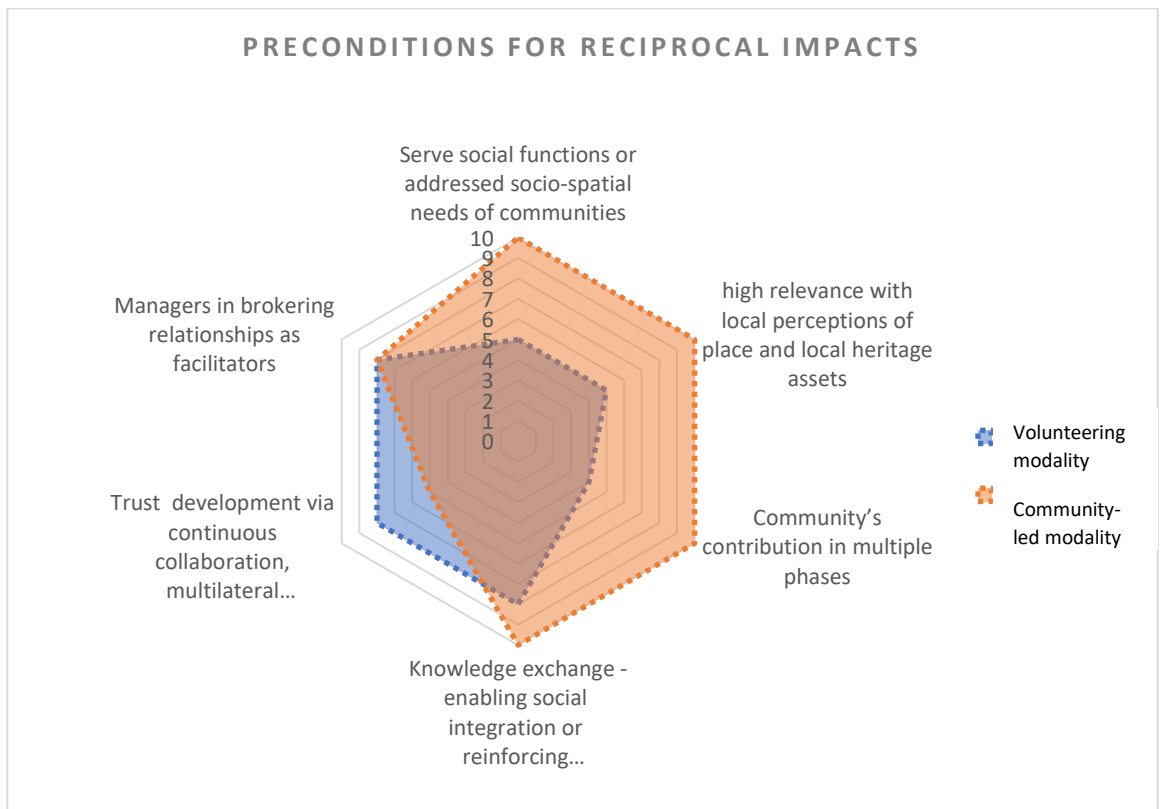


Figure 86 Framework of preconditions for harnessing reciprocal impacts in the two modalities of participation (scale is only indicative of level of expected performance of each modality in each of the indicators developed)

Table 24 Framework for reciprocal impacts for communities and institutions: common preconditions in all modalities of participatory projects, during the various phases of project management. The colored diagram represents with blue the factors with higher leverage for volunteering projects, and with red the ones for community-led projects

Phase in Project management cycle	Preconditions for reciprocal impacts for both modalities of participatory projects
1.Planning phase	Serve social functions or addressed socio-spatial needs of communities
	High relevance with local perceptions of place and local heritage assets
2.Delivery phase	Community's contribution in multiple phases –embed participation in PM Cycle
	Knowledge exchange - enabling social integration or reinforcing intergenerational links
3.Post- project maintenance phase: long term management and collaboration with Institutions	Trust development via continuous collaboration, multilateral information exchange and clear sharing of responsibilities
	Managers in brokering relationships as facilitators (empowerment, capacity building) and connectors (resource access)

In order for the preconditions for reciprocity to be achieved, changes in practices at individual level (managers), organizational level (line managers and strategic decisions) and even planning/governance level need to be achieved, as delineated by the gaps identified by balancing loops in the analysis Ch.7 and distances in perceptions and beliefs on role of heritage in Ch.6.

Key aspects that play a role as seen in Table above, are related to communities' sense of place and sense of belonging to a group, but also to trust to institutions and empowerment /capacity to act together. Their interrelationship between those, is going to be discussed in the next final chapter that draws theoretical links between the concepts and develops by the final theoretical/analytical framework that describes how sense of place and social capital development interact to support or restrict social and heritage benefits through community participation. This is based on elaboration of impact pathways (figures 80,81).

Many simultaneous benefits or **synergies** (instead of reciprocal or causally related ones), were also observed were project outputs (or processes) enhanced socio-economic sustainability at local level while sustaining heritage resources (similar to II for reciprocity, but impacts were not causally related, or occurring sequentially, see fig. 84 and 85).

These suggest that capital enables access to other resources and capital transformation is happening: social links and networks support exchanges, that are not only social but also material and financial providing different resources/capacities to the agents involved in the exchange. Emery and Flora (2006) also suggest that investments in human resources and social capital (ie.by integrating borrowed resources from other groups) can result in a 'spiralling-up' effect, where these investments produce gains in other forms of capital (Winterton et al, 2014).

This exchange of various forms of capital through network creation (that allows access to resources a social group may need) can be considered main trigger for further synergies and reciprocal benefits: knowledge is transformed to capacity to act and exchanges between communities and institutions support accessing both material and immaterial resources. This is concurrent with Bourdieu's analysis on how social capital is being exchanged with various forms of capital (eg. human, throughout the processes of social exchange, economic etc. see also Siisiäinen, 2000).

Chapter 9. Conclusion: participation's leverage for synergies and reciprocal benefits between institutions and rural communities

The thesis looked at the context of island communities and their relationship with heritage, aiming at uncovering how processes of participation function, and how they affect both community's social relationships and links with heritage. This conclusion chapter summarises the contribution of the thesis following a systemic approach to uncover the interdependencies between actors' behaviours in shaping processes of participation and engagement.

The chapter will reflect on:

- Key findings, like the variant leverage of the different modalities of participation towards balancing needs and addressing social problems in rural communities and towards effective protection, sharing and interpretation of heritage resources. (Ch. 8.3, 8.4). The level at which participation can forge positive benefits for both, is assessed through its ability to create **synergies** for and **reciprocal links** between communities, heritage and institutions. The findings from the different modalities helped to identify a general set of **'pre-conditions or prerequisites' for reciprocity** (see Ch. 8.4, fig.86) which can inform recommendations for practice.
- The key argument of the thesis will be presented here (Ch. 9.1); reciprocal links can be achieved **through a 'balanced approach'**, that can shape effective outcomes of **collaborative heritage management and planning** for different actors involved, based on 'shared responsibilities'. This needs to build upon nurturing **trust** towards professionals and institutions, while also supporting local **empowerment** for community groups(ch.9.2.1). By building reciprocal links, the gap between community-led and institutionally-led approaches that tend to focus on different types of heritage too (official versus unofficial and tangible versus intangible) can be narrowed, by brokering role of professionals that allows combining different types of knowledge and cross-group sharing of heritage.
- A pathway to achieve reciprocal links and this balanced approach is presented, through an **analytical framework** (Ch.9.2.3), grounded in the findings on how **social capital and sense of place** are developed through processes of engagement with heritage and how they operate in the context of rural communities, affecting place identity and their behaviour of participation in heritage. This consists the major contribution of the thesis to the discussion around the Authorised heritage discourse, challenging on role of experts and their agency for reshaping long-established power structures that reinforce divisions between official and unofficial heritage- as described in Ch.8.3.2.1.
- The framework reflects on the heritage assemblage of management and planning processes showing interdependencies of outcomes: engagement in different activities

can shape sense of responsibility and positively impact upon community's role in **place-making processes** and developing visions for their place.

- The thesis expands the argument from individual professional's behaviour to wider institutional role through positioning the findings within process of heritage management and legitimisation. The concept of '**social license to operate**', **coming from the field of social impact assessment** (ch.9.4.2), is introduced to discuss the need for incorporating social needs and seek for local approval when shaping institutional strategies and plans (but also through considering impacts on social lives of communities as part of their evaluations). Such an approach would enable to reinforce reciprocity in practice from local communities and support the balanced approach.

Finally the chapter will also reflect on the academic **contribution of the thesis, its** originality and value of the research (9.3), both theoretical and methodological, as well as suggestions for advancing research in the field:

- the theoretical contribution made here (ch.9.3.1) in advancing the operationalisation of the huge concepts of **social capital and sense of place** within heritage studies (chapters 3 and 9 and 8.2). In doing so, it developed the interdependencies between management and planning levels and how collaborative approaches at both can flourish. The thesis developed and tested a novel socio-spatial framework for understanding impacts of engagement with heritage for both communities and institutions (see ch.9.2.3 and initial conceptualisation in ch.5.3.2.2).

-the development and advancement of what constitutes a 'participatory' heritage project and the different modalities described here (ch.8.3), extending the rich literature built on ladders/levels of participation through process and outcomes analysis. The impact areas identified by the thematic analysis can inform evaluation studies looking at linear set of impacts (social and institutions).

-the bridging of literature and research which positions heritage management within a wider body of work on rural development and local sustainable development, by examining role of social capital and processes of collaborative management (ch.9.3).

-the key methodological contribution (ch.9.4) lies in the novel, systemic conceptualisation of interaction between actors and use of analytical tool of causal loops. Its implications for shaping further research on *process analysis* and *impacts of different processes* through the notion of path dependency are described. The understanding of the notion of **synergy and reciprocity** within systems is also a novel contribution useful in understanding multi-actor behaviour change and impacts of multi-stakeholder programmes (relevant with heritage sector).

Finally, some key methodological limitations (9.4.3. see also ch.5) are acknowledged here, together with implications for relevant future research and finally, recommendations for management practice (ch.9.4.4) are presented in the end of the chapter.

Key findings on socio-institutional impacts and implications for role of heritage in rural community development

As explained in chapter 4, insularity and remoteness have been considered to exacerbate social problems like social isolation and ageing, or slow depopulation of rural areas (Svensson, 2009). The thematic analysis results, as the first part of this research, have indicated a crucial role for heritage in affecting social wellbeing for residents in a rural context, by suggesting a list of benefits like social integration of in migrants, boosting cohesion between parishes through exchanges, and bonding between local community members, experienced both at an individual and at a group/community level (see Tables in Appendix L).

Rural communities' extremely strong sense of place and links with small geographic localities/assets, shaping the identities of micro-groups over the islands studied, showed that these may pose risks of disputes and disrupt cohesion at a broader scale (eg.parish to parish): groups focusing in utilising this hyper-local assets alone in their quest for further local differentiation (and capitalisation of this identity, partly due to the need to attract cultural and natural heritage tourism but mainly) because of the need to reconfigure 'community identities' at risk of extinction, due to depopulation. The thesis by adopting a sustainability lens to the research, looked at post-project social outcomes and long-term exchanges between local groups and expert groups (See ch.8.4, fig. 86) as key factors for assessing success from the perspective of process outcomes. This way it showcased the contribution of heritage to social change and local development through new pathways, further than typically studied economic ones.

The analysis also identified key institutional impacts, as perceived by professionals involved in heritage participatory projects (see table 50 Appendix L). These were viewed to be both internal in terms of enhancing practices, skills and improve structures but also external, regarding networks, collaborations and partnership development linking institutions with other social agents. These indicate how heritage in rural contexts can play a key role in supporting neo-endogenous rural development, that by combining existing resources in the context and linking the capacity of different actors, creating more opportunities.

By describing the social and institutional impacts and discussing them through the social-capital based conceptual framework (chapt.8.2.1-2), the research covered identified gaps in literature around "typology and diversity of possible links between social capital and cultural heritage" (Graham et al., 2009). By locating how impacts occurs within the lifecycle of planning and management processes, (see Appendix L but also **Error! Reference source not found.** for reflections on this) and what are the heritage values for groups of impact recipients (see ch.8.3.a,method 4.6-7 and analysis 6.2-3). The thesis provides link to the Burra charter suggestions on how to achieve values-based management through engagement.

The thesis by adopting a sustainability lens to the research, inserted the consideration of post-project social outcomes and long-term exchanges between local groups and expert groups (See ch.8.4, fig. 86 and tables 19, 20) as key factors for assessing success from the perspective of process outcomes. This way it showcased the contribution of heritage to social change and local development through new pathways, further than typically studied economic outputs.

Causal loops: synergy and reciprocity

The causal loop diagrams discussion (Chapter 8.4), identified some reciprocal links between impacts, identified through the loops that were linking different impacts, but also described the most commonly observed 'synergistic benefits' (for both institutions and communities). They also identified linear causal links between impacts (that did not form causal loops, not proving evidence on path dependencies). These resulted in a set of key themes (Table 20), across the sample, describing mechanisms that led to reciprocity and showing systemic level interdependencies between behaviours of key actors.

Through comparing '**pathways to impact**' between different processes and modalities (see fig 80, 81, table in ch.8.3) the analysis compared the leverage of engaging in volunteering with that of bottom-up engagement to find that the latter achieved a broader spectrum of social impacts affecting not only individuals (as in volunteering impacts seemed "locked" with the specific individuals) but collective capacity and behaviour of community groups. On the other hand, institutionally –led projects apart from physical time of volunteers added to the staff time (as valuable resource), contributed to new knowledge accumulation and quality of information on understanding sites and tangible heritage. What is impressive is that the role of non-experts in the community-led projects proved valuable in more stages and phases of heritage protection process, allowing for wider definitions fo heritage to be obtained (see Appendix J): from documentation of the history of local assets and their respective value, inclusive interpretation but also regulation and management of assets, they achieved more through connecting groups with wider audiences and sharing historic knowledge. This suggests that current institutional engagement models that tend to focus on providing roles for communities in heritage interpretation alone need to expand the set of roles and include local knowledge in more aspects and phases of work, to achieve their full potential for synergetic outcomes.

One of the key causal interrelationships observed, in processes of community-led projects, is that people's interactions with the rural heritage assets and intangible heritage commemorated through it, thanks to open access and sharing (see for example the exemplary loop diagram Fig. 75,76 for C22-23, reinforcing loop R12), increased social capital locally on two levels:

- Linking individuals to their local community, assisting people to create networks and engage in local decisions while fighting social isolation (bonding), and

-linking communities of place, creating social networks between neighbouring parishes or communities (bridging) which assists in balancing social cohesion at an island level, by increasing such exchanges (Fig. 75,76 C22-23, balancing loops B10, B11).

Through this process, members' 'sense of place' for heritage and historic places was reinforced (see 8.3.3) and they developed interest in further protecting the area and its key values, sustaining their informal engagement with heritage. This on its turn, brought knock-on social impacts like: *community empowerment* and the *capacity to engage in place-making decisions* in discussion with heritage planning officers, which affected the lives of the greater local group. In that sense, these mutually reinforcing benefits and this form of engagement with heritage is more powerful than recurring volunteering (which was also observed as an impact of institutionalised participation), as it is through wider social processes that heritage can only be re-negotiated and legitimised as resource valuable to protect. The unstructured nature of activities enhanced opportunities to include nature-culture connections and unofficial heritage into consideration, allowing links to local heritage places that may have been excluded from the official foci of heritage institutions before, enabling also engagement by wider audiences. In fact, a process of heritage making was observed, by a group of people with a common vision of their past (but also their future) who developed capacity to actively pursue such changes.

The results in that sense -showing how people's association with unofficial and intangible heritage both enhance social capital and reinforce sense of place- align with previous heritage research findings on the subject (Lewicka, 2005, 2008; Murzyn-Kupisz & Działek, 2013; Wiesinger, 2007; Mihaylov and Perkins, 2013). The thesis expands the discussion to include potentially negative implications of this reinforcement, following the observations-these are discussed as part of the analytical framework developed here. Additionally, the research revealed key factors that imbue motivation to engage in protection processes at the less explored area of group –level behaviours : the role of a '*sense of belonging to a community*' (See role of cognitive social capital, ch.8.2.1), alongside a '*sense of belonging to a place*'(see ch.8.3.3) were crucial, affecting both engagement in management but also in wider planning and place-making discussions (which was evidenced as long term outcome more in community-led projects). It facilitated group members to develop a common vision, realise their collective power to act, and supported relationships and networks necessary to protect both *community identity and 'place' identity*. As such, these two concepts hold a key role in studying behaviours towards the collective level actions for protection of heritage(see also 9.2.3 for analysis of how these operate), with specific power in rural landscape settings suggesting need for further behaviour-change research to validate how such mechanisms operate in different contexts.

9.1 Towards a balanced approach

Some ‘*missing variables*’ in some of the causal loops, like missing role of professionals in community-led projects and a relative neglect of tangible heritage conservation aspects, suggested lack of links (see ch.8.3. 3) leads to risks for loss of material attributes of heritage (especially alarming for sites with high exposure to extreme weather, combined with non-systematic conservation efforts (eg. lacking conservation management plans, lacking resources for medium term interventions and period monitoring etc). In contrast, engagement of communities with professionals in the emerging modality of museum-led collaborations (see ch.7.7.2) provides a good approach for the role of latter in promoting sharing ‘*their heritage*’ with experts, and establish not only social links with other local groups (that enhanced cohesion), including local relevant communities of interest (like creative professionals who assisted them in interpretation processes), and managers themselves who complemented their skills (eg. on technical aspects of conservation) when necessary at least in the form of expert advice .

These suggest the need for a “balanced approach” which would re-position the role of both experts (as facilitators and network brokers, not only experts) and that of ‘community experts’ (as leaders and connectors) in processes of institutionally-led and community-led participation, to ensure not only higher social benefits but also the harnessing of scientific and other types of knowledge, in order to build community capacity, wherever there is need. This will be further visualised as part of the analytical framework presented later on.

9.1.2 Expectations and roles for communities and institutions for achieving reciprocal links and collaborative management

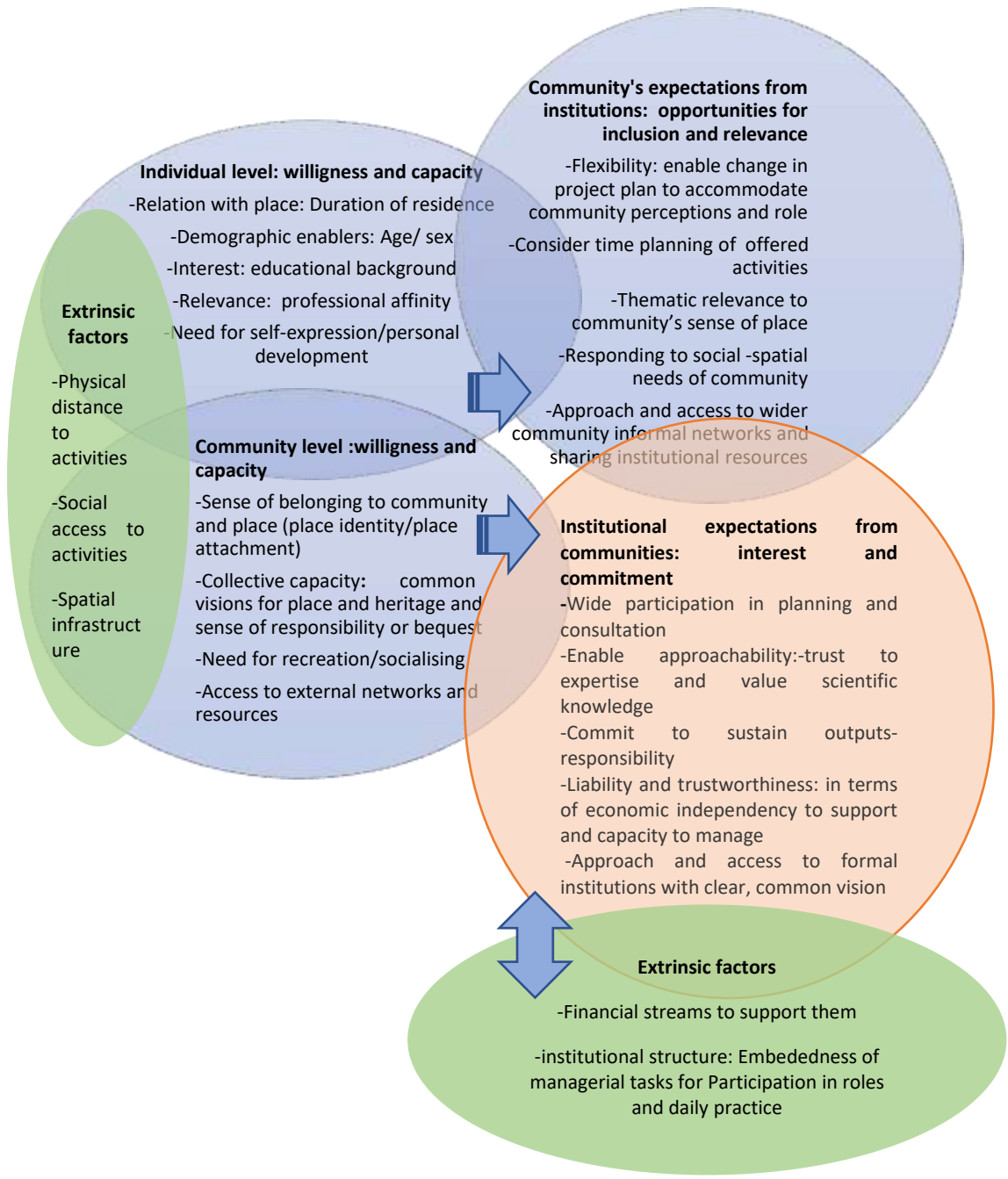
Key for reciprocal behaviour between experts, their institutions and community groups and sustainable engagement is the amount, direction and quality of mutual exchanges of knowledge and resources, that allows for trust development and legitimization of the work of both (especially the institutions) : these are necessary to guarantee long-term collaborations between the two groups for protecting heritage, while addressing local needs. The analysis through the loop diagrams made specific observation of how these two aspects (trust and legitimacy) are affecting community members responses towards institutional offers of various kinds (chapters 7.5, 7.6,7.7 respectively).

The contribution of the thesis to understanding how a collaborative management model can be established lies in exposing both individual, community and institutional level motivations and perceived ability to engage in such a model. Figure 87 shows the different perspectives at individual, community and institutional level in terms of expectations from the other side to engage in a reciprocal relationship. These can define how *effective participation is in terms of achieving positive social and institutional expectations* and goals that matter for the different

groups (experts, community members, etc.). The distance between community and institutional expectations from each other, observed, are the gaps for achieving reciprocity (See fig. 87 below).

The analysis of behaviours of agents at a systemic level (chapt7 and 8) confirmed the interdependencies between managers', planners' agency and institutional structures for enabling reciprocal and sustained links with local communities. In that sense, Giddens' theoretical claims on agents being not only "bearers" of structures, but *active participants* (having the *power to change the structure*) are confirmed here. Aspects of institutional culture and structures, were found to highly affect the limits of their 'agency' and ability to change their roles and approaches -where necessary- to accommodate communities' needs in participatory projects. Moreover enabled understand which individual and community level factors around willingness to participate and capacity to engage, enable participation to *happen* at the first place (see fig.87 below). This can be viewed hand in hand with the key pre-conditions for reciprocity identified in Ch.8.4 that summarise critical factors for achieving it.

Figure 87 Key factors for participatory projects to develop and flourish from participants' perspectives- at individual and community level. Expectations from both sides (communities/institutions) stemming from interest and expected benefits



9.2 The interplay between social capital and sense of place for reciprocity: an analytical socio-spatial framework

This next part will reflect upon the most challenging findings, especially the relationship between social capital and sense of place and how this affects reciprocal links between communities and

heritage (and pro-heritage behaviors), while identifying implications for institutional representatives, having a mediating role in the process.

Three key arguments are developed here, identified in the discussion (Ch.8):

-the significant role of ‘trust in institutions’ and the fragile balance between empowering communities versus nurturing trust (with implications for enabling communities to socially flourish but also to engage with heritage more confidently)

-Second the role of strong ‘sense of place’ and spatial identities as main explanatory factor for pro-heritage behaviors, next to an enabling social context (pro-social factors observed). The implications for the role of heritage in shaping active citizens (and local engagement in wider place-making, with the micro-politics of this explained) and visions to drive sustainable local development is part of this.

-Finally, the chapter builds upon the generic impact pathways (ch.8.3) to propose an analytical socio-spatial framework (fig.88) which maps interdependencies between communities-heritage-institutions based on the key constructs of social capital and sense of place in rural community context. It explains their observed functions in supporting synergies and reciprocal links. The framework allows for structuring further suggestions for research, discussing findings in relation to previous research but also making recommendations on best practice and managers’ approaches, by locating factors that may obstruct reciprocity. It also links management and planning needs for heritage, showcasing one of the contributions of the thesis.

9.2.1 The crucial role of trust for collaborative management governance: a balance between trust and empowerment?

One of the key findings of the research relates to the role that trust in institutions holds towards supporting motivation to engage in institutionally-led participation or collaboration in the first place (see ch.8.3.3 , fig. 82, 83).

In the community-led modality, trust was related to the legitimacy and perceived role mostly of local governing bodies, as main outcomes were affecting decision at planning level and local visions for parishes. Sustaining trust was possible through ensuring effective collaborations and networks that can benefit both engaging parties in the long run to reach their goals and engage in protection mechanisms (see also communal benefits and avoidance of conflict in Nunkoo and Ramkinssoon, 2011). Similar results are also supported in resource management studies like Pretty, 2003 [in Stave, K., 2010] looking into for cooperation.

Perkin (2010) indicates the role of power and perceptions of authority in developing trusting behaviors towards heritage institutions: the “privileged position” as centers of knowledge and authority supports public institutions being acknowledged and respected by members of the

public. This assumes that trust is gained through the legitimization of those bodies' roles as knowledge and power holders. Expanding this claim, I attained, supported by theoretical claims on the reciprocal nature of trust that institutions can gain legitimization through continuous engagement and the development of linking and relational capital, allowing sharing some of that knowledge widely. (Chapter 8.2.2)

But how can institutions can sustain this feeling of trust? The results indicated certain successful strategies that eg. the local planning authority followed to engage with communities and develop trust:

- a. utilising personal networks of planners as individual brokers but also
- b. Relying upon structures and platforms of negotiation and communication to increase representation and inclusiveness.

The findings also indicated common pitfalls that "broke trust" (proving the fragile and reciprocal nature of trust development on the course of networks development), such as attitudes of planners towards community groups, like:

- a. the choice of collaborators based on perceptions of capacities that created exclusion for less experienced/ready community groups or even
- b. Disagreement with political and strategic choices that may be distanced from communities' expectations and visions.

A challenge that is important to consider in terms of long-term social capital creation and sustainable heritage management (i.e. reciprocal benefits) is the potentially negative effect of community empowerment on 'thin trust' towards institutions: while empowerment -in terms of capacity building and collective action- may be considered positive for both communities and heritage safeguarding, communities without high levels of pre-existing trust in local governing bodies, may act in "isolation", excluding certain types of knowledge (like scientific), but also leading to further distancing of local councils or public institutions posing legal obstacles for projects with complicated ownership schemes and dynamiting public-private partnerships (especially when those include local governance bodies). This can further isolate local community associations relying solely on local capacities (see also Hewlett, 2010, p. 72). Uphoff (1996) supports that this can lead to negative social impacts: the need for close-knit indigenous communities to develop 'external links' is vital, in order to suffer less from the downsides of too much "bonding" and balance their internal relationships, so that they may thrive. These external links can be found in the wider locality (in the case of the islands in other parishes or neighboring islands).

I have argued that for sustaining heritage in the long run, a "balanced approach", where scientific knowledge is complementing local knowledge, can assist particularly in safeguarding material aspects more effectively (an aspect where community-led project seemed to struggle with). Such incorporation of different actors in decision making assumes some levels of trust to the role of

experts and types of knowledge they bring in. Moreover the 3rd typology of collaborations, showed that professionals can enable wider sharing of heritage (intangible aspects of it) and enhance links with adjacent geographic communities of place.

In that sense the distrust towards public institutions and their representatives has ramifications for both societal wellbeing (lack of cohesion, lack of collaboration with public bodies) but also for heritage planning. Distrust is not a new concept in relation to community involvement (Inglis, 2008; Spennemann, 2006; Aas, et al., 2005; Beierle and Konisk; 2000; Chanan, 1999) in authorities' decision-making.

The reasons behind such attitudes were discussed in this thesis and reflect this literature: authorities' reluctance to admit mistakes, to allow negotiation (platforms), and to provide the public with full details (information channels), but also its behaviors/decisions, e.g. the criteria for choosing certain collaborators between many local groups, reflecting the effects of a driving, strategic vision (eg. economic sustainability). The perception of the role of authority by citizens is also considered to affect behaviors towards participation (Ebdo, 2002, Perkin, 2010). It is in such areas that the credibility and role of authority is questioned and subsequently collaborative governance models may be severely threatened by a lack of trust.

Thus, it is important to look further not only in processes of decision-making adopted by governing bodies (e.g. public consultations), but more in inclusivity, effect of knowledge exchange channels and the quality of information shared : quality indicators of the "openness" of planners, which has also been considered a key factor in developing trust (Collier and Berman, 2002). This is not so far from Brodie's observation (2011) that community members engage in decision-making when they actually believe in the effectiveness of this action and believe that they can make a change (in our case, the existence of previously successful initiatives, where they were considered in the decisions, offers some guarantees for engaging in community-led projects).

It is evident that research by examining the relations between actors in rural planning contributes to gaps in our wider understanding of the micro-structures and processes that shape rural governance (Edwards1998; Storey 1999; Shortall 2004; Hayward et al.2004), positioning role of heritage in it. Given the rise in popularity of the partnership in rural governance in Europe and beyond (Cheverett 1999; Goodwin 2003; Shortall 2004), and the subsequent increased need for achieving positive group interaction, a further illumination of the micro-politics and hidden norms that obstruct collaboration, can only serve to support effectiveness in rural development practice.

9.2.2 The role of sense of place in shaping sense of responsibility to safeguarding heritage

While the research focused mostly on social relationships and behaviors, it also mapped, especially through the loops method, behaviors towards heritage as place as indirect impacts (i.e. stemming

from use of outputs, like material conservation outputs for example, and occurring connections with heritage and institutions through the path dependencies observed).(see ch.8.3 Figure 80 and 81 and Table).

Analyzing these suggested the pivotal role of both pre-existing and developed sense of place (through its components place identity, place dependency and place attachment leading to a sense of belonging to a place) for shaping pro-heritage behaviors (i.e. recurring heritage participation) but also supporting social integration (e.g. for incomers).

Moreover, connections with place were found to be guiding element for communities entering in place-making processes and decisions (together with existing norms of reciprocity and level of trust).

These pre-existing and developed connections with place allowed community-led projects to flourish, reinforcing community awareness of rural heritage and supporting reciprocal behaviors towards heritage and structural links with institutions (Gallou and Fouseki, 2019, ACHS).

I have argued on the pre-conditions for reciprocity in both modalities (ch. 8.4): reciprocity was present where participants were able to relate to the themes and content of heritage projects, attaching to these their communal perceptions of local place and local heritage assets. This indicates that a closer look needs to be taken from a manager's perspective at grasping individual and communal "sense of place", and its role for co-developing common/shared visions and value sets, based on what a community perceives as 'their heritage' to protect and as aspects of its socio-spatial communal identity (see also Lewicka, 2005 on common cultural identity, and Hernandez et al.2007, for place-identity, which form both aspects of this). Dawson (2015, p. 155) suggests that identity formation is a long-term process based on shared meanings (cognitive capital), while Nowell and Boyd (2014) suggest that collective identity affects collective behavior, i.e. the capacity to act together. I concur with Nowell and Boyd. (2014), who suggest that affection or interest towards the subject of action (in our case heritage) plays a role in motivation to engage (Inglis, 2009), coming to add that increased sense of place reinforces this motivation.

Previous research has however shown that heritage projects "may likewise be an important element of the 'sense of place', defining local identity, the reason for local pride but also a 'sense of attachment', enhancing the feeling of links between the local community members" (Newman and Jennings, 2008, in Murzyn-Kupisz and Dziasek, 2013). These imply that social capital can be enhanced through heritage expressions and participation in heritage projects. Such a positive impact of heritage sites on the quality of life and wellbeing of individuals and local communities is confirmed by evaluation studies on the impact of public investments and projects focused on heritage (Mills, 2008, p. 13),in Murzyn-Kupisz and Dziasek, 2013) looking at both HLF projects in the UK and EU RDF projects respectively.

This research expands this discussion through the two core arguments around the role of sense of place and its relationship with social capital and heritage participation (as explained in Chapter 7 and discussed here in Chapter 8):

- a. the key role of sense of place (especially affective relations with place – see Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006), when combined with high '*sense of belonging to community*' (Chavis and Pretty, 1999, Mcmillan, 2011, Obst et al., 2002), are pivotal for '*sense of responsibility towards safeguarding*' local heritage and especially intangible values (including symbolic, evidential values). This can be viewed as complementary to the importance of social relationships for developing *sustainable behaviours and responsibility* towards protection of cultural heritage (via collective actions) as supported by Ostrom (1990) and Uphoff (1992) in the wider field of 'common resources'.
- b. the rural communities' way of life on the islands, and the daily interactions for survival (which increase levels of "social and spatial dependency" between locals and foster close kinship between local parish residents), seem to affect -not always positively- the social processes of integration, (bonding) and bridging capital development (specially of in-comers) but also the challenging role of heritage for place-making in such cases, building on common appreciation of place by all groups present. In that sense, it requires the role/function of heritage places as key 'social infrastructure': to achieve wider community livelihood support, through synergies that enhance community capacity and sustainability (Chambers and Conway, 1992, p. 7, Sen, 1984). This suggests that negotiating new, adapted functional and operational roles for heritage assets in such locations – viewed in our analysis via place dependency attributes –may play a crucial role (see also Roe et al., 2010) for supporting local wellbeing. Same counts for integrating heritage in local planning and sustainable development of rural, depopulated parishes, a less explored area in heritage literature. Moreover, it is through this function (allowing socio-spatial interactions), that heritage assets can enhance the sustainable behaviours mentioned above, [concurring with findings like those of Pretty (2002) on communal action for maintenance of common property resources].

The framework developed hereafter explains how those behaviors affect each other, linking them to reciprocal links creation.

9.2.3. An analytical, explanatory socio-spatial framework for reciprocity : realising the balanced approach (to sustainable engagement)

Figure 88 identifies the complex relationships between aspects of sense of place and social capital as identified through the analysis (especially ch.8.3) and presents causal links observed between aspects of the constructs, in relation to harnessing positive social, institutional and heritage impacts via heritage engagement.

I will explain how socio-spatial connections developed via heritage participation, interact to enhance (in few cases to restrict) reciprocal behaviors towards heritage in the **explanatory framework** depicted hereafter (Fig.88).

This figure depicts in the center the main forms/ aspects of the two key concepts-social capital with grey and sense of place with green. The diagram brings together the concepts and their sub-constructs and depicts how participation affects both (follow the process, as observed from a to f). Blue circles signify areas where presence of constructs (development of some aspect of social capital or sense of place) has positive impact on socio-spatial community wellbeing and protective behaviors.

Red circles, symbolize the potentially ambiguous or negative effects of strong social and place identity –when concentrated in small localities (community behaviours) - on heritage safeguarding and ‘willingness to protect’ heritage (by engaging in aspects of management), stressing differences with others than communities’ identities. Key negative effect is the restricted bridging potential due to high levels bonding capital: this can isolate community groups, leading in over-protective behaviours towards ‘small locality identity’ that may obstruct sharing heritage with others. It can also restrict functional use of historic sites by multiple groups that impacts on integration in mixed communities. It was observed that by allowing incomers to be part of trusts (as sign of social integration), the groups were able to form a common, more pluralistic vision for the role of heritage in the area and reinforced their ability to act as a group (e). The black arrows on the top part, show connections observed: eg. Increased social cohesion was associated with sense of responsibility towards protecting heritage, because of the importance of ‘belonging to a place’ and a community group with a distinct identity (the latter was also reinforcing place attachment) in forging common vision development.

I argue that those negative effects in rural contexts, can be moderated when heritage professionals, functioning as mediators, work towards not only gaining trust but also empowering local groups, and facilitate connections and ‘sharing of heritage’ between different communities of place. At the same time, such an approach expands institutional networks, by establishing new connections with formal and informal institutions in place as well (through linking capital assisting in bridging) (black arrows in lower part).

The framework locates therefore the role of managers in collaborative projects with communities, by observing how human-heritage-institutions links are developed: managers are viewed ideally as mediators to develop a ‘values-based’ vision for development of place that can balance eg. extreme visions of modernization with historic and intangible heritage values. In areas where, extreme demographic shocks May “destroy memory-based” place-identity and put character of place at risk (or endanger the cultural heritage by dissolving cultural continuity) this role is crucial for both heritage and community wellbeing. Professionals can also mediate to assist in sharing heritage and this way abort risks of over-increased and ‘condensed’ place attachment in very small

localities, leading to segregated communities (with “too distinct” identities) and promote heritage as celebration of community identity that allows for bridging with neighboring communities of place.

All in all, the role of professionals for balancing negative impacts is viewed via the regulatory role of linking capital can play on bridging, building on collective capacity and empowering community groups to act more autonomously. These can indirectly affect spatial aspects: community values for development and image for place-making and link with governance processes. Viewing the implications of the framework for the planning decision making processes, it suggests allowing for discussion of place identity and community identity within platforms and processes of engagement. It echoes critiques like the one of Healey’s that support the role of planning system in regulating development impacts is more efficient through an approach which allows for integrated conceptions of place qualities to come into surface (Healey1998a; Vigaretal.2000). The role of heritage in identifying commonly agreed significant places and qualities in space gains specific prominence in this process.

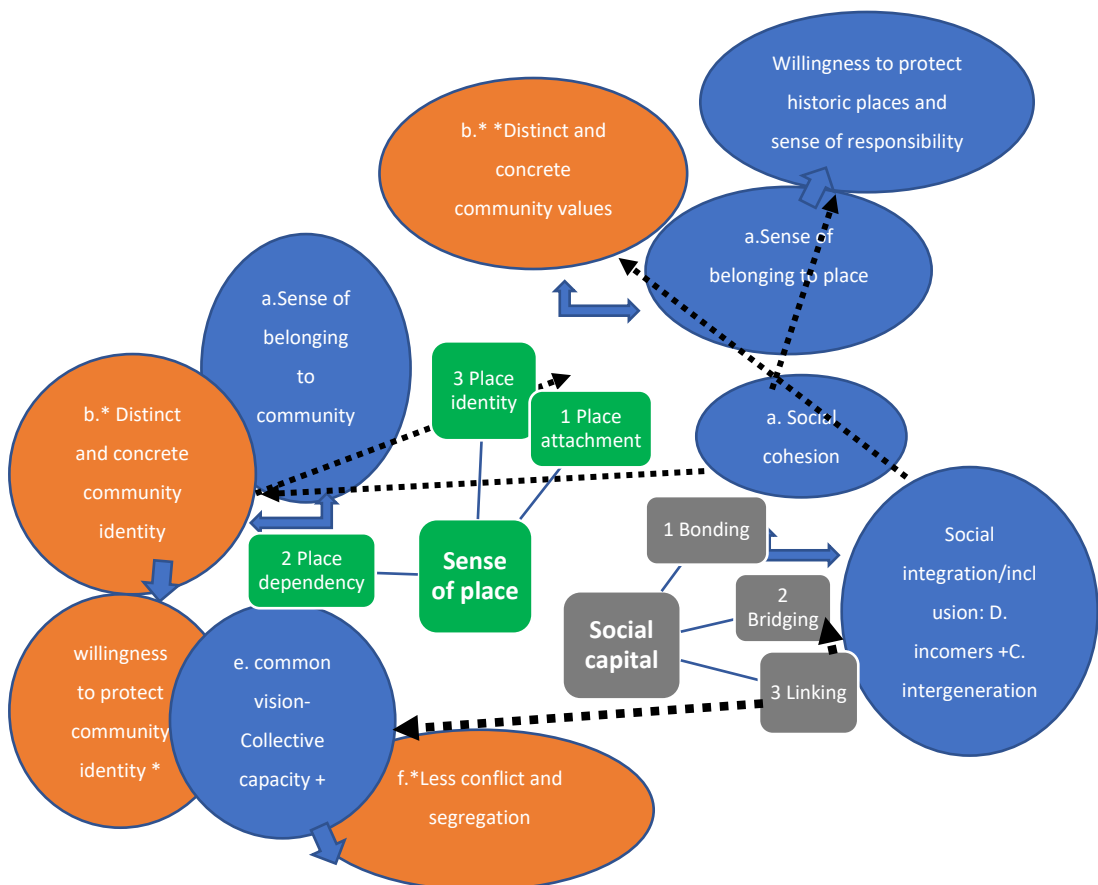


Figure 88 Positive effects/impact (blue circles) of place dependency and place identity on shaping community responsibility toward heritage protection was observed. Asterisks and red circles, symbolize these ambiguous effects/impacts of perceived social and place identity on heritage safeguarding: I argue that these can be moderated by a balanced approach where professionals facilitate connections and sharing of heritage between different groups (through linking capital assisting in bridging)

9.3 Original contribution and research value

A statement on the originality of the research in terms of its scope, depth, and methodological and theoretical contribution to knowledge has been made already in Ch. 1.3. The impact statement also provides aspects of originality and depicts imminent value of some of the findings for practitioners and heritage management bodies. Here I will summarise the value in terms of approach taken and key findings, including how further search can advance the conceptual framework developed.

- The research provided a **framework for conceptualising reciprocal relationships** between communities and institutions through participation, incorporating three distinct but **complementary and interrelated perspectives on studying participation** that have not been considered together until now:
 - (i) As a social interaction involving exchanges and social network creation between participants, associations and professionals, sustaining social capital. In this way participation can improve the social wellbeing of individuals (direct impact) and community groups (knock-on impact, as individuals influence and distribute impacts within their networks). Through these exchanges, participation can induce pro-heritage attitudes in individuals and communities. Indirectly, the use of heritage and specifically of project outputs incurs positive impacts on pro-heritage perceptions and relevant attitudes of the wider community (e.g. the use of paths created by volunteers by the wider community enhances their appreciation of the historic value of wartime monuments).
 - (ii) As a social interaction involving exchanges of (tangible and intangible) resources between local communities and institutions. Through these exchanges, participation can improve the way communities view institutions and their work, goals and objectives, and can assist public bodies in communicating their visions for protection to local groups/audiences and potentially in collaborating to achieve these. In this way, it has the potential in the long run to increase trust in their work, increase support in their future ventures and produce reciprocal behaviour (understanding common goals for the protection of important heritage assets and supporting goals towards that, or recurring participation in heritage projects run by institutions).
 - (iii) As engagement with place, a spatial interaction, increasing sense of place and understanding of key heritage values. Through engagement with place, communities can contribute to safeguarding heritage material aspects through interpretation and conservation activities (involving tangible and intangible resources) and can physically alter their context. Through getting in touch with spatial aspects of heritage management, participants increased their appreciation and understanding of place

(increased sense of place) which induces further involvement in planning and place-making. It also enabled people to redefine, negotiate and finally concretise together core values of place (its core qualities) or pinpoint attributes of heritage assets that should be safeguarded for further action. This appeared to be directly related to increased interest in heritage among community members (beliefs and attitudes towards protecting core qualities of place) and subsequently engagement in decisions around the development of the area and the role of heritage in it.

- The research developed the literature around **defining typologies or modalities of participation** by locating in the context three modalities (institutionally –led, community led and a hybrid museum-led collaborations one) analysing **process of engagement in each and their relevance with specific heritage assets and institutions** involved. This can be invaluable for further researchers working within the huge literature developed after Arnstein and White, looking at scales and functions of participation.
- The research also **identified key factors that affect behaviours towards participation** (barriers and enablers) and how effective it can be (achieving social change and supporting pro-heritage behaviours). suggesting some prerequisites for heritage participatory projects to be created and sustained. Barriers and enablers can be summarised as (fig.87 and 6.5):
 - (i) Intrinsic to individuals/communities: personal motivation and capacity to participate in projects (depending on type of activity, access to resources and existing capital available to community members), community spirit and group goals (to initiate projects)
 - (ii) Intrinsic to institutional structures and practices: institutional capacity to offer projects, planning for widening-access, governance structures that enable information sharing and transparent processes, lack of relevance in project themes with communities' needs and a greater focus on intangible values of place
 - (iii) Extrinsic or contextual: obstacles/barriers that have to be combatted were related to demographic characteristics affecting “social access” to social activities (e.g. low baseline levels of cohesion within communities, higher risk of conflicts or social isolation that excludes individuals) or environmental/physical characteristics of place posing functional obstacles (e.g. physical access to participation – higher place dependency).

The thesis showed the interlinkages between those in shaping impacts of participation and how actions by some actors can be counter-acted by other actors, impeding change by exploring the tool of causal loop diagrams. Further research can focus on validating the relationships between those in other contexts (eg. urban contexts, where multiplicity of stakeholders may complex interactions) or focusing on understanding barriers for specific socio-demographic groups that are hard-to –reach or excluded looking at role of institutional structures in this.

9.3.1 Theoretical contribution to heritage studies: the role of heritage in and for local sustainable development

The thesis through the approach to reciprocity, supported the existence of multi-lateral links between institutions and local communities that are affected by behaviours towards place. It linked the concept to sustainable management of heritage in the long—run:

One side explores how communities’ through their role in heritage management can sustain heritage (tangible and intangible), while on the other hand heritage had a role for sustaining communities in rural contexts through specifically supporting fulfilment of social needs and empowering them to further engage in place-protective activities.

- The research began by looking for a rather contextually grounded approach to what contributes to “Sustain a local community of place” in rural, isolated contexts (focusing on social life, identity and migratory flows issues) while sourcing different actors’ perspectives on what constitutes a more “sustainable” heritage management “and the role of communities in shared governance to achieve it. These were viewed by multiple actors. It showed how collaborative processes allow for inclusion of more stakeholders and commonly developed visions, supporting long-lasting with outputs endorsed by local communities. While the research looked less in efficiency issues (especially in terms of time and financial resources necessary for institutional offer) it showed that community’s inputs can act as valuable resources in terms of supporting knowledge and time commitments for conservation projects. The analysis suggested that while resources allocated for participation, are viewed as few, a barrier from managers, key challenges lie in institutional structures, disciplinary expectations and boundaries to change ongoing practices towards embracing new ways of working with more groups. It showed that the synergistic benefits produced for institutions are not being currently evaluated through short-term frameworks for efficiency that focus on material resource input/outputs production rather than long term sustainability

The research started by considering that heritage and communities are interlinked, and looked at management as a people-centred process, that can only improve through mutual understanding and lasting, fruitful exchanges between all engaging actors.

- The notion of reciprocity as a core concept was introduced and explored: reciprocal behaviour between practitioners, institutions and communities was argued to be the basis for establishing and maintaining sustainable practices in the long run, considering the aspect of resistance over time as being the essence of sustainable behaviours that enhance synergies (safeguarding community and tangible and intangible resources for future generations). The role of trust in institutions and community empowerment – through the theoretical lens of social capital – was also analysed in the context of the potential of participation to sustain wellbeing and heritage. Using the causal loop

diagrams, the research identified systemic patterns of behaviour that either reinforced reciprocity or inhibited it (balancing loops), providing specific recommendations on the factors that led to those impacts. In the course of the analysis, we argued that more complex socio-spatial interrelations need to be taken into account in order to understand how participation in heritage can enhance community wellbeing and heritage management processes.

- Some of the findings of the research (see ch.8.3.3) challenge the issue of ‘ownership’ within the ‘Authorised Heritage Discourse’ (AHD) by suggesting that an alternative, collaborative model of heritage management and governance can support a sense of co-ownership and imbue ‘shared responsibilities approach’ to protect heritage by allocating new, clear roles to active community groups willing to engage in those processes.
- Moreover the thesis, expands the ‘power relationships’ issues, discussed within the AHD (mostly formed around archaeological expertise)³⁹ through examining processes of interaction with more typologies of heritage and in many modalities (including different sets of activities, roles etc). It showed how both communities of experts and non-experts seek for ‘authorisation’ to re-create or make heritage (or versions of the past that relate to their current perceptions of place and vision for the future). This authorisation was actually deliberated through various models of engagement (extending further than outreach models), and was facilitated by including intangible and unofficial heritage in projects.
- The research framework around social capital considered as both an individual and a communal attribute allowed for mapping various levels and scales of social impacts: looking at relationships between community members at parish level, at island level, and between various parishes on different islands (neighbouring communities), but also between different sub-groups within the same community (for example “incomers” and “born and bred”), utilising the multiple types, forms and aspects (structural forms such as bonding, bridging and linking, together with cognitive and relational aspects) of social capital and therefore looking at issues of social inclusion and cohesion. We consider the applicability and generalisability of these findings to be very context-dependent – this suggests a definite difference would be expected when repeating the study in an urban environment where pre-existing levels of social capital differ significantly and levels of social mix may also vary.
- The thesis developed a wider framework for researching socio-spatial impacts of heritage participation, incorporating the role of sense of place and the ways it affects social interactions (in relation to the development of social capital, trust and empowerment) and subsequently

³⁹ L.J. Smith herself, has (2012) admittedly critiqued the prioritisation of archaeological heritage within this discourse, “which privileges expert values over those of community and other sub-national interests and which works to constrain understandings of heritage as primarily material with community engagement and outreach”

behaviour towards heritage and towards institutions. Literature research was combined with contextual findings to provide a working definition of community wellbeing in the context of heritage projects, looking at social and psychological wellbeing and aspects of livelihoods in rural contexts.

This thesis brings together elements of existing but distinct approaches to evaluation, merging insights from organisational change through practices within institutions (revolving around theory of change) and project management frameworks from heritage management (revolving around output/outcome-driven project planning), while focusing on analysing the core role of community involvement in those processes. It also analyses the role of practitioners in the much less researched community-led heritage initiatives, showcasing new roles for them as facilitators in processes of management and brokers of networks of relationships developed between their institutions and various communities.

9.4 Methodological contribution: shaping pathways for further research

The thesis established a solid theoretical base for a multi-layered, systemic inquiry which looked at structural, relational and cognitive aspects of social behaviours by heritage professionals and local community members (Ch.8.2.2 and 6.7.3). This was enriched to consider the effect of spatial outputs and how they affect behaviour towards place and subsequently willingness to further engage with heritage.

This can be further tested and validated by researchers, delving into socio-spatial interactions and pro-heritage behaviours. The novelty of the research in combining in this will a more technical tool, that mapped path dependencies, causal loop diagrams will be explained below. This allowed for studying interactions between agents and locating gaps between actual behaviour and aims to achieve a desired change (unveiling how motivations and expectations of actors are linked to their actions). The causal loops this way showed how in some cases reinforcing loops provide the ground for constantly repeating processes that can lock actors in certain pathways of behaviours. The variables depicted can therefore show which actions need to be counter-acted or ceased in order to change reinforcing loops with negative impacts for example, and improve practices or increase reciprocal impacts and synergies.

9.4.1 A novel approach for mapping change in time and accounting for heritage impacts

Although some of aforementioned social impacts from participation and some implications for institutional practices have been discussed in the literature before (Murzyn-Kupisz & Działek 2013; Addell et al, 2016; Swensen et al, 2012, pp.1-19), the exact pathway and how one reinforces the other has not yet been researched and evidenced. This novelty of the thesis was realized through a novel methodological approach of causal loop diagrams, adopted by system dynamics that enabled covering issues of path dependency in the impact pathways analysis.

The focus on process analysis methodology has wider potential to significantly advance our understanding of Interactions, inherent in planning and participation processes: is therefore ideal for further use in studies looking at process, changes and improvements in interactive models of collaborative management and governance, as it can evidence the benefits of collaboration in achieving beneficial local outcomes.

This renders the research original and suggests a new pathway towards including social impacts in internal evaluations of heritage organizations as an organic element of their societal value but also their internal change. This comes to complement and expand the conceptual basis for mapping social impacts developed in previous research (see Albert, 2015).

The thesis provides the first systemic attempt to illustrate causal interrelationships between different types of impacts of participatory projects and offers a novel methodological approach for evaluation (with a reciprocity lens, looking at indicators for social and institutional iMacs together) which has been tested here for projects within complex heritage systems such as rural heritage landscapes.

The use of causal loop diagrams, comes as a novel respond to the claims for “managing change” in heritage and can be used as a tool for further understanding of complex interrelationships between multiple actors that form the heritage decision making nexus, locally but also regionally, nationally and globally. It allows for crossing and connecting levels of analysis from management to planning and governance—and thus looks at the complex process of “heritage making” itself.

I aspire that the approach taken here, will inspire academics and practitioners, dealing with heritage management, to think “beyond boundaries” of specific sites (Ackerman, 2014), understanding further socio-spatial associations between communities and heritage, and in this way enable view of the wider heritage field within which single projects operate from a holistic perspective.

The systemic findings can be informative for evaluating institutional operations and informative for heritage planning at local level (policy/ decision making) as well, enabling formation of interdisciplinary goals that would better integrate heritage within wider locally defined sustainable development (SD) objectives (considering interplay with wellbeing, community health and local infrastructure planning), ultimately enabling social sustainability at community level. In that sense the research covered a much less explored issue, that of the interdependencies between heritage management and planning levels, shading light in the role and potential of bottom–up community insights for changing projects goals and informing wider institutional aims and policy objectives.

9.4.2 Social impact assessment and social needs mapping for developing wide heritage objectives

The methodology developed a pathway for heritage management to realise Social impact assessment (SIA) and incorporate social needs in project planning. Social needs analysis can be included (as suggested in the recent paper by Gallou and Fouseki, 2019 and described in ch.4.7) in project life cycles, to assist heritage project managers in the process of planning. The paper advocates that it is way of truly realizing values-based management and linking heritage with development needs in the present.

The analysis showed that processes of engagement and collaboration not only at strategic but at operational level (following Esteves et al. 2012). - with an emphasis on wide representation and democratic processes- enable heritage institutions to broaden their networks, links with communities and gain legitimisation and approval to proceed with their priorities. In other words, such processes act as the base for 'social license' to operate, similarly to the concept developed within the SIA literature (Dare et al, 2014; Vaclay 2006). Here, supporting institutional accountability and legitimacy.

The multiplicity of types of communities at local, regional and maybe global level requires capacity from institutions, but primarily, the commitment to engage. The positive benefit of this can be viewed if only one considers the long term implications of non-doing so: lack of permission to proceed with changes in use and regulation of historic environment may disrupt relations and support by local groups leading to conflict and disengagement with heritage.

The role of understanding social needs and local 'sense of place' is therefore primary to develop commonly accepted visions for change. Following image, from the author's recent publication (ibid) positions both social needs mapping and social impact evaluation, within a circular heritage management circle; understanding those impacts can inform and improve planning guidelines to respond to them and ensure relevance of heritage projects with community ideals and perceptions of heritage.

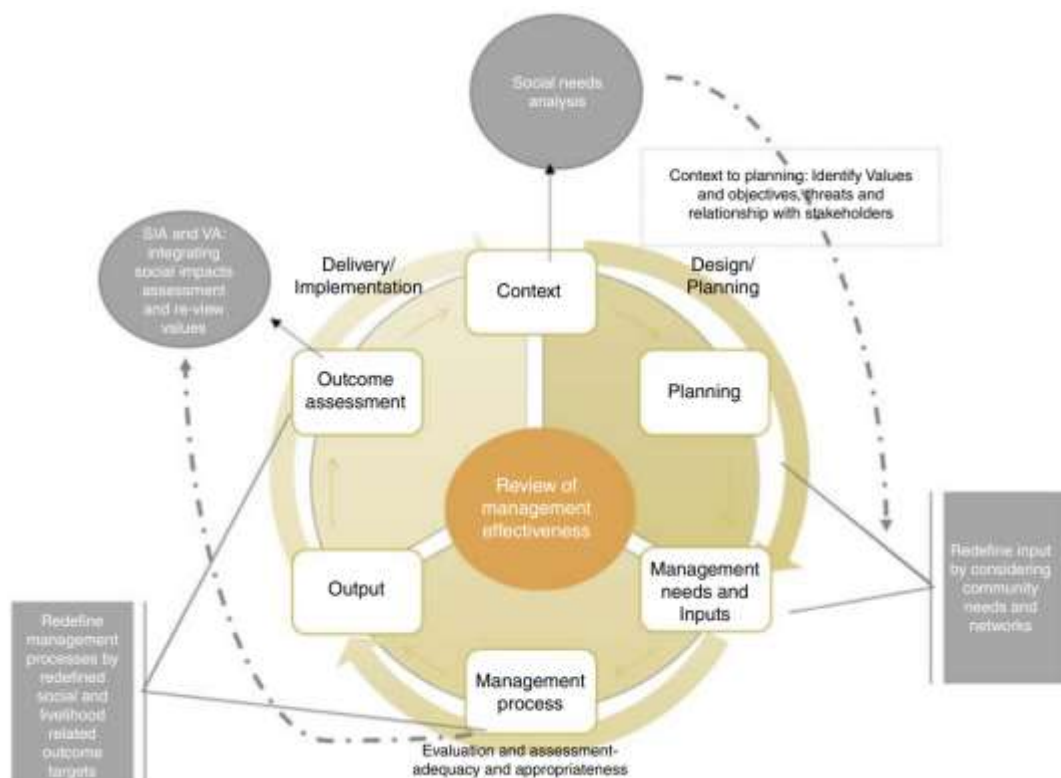


Figure 89 Value assessment and SIA as part of adaptive management loop in heritage -Author's adaptation of diagram by Hockings et al. (2008, p. 12) (Source: Gallou and Fouseki, 2019)

The Appendices L, J provides an indication of how 'breaking down' heritage protection processes in phases and stages, is useful to conceptualize in which can communities contribute, under which roles and start developing collaborative approaches that would 'fit' more parts of the project life cycle.

This way the thesis adds in the "heritage as a process" literature, providing a methodological or 'process planning' tool for progressing into a more 'adaptive management' aligned with needs of participatory projects, aiming to support heritage professionals and local communities alike to work together in a smooth and effective way.

Authors like McAreavey and Mc Donagh (2011), amongst others, have suggested that an adaptive management "encourages actors to confer at an earlier stage so that they may, through a process of knowledge generation, identify the problems and agree the challenges from the outset", .Aim is avoiding 'selfish aims' and putting emphasis on common goals and vision setting in the start of planning cycle; this can support long term networks and relationship development.

Further work should focus on validating and further structuring the indicators developed for social and institutional impact mapping, through testing and adapting the survey instrument (see Ch. 6.7 and Appendix D) through cross-sectional comparisons of results. This can contribute to development of measurement frameworks for institutions to account for outcomes and value of participatory projects.

9.4.3 Limitations and implications for further research: towards advancing methodologies on social impact mapping

Despite the key contributions of the thesis, the research faced some methodological limitations (see also ch.5) mostly related to the width of the scope (what is included under social impacts) and the execution of research itself. Those are acknowledged here and discussed as implications for relevant future research, especially focusing on evaluation methodologies and impact mapping. These include:

-the single context approach restricts the level of the findings' generalisation to multiple national or cultural contexts. However, as explained in Ch. 5, the nested approach with multiple sub-cases adopted, allows for in-depth studying of contextual factors, which suggest in which contexts the findings can be applied. The wide spectrum of project types and heritage assets typologies explored makes findings interesting for wide range of project typologies that consider process changes to increase engagement.

-from an evaluation methodology perspective, missing baseline data was the biggest limitation, regarding the understanding of impact as change (especially related to pro-social or pro-heritage behaviours). This excluded classic research designs e.g. pre-post experiments and directed the research into formulating a methodology to work around that: explain role of context and triangulating data, e.g. from scheme outcome reports and socio-demographics in various parishes. Attributing causality was still difficult due to the multiple aspects that affect human behaviour post-engagement, from cognitive to environmental and contextual/situational factors, but the causal loops gave confidence to the findings providing participants' explanations of behaviour change as 'chained events'.

-collecting data from human participants WAs challenging and has limitations; some of the participants did not provide enough data on actual behaviour/activity-related data. This limited the explanatory potential of the analysis.

-lacking quantitative triangulation had a definite impact in terms of the generalisation of findings for wider audiences (e.g. making inferences for the greater Orkney population). However, as explained in Ch. 5, the focus on impacts for participants and not on knock-on wider impacts rendered a large sample survey an inappropriate method.

Some limitations relating to the scope of the research and choices regarding focusing on narrow or broad aspects of the phenomenon, or even types of impacts studied, also restrict the applicability of findings and the explanatory potential of the research: the focus on mapping social impacts on both scales, at individual and community level, was rather broad. The focus on different types of institutions (in terms of missions and especially the focus on education or research) but

also on scale and capacities (number of managers, resource availability) appeared to affect the behaviours of managers, but it was not easy to thoroughly study all these factors. This variety impeded analysing such data in a systematic way. The research revealed a need to focus more on processes of internal organisational change and culture (norms within institutions) to understand their leverage on a systemic level of analysis (e.g. more interviews with higher-ranked managers).

9.4.3.1 Weighting the effect of unintended negative impacts; implications for future research

Accounting for potentially negative impacts was not initially part of the focus of the research, which set out to look instead at multiple perspectives of positive impacts of participation and the links between them, in order to maximise reciprocal links and benefits. However, there are certainly some potential risks were illuminated by the analysis -like the negative effect of bonding on bridging- which should be taken into account when designing and delivering community projects in different contexts.

Perceived negative impacts for managers/institutions also need to be considered by further research, and their leverage on the rates of “success” of participatory projects could also be estimated. The research did identify enough constraints to success, especially identified by managers, relating to both institutional structures and culture that could impede change to individual practices or even the adoption of best practices. The leverage of these needs to be balanced with the benefits identified here, which is a task more suited to rather quantitative approaches that already have identifiable factors to measure (e.g. risk of conflict-divergent visions, time devoted to designing and delivering such projects, fatigue rates, etc.)

There were certain limitations in mapping the positive impacts in terms of their breadth and width as well as following them over a long-term period. The multi-actor approach allowed for understanding for which are they meaningful, while the causal loops enabled an understanding of the changes during time. Some suggestions can inform further strengthening and expanding the methodology developed here:

- i. recipient groups could be expanded to include the analysis of knock-on benefits on non-participants, or ‘spill over’ effects
- ii. Spatial coverage of impact mapping could offer clarity on ‘who benefits’ and what the relationship with the sites involved is. The research showed that impacts extend the spatial limits of a defined project to include multiple local heritage assets.
- iii. The research chose a specific timeline for studying impacts four years after the end of the projects. Further studies could use longitudinal study designs to provide more data on (behaviour) change over time and the leverage of post-project events on shaping perceptions and use of project outputs.

- iv. Finally, we suggest that the mutually reinforcing or mutually excluding effects of sense of place (especially aspects such as place dependency or place identity) on social capital formation can be better researched via combining spatial behaviour mapping, with assessment of cognitive and affective perceptions of place (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006) and their relation with sense of belonging to community.

9.4.4 Recommendations for managers and institutions for supporting reciprocal links

Finally, it was considered useful as part of the conclusions to include a set of recommendations that make the thesis findings easier to use by practitioners and institutions and increase its impact on existing practices around participation. This set of recommendations covers different levels, from managerial practices, institutional approaches and strategic decisions and focuses on changes that can support reciprocity.

Recommendations for managers include:

- a. Utilise and develop links and networks of exchange with communities, broker connections and enhance trust
- b. Adopt and support a flexible, organic approach to project delivery, which can incorporate communities more efficiently.

Specific **recommendations for institutional structures** to achieve this include:

- a. Enable flexible project designs – facilitate participation in many different phases (see table 48) and project typologies (not only interpretation projects), which requires reconsidering the leadership role that institutions hold in planning decisions and their power distribution institutions' need for 'flexible structures'
- b. Embed participation in current institutional practices to increase reciprocity in volunteering, by adopting 'flexible structures for collaborations' at institutional level. These would allow participation embedded in projects, not aside projects. One way to achieve this in practice, is to include **social needs assessment** as part of the operations at the start of planning projects with community groups, to ensure project objectives reflect some local needs. It can be incorporated with *community value assessment* of heritage assets: this will not only produce a co-defined set of values that can direct activities, but also connect well heritage projects with local wellbeing needs.

Some suggestions for **institutional practices to reinforce and sustain reciprocity**, throughout the various phases of collaborative project planning and delivery include:

- a. Enabling and encouraging intergenerational exchange or knowledge/social exchange by enabling open and wider recruitment, bringing together in projects different age groups and people with variant years of residency (to support social integration of incomers).

- b. For Increasing heritage's contribution to social wellbeing; they need to relate aims of heritage projects to local needs: embed objectives on social and spatial needs of communities in designing heritage projects (see also Gallou and Fouseki, 2019).
- c. Ensuring that the integration of wellbeing goals is supported by policies, in order for heritage to start accounting for its role in wellbeing. The exclusion of goals related to community wellbeing or ignoring social needs in the project planning phase leaves heritage with fewer objectives than the ones that projects should actually tackle.
- d. Understanding a local community's perceptions of local place and integrating intangible heritage and aspects of local history into conservation focused projects that primarily focus on protection of designated monuments and sites for example. This can increase relevance and ownership of projects and enables valorisation of rural and discussions around value of non-statutorily protected heritage. It also enables genuine involvement in the longer run in place-making processes, with heritage having a core role for defining the character of development.
- e. Increasing communities' contributions to management: involving communities in more stages of heritage management process – from interpretation to regulation and collaborative guardianship

As shown, providing platforms and opportunities for dialogue is crucial for managers and community members to delegate –especially the value of commemorating and sharing/exhibiting/performing, or simply experiencing something together, proved key enabler, offering in a sense legitimisation and consolidation of heritage values, or identification of those heritage assets meriting protection and bequest. However, it is important to also consider the leverage of community contribution when involved in more phases of heritage management other than values identification and interpretation, such as in regulating access to sites and project planning when developing activities around them.

The cases of community groups ignoring scientific advice or mistrusting and diminishing the role of professionals are exemplary of the long-term risks that appear when strategy development is not balanced in community groups' goals for regulating sites to include safeguarding both intangible and necessary material interventions for the tangible aspects, (e.g. underestimating damages to assets due to climatic conditions and excluding experts offering scientific advice).

The answer to these risks lies in the instigation of further collaboration by conservation professionals that would enhance reciprocal links, through bi-directional knowledge exchange (locals can enhance their knowledge and intensify their efforts towards combatting material degradation), through a balanced approach, supported by heritage professionals who identify with the role of facilitator rather than that of project leader. In the next section, I will discuss some limitations of the research in order to explore some of the findings that can guide further inquiries, but will also discuss some of the key implications of the findings for heritage professionals and researchers working on impacts and processes of participation.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Theoretical framework development basis

Table 25 Theories studied towards developing a theoretical framework for explaining behavior towards heritage and towards institutions as shaped through participation, social and physical context

Research questions: want to explain	Theory	Core aim of theory	Conceptual framework-core concepts for the analysis
Impact of participation on social wellbeing (from individual to communal level)	Social capital theory Bourdieu (1984) Practice theory (Bourdieu) Social exchange theory (Thibaut, Kelley 2008))	“Identifies behavioral and social tendencies” (Light and Dana, 2013; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000) Structure and amount of perceived reward/cost Determine human decisions to act	Success, stimulus, and deprivation–satiation proposition
Impact of participation on institutional practices (management and planning level) and institutional networks	Practice theory (Bourdieu, 1992) Social exchange theory Social capital theory-network approach Organizational change –institutional change theory Ostrom (2005); (Libecap, 1989)	ibid What can bring change? What affects it? Ostrom (2005) on both exogenous and endogenous causes	Social capital as resource , exchanged and shared via networks
Behaviors towards place/heritage	Sense of place theories (Knox ,2011)	Explain to what degree and how individuals connections with special places affect their behavior towards them	Place attachment, dependency and identity as key drivers for connecting with environment/place
Behaviors towards community and participatory action	Sense of community theories Bourdieu theory of practice	Explain what motivates groups to act together, and to sustain social formations	Sense of responsibility and accounting to group goals-common vision as key drivers for action related to place
Reciprocal links : a. Between participants and institutions at individual level (eg. recurring participation, support of projects, increased awareness son work of other) b. Between social wellbeing impacts and institutional impact at Systemic level (do people participate more because their wellbeing is	Social capital synergy approach, Woolcock (2000) Theory of reciprocity Structuration theory Giddens (2002) Systems theories (eg. organizational change) -complexity theory	Look at state-society relations, focus on Community networks, Explain individual reciprocal behavior (norm of returning favor) vis a vis the role of trust and empowerment Explain creation and reproduction of social systems through effect of social structure and individual agency Interdependencies between parts of a system are crucial: a system can be more than the sum of its parts if it expresses synergy or emergent behavior Eg. Do institutions improve their practices because of	Coproduction, enhance capacity of local organizations Reciprocity means that recurring participation may lead to close collaborations between community members and institutions Both structure and agents, recognition of interdependency and move between micro and macro scale System boundaries, structure and purpose: exogenous and endogenous variables

Research questions: want to explain	Theory	Core aim of theory	Conceptual framework-core concepts for the analysis
increased? Do institutions win partnerships because of community that prospers?		community input-what synergies exist?	
Overarching: Efficiency of participation and prerequisites for 'participatory' heritage management	Participatory management to Participatory governance theories Like (Chambers, 2003)	Enable Democratic decision making, through deliberative practices	Synergies arise from input in decision-making process of an organization- from bottom up too. Co-Formulate vision, goals, work schedules, and making suggestions for change ⁴⁰

⁴⁰

: <https://www.referenceforbusiness.com/management/Or-Pr/Participative-Management.html#ixzz5YFzbHDef>

Appendix B. Literature review around Social capital and sense of place key finds

Table 26 Review of studies' findings on role of heritage in building social capital for local communities. Identification of gaps and questions raised

	Roles of heritage in building SC	Types of capital	Questions to trace
1	Function as “ community hubs ” – spaces where trust is built and social networks are created.	This can include deepening their family relations (bonding capital) but also meet other persons of similar age (bridging capital).or even inter-generational links. (Simon Jaquet Consultancy Services, 2009).	Expectations/motivations to visit a given heritage site or institution Result: interaction with older persons? Interaction with similar age?
2	Help create or enhance the feeling of pride from the locality (region) or from the municipality and its heritage among the local community Kinghorn and Willis, 2008	This relates to sense of place and specifically the ... indirectly enhancing bonding capital	Actively participate in the creation of narration on historical issues and presentation of their heritage (Sandell and Janes, 2007; Watson and Waterton, 2010).
3	Chance to maintain and develop skills - improves their health and feeling of well-being - occasion to participate in public life (Naylor et al., 209)	Create possibilities to establish links, develop mutual understanding and stimulate exchange of experiences between the older and the younger generations, which is especially important for the perception of quality of life by retired persons	Personal and group benefits from recurring volunteering . - chance to maintain and develop skills - improves their health and feeling of well-being - occasion to participate in public life
4	Makes “outsiders” turn into “locals” (Simon Jaquet Consultancy Services, 2009; Lehrer, 2010)	Social glue, connect	Search for those who: may in turn play the role of “ heritage brokers ” forging links between former and contemporary residents and between locals and tourists

Tabl 27 Review of studies on role of heritage organizations for social capital (SC) formation, In terms of organization/community relations and cooperation

	Roles of diff. heritage organizations in building SC	<u>Possible questions</u>	<u>Aims/objectives in certain literature sources</u>
<u>1</u>	Action groups in cooperation on heritage projects for preserving a given heritage site	-integrate many actors and partners at a local or regional level - get to know each other, develop trust and stronger links - create a chance to start and maintain interactions between diverse age and social groups within a given community	<u>Increase capacity-development</u> Allaert and Ludtke, 2007; Van Deth, 2003; Westlund and Adam, 2010
<u>2</u>	Third sector organizations	How many? What type of activities? (eg. such as health protection, social integration, helping the disabled, local development or education.	<u>Social inclusion:</u> Sandell, 1998, 2002 <u>Or exclusion:</u> Better together, 2000; Pedlebury, 2004
<u>3</u>	Cooperation with locals to increase audience	Results-how much social integration? Which social groups? (eg. disabled, education, local development)	<u>Social integration/audience development</u> Bourke, 2005
<u>4</u>	Organizations managing historic public_sites	-are they offered as “natural” spaces of leisure, meetings and encounters? -accessibility and use?	<u>Accessibility-naturality-variability in uses</u> Newman and Jennings, 2008; English Heritage, 2005; Murzyn Kupisz, 2006

Table 28 Presentation of the concepts/components of sense of place and relevant, selected references in heritage studies literature

Place dependency (see also place attachment)	Place Continuity	Place distinctiveness
Power of Place (EH,2000)	Smith (2006) : “how a place feels”. Based on phenomenological tradition which see place first and foremost as entered through embodied experienced (e.g. Casey 1996).	A sense of specialness which is identified in many studies (especially those working in a phenomenological tradition) with a sense of place (e.g. Relph 1979)
Smith (2006) pp. 237-8/Rowles (1983)	A sense of ‘insiderness’ , as having physical, social, psychological and /autobiographical dimensions.	Values of “authentic material culture” and the “built environment” are being rewritten and redefined within a cultural process that privileges the performativity of “doing” and “being”, rather than the possession of, or association with, material objects’
Waterton, (2005): ‘live off the land’ and to ‘learn about nature’	Telling local stories (Bird, 2002) Rowles and Cathrine Degnen (2005) show that even when buildings have gone such sites can still be used to occasion memories.	Dicks’(2000, p. 123) : development of the Rhondda Heritage Park ,Success takes into account both its importance for the local community and for the desired tourist market
Stedman (2003): using a 5 point likert scale he argues that strong place attachment made people more likely to actively fight to preserve an area. Forestry and leisure management has attempted to link people’s type of relationship with place – with a range of behavior indicators.		This relates with Marketing studies and economic benefits from heritage (Trueman and Cornelius n.d.). Pendlebury(1999), in the context of a study of Newcastle’s Grainger Town
Walker and Ryan (2008) Correlate place attachment and environmental protection		Research on Place making – found in urban regeneration studies and public art studies. Steven Miles argues only works if it reflects and takes into account already-existing locally-held views of a place (2005).

Place dependency (see also place attachment)	Place Continuity	Place distinctiveness
		Urban regeneration and what V. Pollock and J. Sharp call 'place ma(r)king' (2007). Study relations between citizens, city spaces and their meaning as places through which subjectivity is constructed' (2007, p.1003).
<p>Economists and built environment specialists: (Cheshire and Sheppard 2004b; Clapp and Ross 2004)</p> <p>Built environment or landscape as being significant in generating a sense of place distinctiveness.</p>		
<p>Rowles (1983), and more recent UK studies, have argued that older people and those who have lived in an area longer have a stronger place attachment (Livingstone et al, 2008) who also researcher son social mix's effects),</p> <p>However, Steve F McCool and Steve R. Martin (1994) found that newcomers actually emphasize place over social connections.</p>		

Table 29 UK Policy documents' related references to Sense of place

Source	Content: UK Policy documents' related references to Sense of place
DCMS, DCLG (2009:19)	Culture and heritage are understood as key methods of generating bonding Longing – and the historic environment (even in its narrowest definition) is explicitly evoked (DCLG 2009, p.19)
The 'Power of Place' , (EH, 2000)	<p>English Heritage is one of a number of agencies seeking to demonstrate the importance of place to wider social outcomes.</p> <p>The Power of Place study – and the Mori poll it presented – clearly showed that people think heritage is useful for learning about the past, and suggested that schools should be active users of heritage sites. The 'Power of Place' is understood as stemming from the belief that 'the historic environment has the potential to strengthen the sense of community and provide a solid basis for neighborhood renewal' (EH 2000, p.23).</p> <p>**Aspects of place dependency and similar conclusions, can be traced as well in the research by Smith (2006 in which "production" of local heritage enabled the active development of a sense of community in Castleford). Similarly, Waterton's case study of a community project on the Hareshaw Linn in Northumbria National Park, showed its importance for local people's lives, including aspects of livability and learning about the environment (" being able to pick wild fruit , 'live off the land' and to 'learn about nature') (2005, p. 316).</p>
Campaign for Rural England National Trust and Heritage Link (Gathorne-Hardy 2004).	Power of Place findings – validating engagement, promoting area characterization and strengthening integration – were subsequently drawn out in case studies provided by the <i>Campaign to Protect Rural England</i> .

Appendix C. Aspects of Social capital in a synergy approach, network approach and structural/cognitive/relational dimensions of Social capital analysed

Table 30 Aspects of social capital to be considered in assessment following a synergy approach (Source: Woolcock and Narayan, 2000)

<p>b. Groups and Networks</p>
<p>This is the category most commonly associated with social capital and questions under it consider the nature and extent of a household member’s participation in various types of social organizations and informal networks. One more aspect considered is the range of contributions that one gives and receives from them-closely associated with social impacts deducted from the activities. It also considers the diversity of a given group’s membership, how its leadership is selected, and how one’s involvement has changed over time.</p>
<p>b. Trust and Solidarity</p>
<p>In addition to the canonical trust question (a question widely chosen in a big number of cross-national surveys) this category seeks to procure data on trust towards neighbours, key service providers, and strangers, and how these perceptions have changed over time.</p>
<p>c. Collective Action and Cooperation</p>
<p>This category explores whether and how household members have worked with others in their community on joint projects and/or in response to a crisis. It also considers the consequences of violating community expectations regarding participation.</p>
<p>d. Information and Communication</p>
<p>Access to information is being increasingly recognized as central to helping poor communities have a stronger voice in matters affecting their well-being (World Bank 2002). This category of questions explores the ways and means by which poor households receive information regarding market conditions and public services, and the extent of their access to communications infrastructure.</p>
<p>e. Social Cohesion and Inclusion</p>
<p>“Communities” are not single entities, but rather are characterized by various forms of division and difference that can lead to conflict. Questions in this category seek to identify the nature and extent of these differences, the mechanisms by which they are managed, and which groups are excluded from key public services. Questions pertaining to everyday forms of social interaction are also considered.</p>
<p>f. Empowerment and Political Action</p>
<p>Individuals are “empowered” to the extent they have a measure of control over institutions and processes directly affecting their well-being (World Bank 2002). The questions in this section explore household members’ sense of happiness, personal efficacy, and capacity to influence both local events and broader political outcomes.</p>

Table 31 Definitions of types of social capital according to network approach (left) and of dimensions: structural, cognitive and relational social capital (source: Claridge, 2004a)

Types from a network approach	Dimensions of Social capital
<p>Bonding</p>	<p>Structural social capital Exchange and collaboration.</p>
<p>-ties between individuals with a relatively high degree of network closure. Bonding social capital is often described as horizontal ties between individuals within the same social group</p>	<p>- refers to elements of social structure that create opportunities for the social realisation of productive ends. Structural social capital includes established roles and social networks supplemented by rules, procedures and precedents. It gives structure and stability to social transactions. It facilitates collective action by making peoples’ behaviour more predictable and beneficial. This lowers transaction costs and encourages interaction.</p>
<p>Bridging</p>	<p>Cognitive social capital</p>
<p>-ties between individuals which cross social divides or between social groups. where each is able to tap into the social network resources of each other social group. This is also described as vertical ties often operating through formal hierarchical structures.</p>	<p>– includes shared norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs, predisposes people towards mutually beneficial collective action. It predisposes people to collective action. The norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs involved in cognitive social capital rationalize cooperative behavior and make it respectable, and even expected. It includes common understandings, shared language, shared purpose, and belonging. Common values and beliefs provide the harmony of interests that reduce the possibility of opportunistic behavior.</p>
<p>Linking//Trust and reciprocity</p>	<p>Relational social capital</p>
<p>- ‘norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships between people who are interacting across explicit, formal, or institutionalised power or authority gradients in society’.</p>	<p>– is based on the <u>characteristics of social relationships between individuals and is commonly described as including trust and trustworthiness</u>. The relational dimension of social capital relates to the personal relationships people have developed with each other through a history of interactions, and the nature of these relationships. It is the assets created or leveraged through relationships. <u>It includes the flow of resources through interaction in social relationships</u>. The key factors of the relational dimension of social capital are trust and trustworthiness, norms and sanctions, obligations and expectations, and identity and identification. This is not to be confused with similar factors of the cognitive dimension since in the relational dimension they are embedded in, or <u>relate specifically to, social relationships</u></p>

Appendix D. Interview questionnaires (Phases 1, 2)

Table 32 Questions project participants-community members, Phase 1

Question	Time
Intro. Could you tell me a few things about yourself and your life in Orkney islands?	5-10 min
1. 'Which aspect of heritage is more important for you in Orkney islands, and why?' Have you been actively involved as a volunteer in these projects or as member of other local heritage organisation eg. doing community work?	3min+ 2min
2. What was your role in the activity involved? When exactly was it realised and for how long?	10min
3. Why did you decide to take part? How were you recruited, if so?	2min
4. What do you think you gained as an individual through taking part in this activity? What about the rest of your colleagues?	5min
5.a Have you participated in other community activities since then? Have you become part of any new club or local association (heritage related or not?) after the end of your experience (elaborate on when and relation to the experience)	5min
5b. do you feel that the project has helped you meet other people and connect with them? Has it helped you understand other local people you were not familiar with?	
6a. Have you participated in any other heritage project since then (as a volunteer or an employee)? 6b. Have you been visiting more heritage sites after that and if yes, which?	5min
7. Have you become part of any new social group/met people that you didn't know as a result of this? Have you met anyone with similar mindset/ interests as you? (only if necessary to prompt more)	5min
8. What do you feel you have learnt through participating? Prompt: Have you increased your skills and competencies? Have you applied them since then in your life? 8b. Have you started sth new as a result of your participation, or inspired –motivated by your participation? eg. job, a hobby,	5min
9. 'if you changed something in your previous experience, what would that be?	5min
10.a. How did you experience the relation between the management team and the participants/volunteers? b. What do you think you contributed to the project and to what extent? (open up to discuss barriers with managers, policy etc. to fulfil potential)	50min- 1h max

Table 33 Improved introductory part of questions for participants (phase 2)

<u>PERSONAL AND COMMUNAL IDENTITY</u>	Demographic factors indicators : Duration of stay /Educational level/ Profession/ Age Role in communities /attachment to community of place and interest
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How long have you been living in Orkney? 2. Could you tell me some things about yourself?
<u>PARTICIPATION DETAILS</u>	Recreation involvement factors Indicators: Activity involvement/level of participation/importance /enjoyment / self-expression and centrality
McIntyre and Pigram (1992) as used in Kylee, Graaf and Manning(2003)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Would you tell me a bit about the project you took part? -For how long have you been involved? -What type of activities where you involved in and where did they took place? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Have you done this before in your life? 2. Have you had previous involvement with the museum/university/heritage centre? 3. How did you find out about it?

Table 34 Conceptual framework to interview questions improvement ro participants (phase 2) : left side describes major cocnepts, right one variables for each

<u>INDIVIDUAL WELLBEING</u>	<u>Individual wellbeing</u> Indicators: personal development, skills, knowledge, confidence, connections and networks as well, etc <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you think you have gained (as an individual) by taking part in this heritage project? 2. Have you started a new hobby or new job as a result of that?
<u>SOCIAL WELLBEING /SOCIAL CAPITAL</u> <u>(LEVELS PERSONAL – COMMUNAL)</u> Networks : Mills (2008, p. 13) Murzyn-Kupisz and Djiizek 92013) Social bonding, norms and networks: (see also sense of belonging to community) Forrest and Kearns (2001) Hays and Kogl (2007) Ideology and norms; Coleman (1990) and Coleman and Hoffer (1987) Trust and reciprocity: Woolcock and Narayan 2000 Grotaert et al (2003) Pretty and Ward (2001)	<u>Informal sociability-networks</u> Indicators: _meetings frequency, support by close-knit networks, evidence for new friendships and networks <u>Baseline</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do you live with your family?/How fare do they live? 2. How often do you visit friends and family? <u>Change:</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Would you say you changed any of your habits/ friendship/social meetings) after the project?(eg. Included anyone new?) <u>Public and community engagement-networks</u> Indicators: active citizenship acts (voting, taking part in communal decisions) and perceived capacity to change things <u>Baseline:</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When was last time you took part in a consultation about sth? 2. Are you member have a role in any community club? /how often do you meet this group or work for this? <u>Change:</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Have you started anything new community activity as a result of taking part in project X.? 2. Have you volunteer in other community/heritage projects after that? 3. Do you think you have more power to change things now/influence decisions for your community as a result of taking part in that activity?

	<p>Collective action , cooperation and mutual agreement Indicators: common vision, collective capacity, evidence for social integration and social cohesion</p> <p>Change</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you think you have gained as a community from taking part in this project? 2. -Have you since then joined forces with another residential community? 3. -Have you created/participated in any joint project including both incomers / born and bred Orcadians or young/elderly people? <p>Reported levels of interpersonal trust, solidarity and reciprocity</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do you feel that there are people where you live that you can trust? 2. How many people do you feel that there are close to run in case of need/emergency?
<p>SENSE OF PLACE Extrinsic Contextual features (pace of live, environmental and everyday life features) and Intrinsic-individual SOP related features</p> <p>Ramkissoo et al. (2013) Williams and Vaske, 2003 and Brown and Raymond, 2007 Raymond et all(2010) Kyle et all (2005)</p> <p>Worthing, D., & Bond, S. (2007)</p> <p>bequest value: Mason (2002) altruism & attachment: Caldwell & Andereck (1994) Pretty and Ward (2001) loyalty as a consequence of place attachment : Alexandris et al. (2006), Hung and Lee (2012), and Lee and Shen (2013)</p>	<p>Functional- Place dependency</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do you enjoy living here? Would you say it is ideal for you? 2. What do you think about the area's access to social infrastructure: healthcare- schools--cultural activities- recreational activities? 2b.What do you think about the area's connectivity other areas/central island? <p>Place distinctiveness and indirect place attachment</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For which reason, would you consider your area distinctive? (Proximity to areas of natural beauty area, historic sites, architecture, other) 2. Are you proud of the area? Which aspects of it? *area referred to parish (part of island) <p>Place identity and indirect place attachment</p> <p>Are you aware of the history of the area? Do you consider yourself Interested in the history of area?</p> <p>Change:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do you consider that this area has changed in the last few years (2012-now) ? (identify social and spatial change) Elaborate: how do you feel about the change?(positive or negative?) Elaboration: could you define some deteriorating aspects?) 2. After the project do you consider that your perception for the place has changed? (for the wider community's) 3. Have there been any other locally supported or initiated projects to protect another part of heritage on your island? <p>Responsibility to protect</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Who do you feel that is responsible to take care of (historic site/asset) in the future? 2. Do you feel you can be part of it?
<p>SENSE OF BELONGING TO COMMUNITY</p> <p>For role of community life in development of Sc and SOP: Hammit et al, 2006 Raymond et al. 2010</p>	<p>Influence</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do you hold any post in public position/community decision making group? Have you gained any post after your participation?

Brown and Raymond (2007) ⁴¹ Schultz et al., 2004 For construct sense of belonging to community: Mcmillan, 1976 Nowell & Boyd, 2010 ⁴² Kitchen et al., 2015 ⁴³	<u>Integration (for incomers and socially excluded groups) and Fulfillment of Needs</u>
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Is it easy to make friends here? Have you made new friends through the activity? 2. How many people have you met since you arrived, you can trust? (only for incomers)
	<u>Membership</u>
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Have you become part of another local community group/a club or association since then? If yes, which one?
	<u>Cohesion/ bridging (for divided and segregated communities)</u>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Have you start meeting more often any other locals-you already knew after the end of the activity? 2. How often since 2012 have you been visiting the other part of the island? why? Any particular place? 3. Have you made any new friends-people that you do not know-because of that activity? 	

⁴¹ The work of Brown and Raymond provided references to the epistemological base of previous research on place-identity and place attachment. They refer to Masso, Dixon and Durrheim (2014) discuss a discursive perspective on human-environment relations, focusing on the processes through which place attachments form. Place bonds are constructed through the interaction of individuals and structures in a socio-institutional context.

⁴² Available at: <http://www.senseofcommunityresearch.org/research/updates/identifying-concepts-that-build-a-sense-of-community>

⁴³ Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4546026/>

Table 35 Questions for project managers, Phase 1

Questions	Time
1. Could you describe briefly your professional background and working experiences in the heritage sector? How long have you been staying in Orkney?	4 min
2. What types of projects have you been involved in? (relation and experience with community-based projects)	3 min
3. What was your role in your project? How did you find out about it? (recruitment)	2min
4. How many people did the project involved and in what roles? (Scapa flow projects) What were the steps followed to realise the project?	1min
5. What do you think you have gained as a professional from applying a 'participatory approach' to the project?	1min
6. What did you expect from the people participating in relation to goals of the project? (community contribution)	2min
7. What was the final contribution to the project? What did the project offer to the people in your opinion? (any evidence?)	3min
8. What did the project gain from the locals' involvement? Did you have to sacrifice anything in order to involve them in the project plan?	2min
9. What do you think about the culture-nature partnership for heritage conservation goals? (effectiveness)	optional
10. What are the obstacles/opportunities you see in relation to community engagement?	2min
11. If you had to re-design the scheme plan or the project design what would you change? (in relation to involving local communities in the project-differentiate for planners and managers) b. Extra: What do you consider is the legacy of the project in relation to participation of local groups and stakeholders in heritage?	1-2min
12. a. Are there any changes that you think would support better the project realisation? b. In your opinion, was the project effective in supporting heritage sustainability on the island?	2min
What is the relation between the various projects in the scheme? Between the various stakeholders? Did you exchange experiences with other professionals and non-experts in relation to involving people in heritage projects?	Optional 2min+

Appendix E. Tables: Participants' backgrounds and roles (Phases 1, 2) -Project themes and activities

Table 36 List of interviewees, demographic information, longevity of residence and professional role/organisation they work for (colours: red managers, yellow for planners, green for community volunteers, blue for museum-led project participants, light green for community-led project participants)

Name	P	Age /Sex	Role-organization	Provenance/Residence	Participation type	Project
I1/M1	1	Male 35-44	Project officer, Archaeology Institute University of the Highlands and Islands	Non Orcadian , >5 years in	Volunteering Formal and informal outreach Community-led projects	1,2,4
I2/M2	1	Male 55-64	Higher management officer, Archaeology Institute University of the Highlands and Islands	Non Orcadian , >25 years in	Volunteering	1
I3/M3	1	Male 35-44	Project officer ,Archaeology Institute University of the Highlands and Islands/ORCA	Non Orcadian Years in >10	Volunteering Community-led projects	1
I4/M4	1	Male, 45-54	Project Officer , RSPB Orkney General Scheme/ Project manager in SFLPS	Non Orcadian ~15 years in	Community-led projects Volunteering	1-5
I5/P1	1	Male 35-44	Senior Policy Planning and Development, Orkney Islands Council (OIC) officer	30+years (on-off)	Participatory planning: community Consultations	1-5
I6/M6*	1	Female	Ranger Service /Historic Environment Scotland	Orcadian	Volunteering Formal and informal outreach	1
I7/P2	1	Female 44-54	Orkney Islands Council(OIC) - Arts Museums and Heritage Service officer	Non Orcadian, UK, 12 Years in Orkney	Participatory planning-governance , Partnerships	1-5
I8./M8	1	Female 44-54	Orkney islands Council(OIC) /Custodian local visitor Centre and Museum	Non Orcadian >25 years in Orkney	Volunteering-partnerships with 3 rd sector organizations (NGO, societies and charitable ones)	2
I9/M9*	1	Female 65-	Orkney Islands council(OIC) staff-curator, The Orkney Museum	Orcadian	Volunteering-partnerships with 3 rd sector organizations (NGO, societies and charitable ones)	2

Name	P h a s e	Age /Sex	Role-organization	Provenance/Residence	Participation type	Project
I10/ M10	1	Female 55-64	Education Officer Arts Centre, Stromness Orkney	Non Orkadian UK_More than 30 years in	Formal and informal (museum based) education Partnerships	2,4
I11/ M11	1 , 2	Female 35-44	Heritage officer, Hoy Kirk community project	Non Orkadian UK_ Scottish 9 Years in	Community-led and managed projects	4
I12/ C1	1 , 2	Male 35-44	Project participant in archaeological documentation/guide s training	Non Orkadian UK_ Scottish >10 years in	Volunteering Heritage trusts and associations Formal outreach	1,2
I13/ C2	1	Male 44-54	Project participant in archaeological documentation /artistic interpretation	Non Orkadian, UK >10 years in	Collaboration with third sector Partnerships Volunteering	1, 13
I14- 15/ C3, C4	1	Females 55-64	Archaeological site and visitor centre, Custodians and managers, South Ronaldsay, Orkney	Orkadians	Community-led projects// Community- managed projects	5
I16/ C5	1	Female 55-64	Gramsey and Hoy projects, participant.	Non Orkadian UK >15 years in	Community led projects Training (informal) Community trusts and consultations	2
I17/ C6	1	Male 65+	Hoy community project participant.	Orkadian	Community led and Community managed projects	4
I18/ C7	1	Female 65+	Craa's next Museum / Hoy Kirk Project participant	Non Orkadian >35 years	Community led and community managed projects	3
I19/ C8	1	Female	Volunteer St Magnus Festival	Orkadian , Nurse	Volunteering formal	9
I20/ C9		Female 65+	Volunteer St Magnus Festival	Non Orkadian,	Volunteering formal	9
I21/ C10	1	Female	Retired doctor, volunteer St Magnus Festival	Orkadian, South Ronaldsay	Volunteering formal	9,

Name	P h a s e	Age /Sex	Role-organization	Provenance/Residence	Participation type	Project
I22/ C11	1	Male 44-54	Violin maker, Private heritage assets custodian	Orcadian, South Ronaldsay and Kirkwall,	Heritage trusts and charities Informal engagement	None
I23/ C12	1	Male 25-35	Musician	Orcadian, , Hoy, Kirkwall, Now Inverness	Heritage trusts and charities Informal engagement	None
I24/ C13	1	Female 65+	Music teacher	Orcadian, Burray,	Volunteering Heritage trusts and charities	5
I25/ P3	1	Male 55-64	VAO representative	Orcadian,	Volunteering in heritage sector in Orkney-recruiting processes and community trends	all
I26/ P4	2	Male 35-44	Development officer Orkney Islands Council(OIC)-	Non Orcadian, Scottish,	Participatory planning- governance , Partnerships Comm. consultations	all
I27/ P5	2	Male 44-54	Access officer- Orkney Islands Council(OIC)	Orcadian	Participatory planning- governance , Partnerships Comm. Consultations Natural heritage	all
I28/ P6	2	Male 25-35	Historic environment officer Orkney Islands Council(OIC)	Non Orcadian,	Participatory planning- governance , Partnerships Comm. Consultations	all
I29/ P7	2	Female 44-54	Area Officer for Orkney Scottish Natural Heritage	Non Orcadian	Participatory planning- governance , Partnerships Comm. Consultations Natural Heritage	all
I30/ C14	2	Male 65+	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity, Fundraising	Non Orcadian, Scottish, >20y	Community-led projects// Community- managed projects Heritage trusts and charities	4
C15	2	Female 55-64	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity, Fundraising	Orcadian, Hoy	Community-led projects// Community- managed projects Heritage trusts and charities	4

Name	P h a s e	Age /Sex	Role-organization	Provenance/Residence	Participation type	Project
I32/ C16	2	Male 65+	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity, Music player in events	Orcadian , Hoy South Walls	Community-led projects// Community- managed projects Heritage trusts and charities Volunteering informal	8,4
I33/ C17	2	Female 44-54	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity, Digital archivist (part time employment)	Non Orcadian, Irish, 2 years in	Community-led projects// Community- managed projects	4
I34/ C18	2	Female 65+	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity, Role: collected and published material for house and residents histories	20 -40 years in	Community- managed projects	4
I35/ C19	2	Female 65+	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity, role: Archive material, event participation	20 -40 years in	Community- managed projects	4
I36/ C20	2	Female 35-44	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity, Hoy Kirk, Role: warden	Non Orcadian UK_ Scottish 10-20 Years in	Community- managed projects Trusts and charities	4
I37/ C21	2	Female 65+	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity	Orcadian, Hoy	Community-led and managed projects Trusts and charities	4
I38/ C22	2	Female 65+	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity	Non Orcadian UK, Welsh >40years	Community- managed projects Trusts and charities	4
I39/ C23	2	Female 65+	Friends of Hoy Kirk, charity	Non Orcadian UK, Welsh >40years	Community- managed projects Trusts and charities	4
I40/ C24	2	Male 65+	Traditional boat building skills/OHBS	Non Orcadian 5 years in	Volunteering Charities and trusts	10
I416 / C25	2	Male 65+	Traditional boat building skills/OHBS	Orcadian >40 years	Volunteering Charities and trusts	10
I42/ C26	2	Female 55-64	Boys ploughing match	Orcadian,	Informal volunteering	6

Name	Phases	Age /Sex	Role-organization	Provenance/Residence	Participation type	Project
				>40 years in	Community led and managed projects	
I43/C27	2	Female 65+	Boys ploughing match	Non Orcadian, >40 years in	Informal volunteering Community led and managed projects	6
I44/C28	2	Female 25-35	Film -Hoy Heritage	Orcadian, all life	Volunteering Informal engagement Partnerships	7, 13
I45/C29	2	Female 25-35	Film -Hoy Heritage	Not Orcadian, almost all life	Volunteering	7
I46/	2	Male 44-54	Traditional boat building skills-Stromness courses	Non Orcadian, >10y in.	Volunteering Training formal Partnerships	10
I47/M12	1	Female 44-54	Manager/ Family –run visitor centre Exhibition project	unknown	Volunteering Partnerships Charities and trusts	5,
I47 M13	2	Female 44-54	Researcher / Family run-visitor centre Exhibition project	unknown	Volunteering Community led projects Charities and trusts	5

Table 37 Research participants' demographic data in a nutshell: sex, age and provenence for all groups

Role/Participant group	1.Managers	2.Planners	3.Volunteers	4.Community-led members	5.Local collaborators	Total
Males	4	5	4	4	2	16
Females	6	2	6	11	3	31
Total	10	7	10	15	5	47
Age groups						
25-34 yo	0	1	3	0	0	4
35-44 yo	3	2	1	1	0	7
45-54 yo	4	3	1	1	3	12
55-65 yo	2	1	1	3	2	9
65+yo	1	0	4	10	0	15
Total	10	7	10	15	5	47
Provenence						
Orcadians	2	2	5	8	3	20
Non Orcadian >5y	8	5	4	6	2	25
Non Orcadian <5y			1	1		2

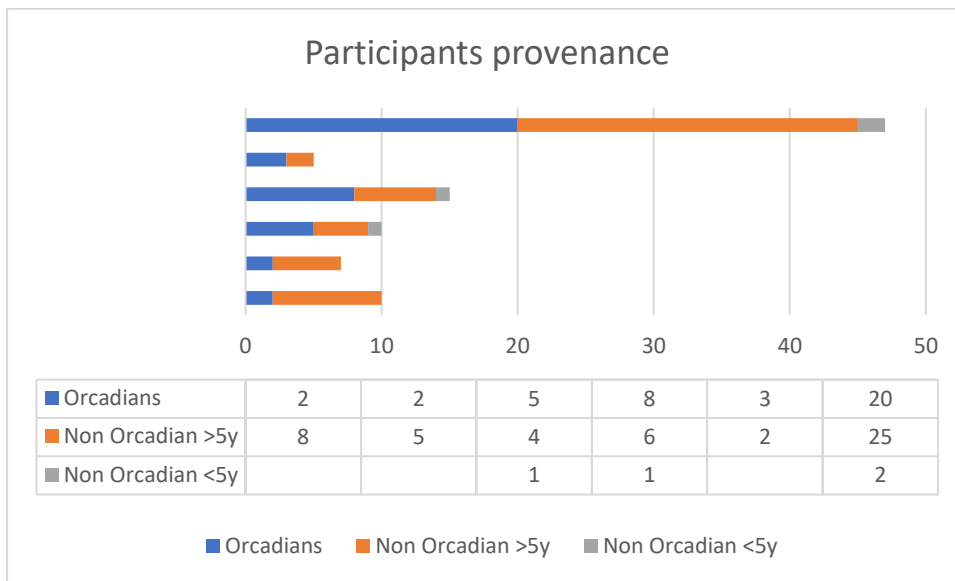


Figure 90 Participants provenence details: 20 out of 47 where Orcadians born and bred, but almost all where residing there for more than 5 y

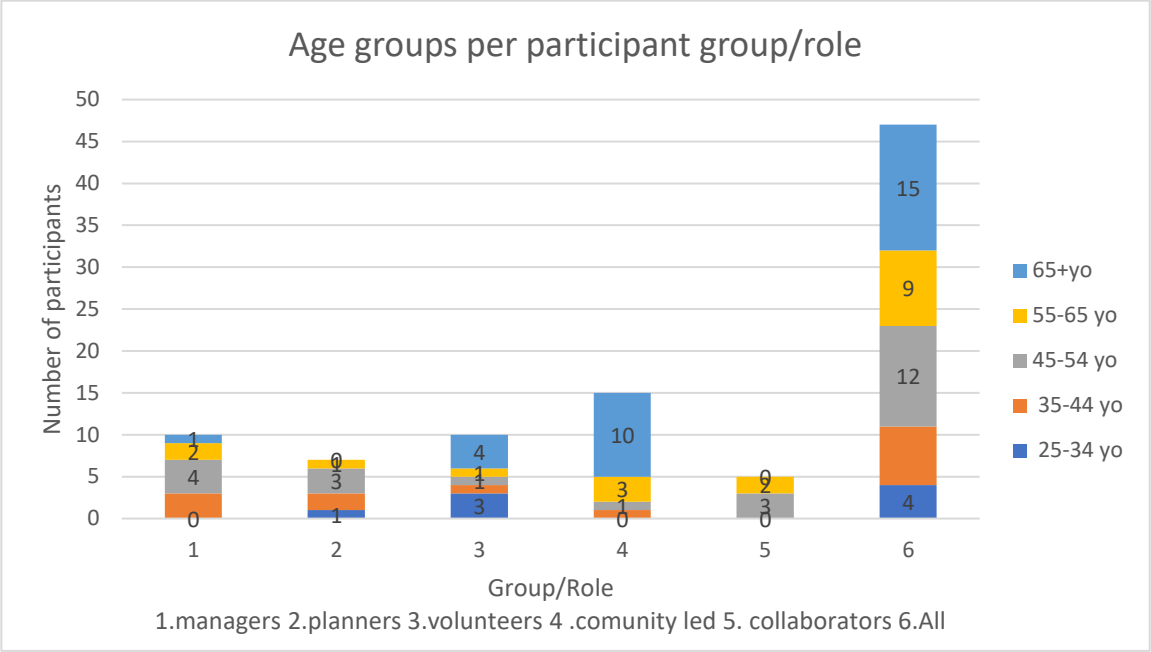


Figure 91 Participants age groups: community-led initiatives had the highest number of elderly involved

Table 38 Types of projects –heritage assets involved and typology of participation observed

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Duration-participation typology</u>	<u>Heritage Typology</u>	<u>Name in SFLP-HLF Scheme</u>	<u>Code</u>
1	Archaeological excavation train-in-Hoy and South Ronaldsay (Iron age/Neolithic)	Volunteering-training	Archaeology-tangible	Getting involved in Archaeology - community training Access to ancient environments - archaeology archive	LP 6 LP5
2	Battery WWII site Restoration project	Volunteering-training	Wartime heritage-tangible	Ness Battery	LW6 Lw3
3	A vernacular “crofter” house restoration and reuse as a museum Rackwick Craa’s Nest	Self-initiated Community-led	Vernacular heritage-tangible	Rackwick cultural heritage	LP 16
4	A parish church reuse (Hoy Kirk) into a community center and archive of oral histories	Community-led Collaborative delivery	Vernacular -tangible /intangible Archive-tangible Natural/cultural heritage/intangible	Hoy Heritage Film Hoy arts, crafts & music workshops James Sinclair – botanist/Natural heritage walks	LP14 LP15 NL 13/ NL 1, 2
5	A new interpretation wing for a <i>family-run</i> archaeological visitor centre (South Ronaldsay)	Collaborative delivery - Mainly professional driven	Archaeology -Tangible Interpretation-Intangible	Substitute project** Submerged landscape of Scapa Flow	LP7
6	Boys ploughing match accompanied with exhibition (South Ronaldsay/stromness)	Community-led	Festival- Intangible	South Ronaldsay ploughing match training	LP8
7	<i>St Magnus Festival</i>	Volunteering-training	Festival- Intangible	<i>SF & the St Magnus Festival</i>	CC1
8	Stromness Pier arts Center film on Wartime lives	Volunteering /collaborative delivery	Interpretation-Intangible Wartime heritage and archive data	Hoy heritage Film	LP14
9	Boat restoring and traditional boat making	Volunteering/ Collaborative delivery	Tangible Intangible - traditional skills	<i>Traditional boat building skills training</i> Traditional craft skills training <i>SF Yole sailing project</i>	LP9 Lp11 LP12
10	Burray exhibition and Tomb of Eagles	Volunteering/ professional commission	Landscape, ecosystem archaeology interpretation	Landscape & ecology of the Churchill Barriers	NL11

Table 39 Details on duration of certain projects (especially the more structured ones, that included training activities, happening with institutional leadership) were gathered by the researcher as part of the process of evaluating sub-projects to focus on

Volunteer Project:	Phase	Training	Duration of project	Benefits to Volunteers.
Collections care and cataloguing OIC Museums	Pre-implementation	Oct 2017: Induction - 1/2 day	Oct 2017 – June 2018	Volunteers will develop the skills required to care for, record and catalogue historic artefacts.
	Implementation	Oct 2017: Manual Handling – 1 day	The opportunity to volunteer at other OIC museums may be available, depending on the needs of the service.	They will be trained and certificated in manual handling.
		Oct 2017: Artefact Handling – 1 day		The skills learned can be used to benefit other island heritage sites. The skills learned would also be valuable at council- and volunteer-run museums Volunteers will be better equipped to apply for jobs in the museums and heritage sector.
Lyness Oral History Project	Implementation	Jan 2018: Theory - 1 x ½ day	Jan – Nov 2018	Volunteers will learn new skills.
		Jan 2018: Practical - 1 x ½ day		Volunteers are engaged in telling the story of their island to residents and visitors.
		Mar 2018: Processing interviews - 1 x ½ day		The skills learned can be used to benefit other island and Orkney heritage sites.
		Jun 2018: Digital editing and exhibition design - 1 x ½ day		Volunteers will be better equipped to apply for jobs in the museums and heritage sector.
		Jan 2019: Basic First Aid - 1 day		Volunteers will receive training in Basic First Aid and health and safety.
Guided Walks – Lyness Wartime Trail	Post-implementation	Feb 2019: Induction and on-site training - 1 x ½ day	Jan – Mar 2019; Training April 2019 – onwards: 3 x 3hr slots per week	They will learn more about the history and heritage of Orkney, and of Hoy in particular.
		Feb 2019 – self-study		Volunteers will develop skills in delivering a service to visitors.
		Mar 2019: Onsite training - 1 x ½ day		It will enhance volunteers' pride in their local history and heritage. Volunteers will be better equipped to apply for jobs in the tourism and heritage sector.

Appendix F. Research questions, objectives and interview questions matching

Table 40 Formulating questions for participants and relation with research objectives and questions

<u>Research objectives</u>	<u>Relation with Research Questions</u>	<u>Addressing the objectives</u>	<u>Themes</u>	<u>Questions for participants</u>
Ro1	<u>R5-What are the connections between place and heritage as motivation/enablers for participation? What affects them?</u>	Evaluate answers in relation to the participants' social and educational background.	Personal background (education, work, family situation, age, years living there-bonds)	Could you tell me a few things about yourself and your life in Orkney islands?
Ro1	<u>R3-R1 The previous+ What are common forms of engagement in this community/ context?</u>	Understand perception of c._heritage in relation with nature and landscape features	Perception of heritage (cult-nature bonds)	How would you describe your relation with the site? Are u actively involved in any heritage organisation now, volunteering or eg. doing communityOled heritage work ?
Ro1	<u>R2, R3subg,1,2 What are the areas where participation is inserted in projects today? (in terms of duration, extend, framework support?)</u>	Evaluate extent of participation and forms of it-superficial or active? Repetitiveness counted	Type of participation (role, responsibility)	What was your role in the activity involved? When exactly was it realised and for how long?
-	<u>R3 sub1,2 How can this be improved?</u>		Motivation/aspiration? Vs outcome balance for/of participation	Why did you take part? How where your recruited?
Ro4	<u>R1-What are the impacts of participation on communities (individual level)?</u>	Assess immediate impact on individuals	<i>Individual benefits</i>	What do you think you gained as an individual through taking part in this activity?
Ro4	<u>R1-What are the impacts of participation on communities (common level, knock off effect)?</u>	Assess delivered impact on community	<i>Community' payback'</i>	What do you think you can offer to the local community as a result of participating in this activity?
Ro4	<u>R1-What are the impacts of participation on Heritage (audiences, participation, dissemination)?</u>	Assess impact on heritage projects; what changes?	<i>Affinity with heritage + Heritage benefits</i>	Have you participated in any other heritage project since then (as a volunteer or an employee)? Have you been visiting more heritage sites or involved in heritage work since then?
Ro4	<u>R1-What are the impacts of participation on communities – (knock off effect and capacity building)</u>	Spread out impacts on community, long term effects	<i>Community + individual relationships</i>	Have you started anything new as a result of your participation? (eg. job, network, join social group.,etc.) Could you describe a bit?

<u>Research objectives</u>	<u>Relation with Research Questions</u>	<u>Addressing the objectives</u>	<u>Themes</u>	<u>Questions for participants</u>
-	<u>same</u>	Capacity building (side of participants)	Skills and capacities	What do you feel you have learnt through participating? prompt: Have you increased your skills and competencies? Have you applied them since then in your life?
<u>Ro4</u>	<u>Rq2, 3sub1,2</u> <u>How can participation can be better integrated? adapted to local powers & strengths of the community</u>	Assess suitability of project for context-person	New opportunities through participation- unforeseen	Do you think you could be more productive/efficient in another role? What would you prefer to do in a new project?
<u>Ro1</u>	<u>R1-r4 What is the Perceived impact on individuals, suggestions</u>	Impression-perceived impact	Innovation, perks of participation..(try to understand power relations)	How was this project different form others in heritage, if you have volunteered or participated in others?

Table 41 Formulating questions for professionals and relation with research objectives and questions

<u>Research objectives</u>	<u>Relation with Research Questions</u>	<u>Addressing objectives</u>	<u>the Theme</u>	<u>Questions for professionals</u>
Ro1	<u>What is the relation between professionals' background and practices/attitudes to participation? When does it act as motivation/enabler for participation?</u>	Evaluate answers in relation to the participants' professional educational background-	Personal background (education, work, age, resident?)	Could you describe briefly your professional background and working experiences in the heritage sector? How long have you been staying in Orkney?
-		Assess their related experience	Assess expertise/point of view	What types of projects have you been involved in?
Ro2,3,4	<u>R2. How is a participatory approach to heritage management, incorporated in their work?</u>	Evaluate perception on participation by different role-holders /evaluate their answers in relation to their role and relation with managers	Role in project (level of involvement and of influence)	What was your role in your project? How did you find out about it? (recruitment)
Ro2,3,4	<u>R2</u>	Evaluate extend of participation and forms of it-way of integrate it /process		How many people did the project involved and in what roles? What where the steps followed to realise the project?
Ro 2,3,4	<u>R2-How does it benefit them as professionals?</u>	Assess immediate impact on individuals	<u>Aspirations Vs</u> outcomes balance <i>individual benefit</i>	What do you think you have gained as a professional from / applying a participatory approach of the scheme?
Ro2	<u>R2, 3 How is it practised now? current expectations and what is the impact on heritage project?</u>	Assess experts' expectations from participants (are they restricted?)	Assess skills- areas of contribution by community	What did you expect from the people participating in relation to goals of the project?

<u>Research objectives</u>	<u>Relation with Research Questions</u>	<u>Addressing objectives</u>	<u>the Theme</u>	<u>Questions for professionals</u>
<u>Ro2</u>	<u>R2, 3</u>	Assess reciprocal impact on community & heritage project	Reciprocal contribution	What was the final contribution to the project? What did the project offer to the people in your opinion? (any evidence?)
<u>Ro1</u>	<u>R1-R4 What is the Perceived impact on individuals,</u>	Capacity building	Skills and capacities offered	What did the project gain from the locals' involvement? Did you have to sacrifice anything in order to involve them in the project plan?
<u>Ro1</u>	<u>R4</u>	Evaluate experts opinion on integration, opportunities	Perception of heritage integration (cult-nature bonds)	What do you think about the culture-nature partnership for heritage conservation goals? (effectiveness)
<u>Ro6</u>	<u>R5</u>	Evaluate experts opinion on context-related strategies on community engagement	Same in context	What are the obstacles/opportunities you see in relation to community engagement?
<u>Ro2,</u>	<u>R2(incorporated, R3)</u>	Lessons learnt-legacy	Unforeseen-improvements, lessons learnt	If you <u>had to</u> re-design the scheme or sth similar what would you change? (in relation to involving local communities) What do you consider is the legacy of the project in relation to participation of local groups in heritage?
<u>Ro6</u>	<u>R5</u>	Assess suitability of project for context-perceived effectiveness with a focus on the management scheme	Innovation-personal view for sustaining heritage as resource	Are there any changes that you think would support better the project realisation? In your opinion, was the project effective in supporting heritage sustainability on the island?

<u>Research objectives</u>	<u>Relation with Research Questions</u>	<u>Addressing objectives</u>	<u>the Theme</u>	<u>Questions for professionals</u>
<u>Ro2</u>	<u>R3</u>	+ (as extra)	Knowledge exchange- relation with stakeholders	What is the relation between the various projects in the scheme? Between the various stakeholders? Did you exchange experiences with other profess and non- experts in relation to involving people in heritage projects? (What did you gain from that?)

Table 42 Wider research questions, sub questions and related objectives for data collection, analysis and synthesis, for the whole thesis

Research Questions	Subquestions target area and considerations	Related objectives*
1. How does community's participation in heritage affect social wellbeing and sustains communities?	<p>What re the perceived social impacts at individual level and at community level?</p> <p>What affects social cohesion? Which are indicators to be researched, specify in islands (eg. Networks creation, communication, representation etc.)</p> <p>What constitutes viable communities specifically in islands? (eg. Skills, capacities and social network types that support them)</p>	<p>1 to identify indicators for what constitutes social wellbeing in rural, island context and areas where heritage participation contributes to it. Discern between individual and community level perceived social impacts</p> <p>4 to develop a methodology for Impact assessment of participation on community social structure and social behaviors ie. around issues of inclusion and cohesion.</p> <p>4b To apply this and an adopted and adapted methodology (from project management and SIA to assess project's contribution to social sustainability) Using the indicators defined in 3a,b.</p>
2. How does a participatory approach to heritage management, if it does, benefit heritage managers? What negative impacts should be surpassed for it to be incorporated in their work?	<p>How are the roles distributed and the power divided?</p> <p>What are the current and the desired network relations of stakeholders for this to be realized?</p> <p>What is the current framework to be embedded?</p> <p>What changes need to be done to incorporate it?</p>	<p>4 (see above)</p> <p>5 To develop an explanatory theory that associates local participation with indicators for community & heritage sustainability</p> <p>2 To analyse/ Examine stakeholder collaboration and roles in the participatory process of heritage management</p> <p>3 To identify indicators for effective practices associated with sustainable heritage management (conservation /documentation/interpretation projects) that can also assist aspects of community social wellbeing</p>
4. Does the context applies certain restrictions or gives more opportunities for certain applications of participation in heritage?	<p>To what extend community structures & existing institutional framework/governing policies affect the realization of participation in similar contexts?</p> <p>What are the terms of generalizing in different contexts (effect of context on impacts)? Does perception of culture differentiates the impacts and how?</p>	<p>6 To define the applicability of the developed theory/conceptual framework for different cultural context /limits to generalization</p>

Appendix G. Information sheet and consent form

Table 43 Information Sheet for research participants distributed before the interviews

INFORMATION SHEET
Ph.D. Thesis Title: “Sustainable heritage & community development on island context: investigation of reciprocal links”
Doctoral Researcher: Eirini Gallou Address: UCL Central House Room 301, 3rd floor 14 Upper Woburn Place, WC1H 0NN London
Contact Details: eirini.gallou.15@ucl.ac.uk Supervisor’s Details: Dr Kalliopi Fouseki, kalliopi.fouseki@ucl.ac.uk Lecturer, Institute for Sustainable Heritage, UCL
Ph.D. Project Aim:
<p>The Ph.D. project investigates the ways through which community engagement in heritage can contribute to both sustainable heritage projects and socially sustainable communities in an island context. The form of engagement studied, reaches the level of active local community’s participation observed in heritage projects. The rural and usually isolated context of islands creates particular challenges, both for communities to sustain their population and preservation challenges for heritage sites. One main case study was chosen for the research: Orkney in Scotland, UK. Orkney hosts multiple national and internationally important archaeological sites with pre-historic remnants within a stunning landscape while a recent interest in late WWII history has brought up a number of important sites that commemorate the history of the place. The basic research questions are: How could community’s participation in heritage affect social cohesion and create viable communities? What are the types of perceived social and wellbeing impacts for people that take part in these projects? How does a participatory approach to heritage management, if it does, benefit heritage managers and what is the impact in their role? Are there any institutional benefits that could assist in sustaining long-term preservation in such contexts?</p>
Scientific Interview Procedure:
<p>The interviews are scheduled to take place in two phases: between 15-30 April 2016 in Orkney, Scotland and specifically in Kirkwall and between 1-12 April 2017 in Hoy, Stromness and Kirkwall. The interviews have a double aim: heritage managers and local people that participated in a heritage site participatory project will be interviewed.</p> <p>The major projects researched are part of a three year Heritage Lottery fund supported scheme, the Scapa Flow Landscape Scheme. A number of participants are going to be indicated in place during the visit of the interviewer and added to the interviewees, represented local participants in heritage projects. The interviews at the first level will last for 35min to an hour, they will be semi-structured and the data will be recorded and stored securely for further analysis.</p> <p>Personal collected data could be identifiable at the final report if the interviewee consents to it, otherwise the interviewee will remain anonymous. For this reason, you will be asked to sign a Consent Form before the interview starts. The researcher intends to use the collected data either to write a paper that will be presented at an international conference or a peer-reviewed journal article to be published at an internationally acclaimed academic journal.</p> <p>Please, do not hesitate to contact the researcher to ask for further information on the research purpose and the interview process. All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.</p>

Table 44 Consent form for participants, distributed before the interviews and accompanied by information Sheet.

<u>CONSENT FORM</u>
<p>Please, fill in the Consent Form after you read carefully the Information Sheet handed out to you. If you have any questions on the Information Sheet or any other work-related question, feel free to ask the researcher for clarifications before you agree to take part in the study.</p>
<p>If you do decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.</p>
<p>1.I confirm that I have read and understand the Information Sheet for the above study. <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>2.I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered in a satisfactory manner. <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>3.I understand that my interview will be recorded and I give permission to the researcher to use my words for the purpose of this study. <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>4.I consent to the researcher using my personal details only for the purpose of this study <input type="checkbox"/> or I am happy for the data to be used for research purposes as long as my anonymity is retained <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>5.I agree to take part in this study. <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>Signature</p> <p>Date</p> <p>Thank you for your participation in this study!</p>

Appendix H: Thematic analysis: few extracted themes and nodes hierarchy from Nvivo

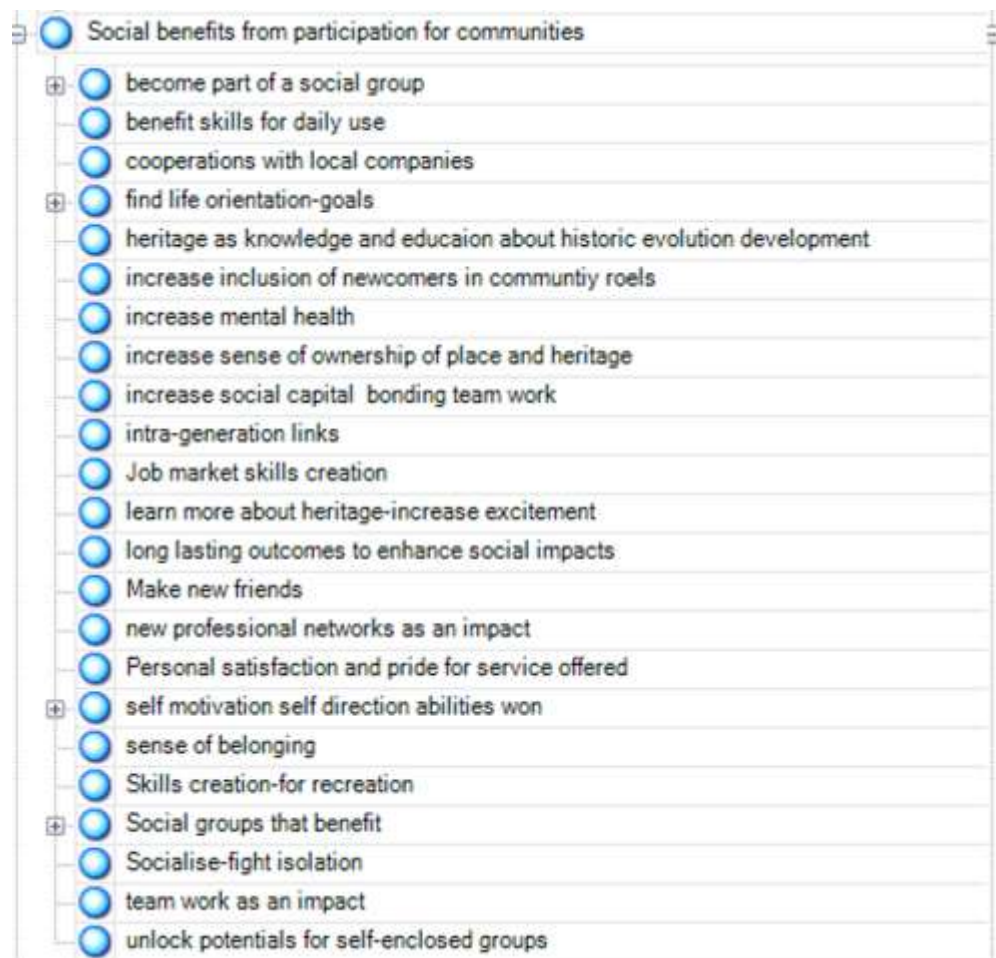


Figure 92 List of nodes from Nvivo, showing perceived social benefits from participation as perceived by community members (before aggregation)

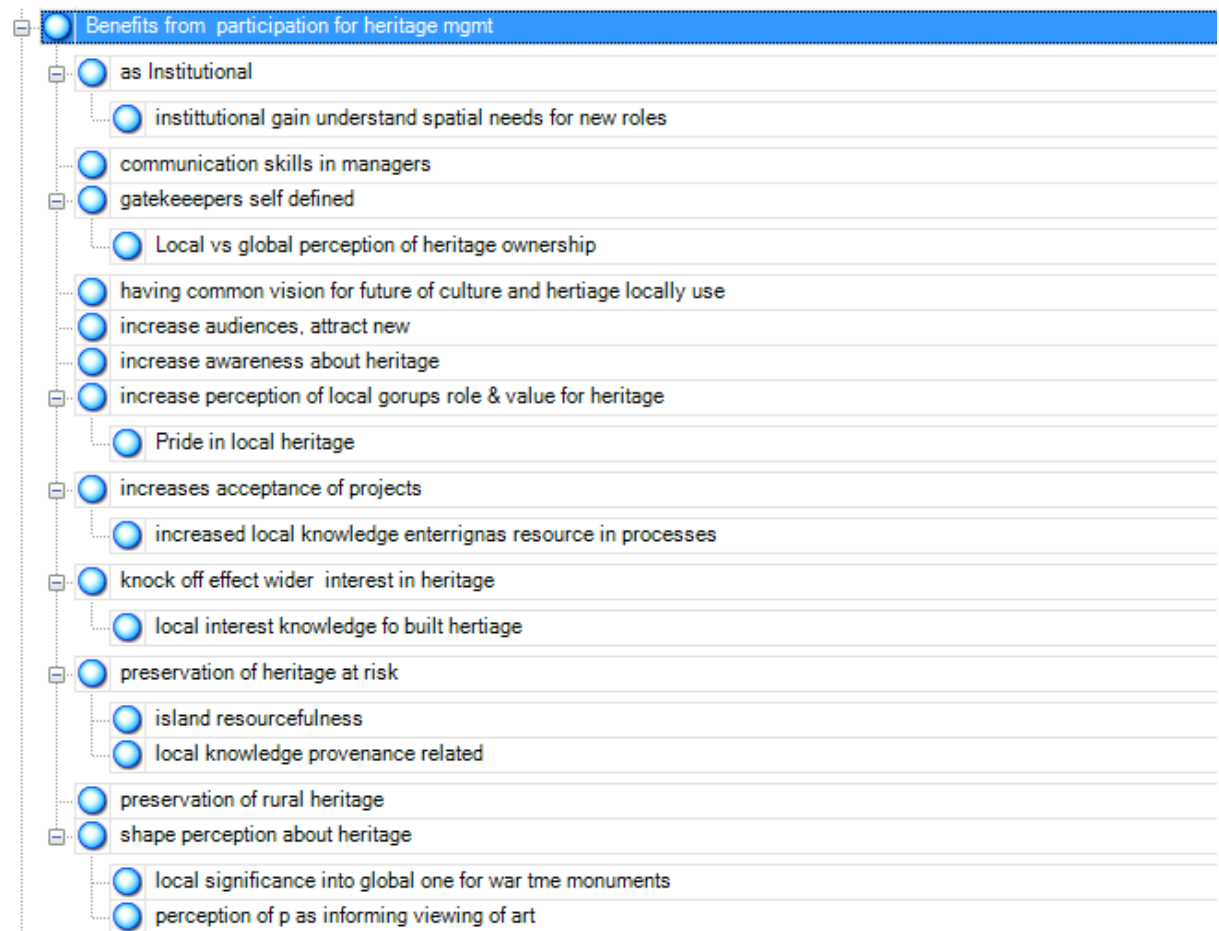


Figure 93 List of nodes under benefits for heritage management (practices) including both institutionalized and non-institutionalized management

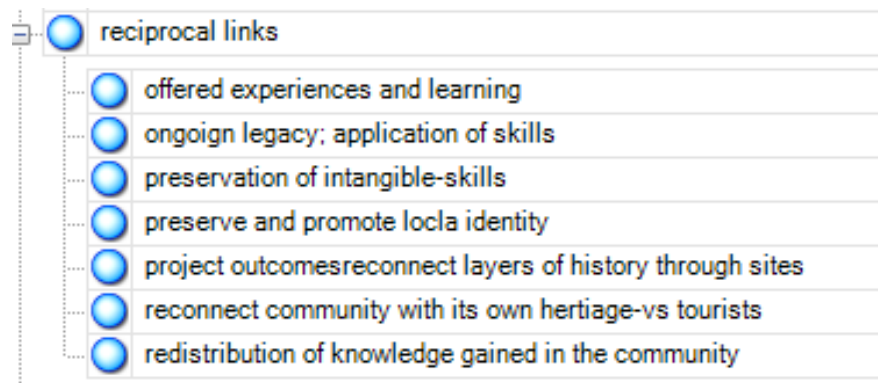


Figure 94 List of nodes under reciprocal links

Appendix I: Causal loop diagrams -analytical tables

Table 45 Sample analysis of all loops in one transcript for C22, 23, used as a protocol for all transcripts. Direction of impact pathways and reciprocal relationships observed are described

List of loops, gathered in three repetitive core themes, direction of impact and reciprocal relationships observed: conditions where reciprocity was observed (Themes: 1 heritage substituting lack of social infrastructure 2 heritage enhancing community cohesion through integration of immigrants 3 bonding and bridging interaction-cohesion effect on integration)					
Theme	Loop	Description	Social to heritage impact ⁴⁴	Heritage to social impact ⁴⁵	Reciprocity /Synergy
1	Balancing loop B0	sustain people in place		x	
2	Reinforcing loop R1	organic evolution of project	x (same as below)		
2	Reinforcing loop R2	institution-trust network-linking Social capital	x (can be considered heritage to heritage)		
2	Reinforcing loop R3	networks sustain trust and support socializing new functions	x	x	Yes
2	Reinforcing loop R4	co defined and re-defined values	x		
1	Reinforcing loop R5	immigrants sustain trust and share skills (indirectly reinforce rejuvenation)	x	x	Yes (simultaneous)
1	Reinforcing loop R6	function as community centre-protects character of place	x		Yes, R6 with R7
1	Reinforcing loop R7	asset to community protection		x	
3	Reinforcing loop R8	immigrants skills enable heritage bequest	x		Yes with R14

⁴⁴ *heritage as a. place, b. institution or c. management process

⁴⁵ (social impact as increasing or establishing bonding, bridging, linking social capital)

List of loops, gathered in three repetitive core themes, direction of impact and reciprocal relationships observed: conditions where reciprocity was observed
 (Themes: 1 heritage substituting lack of social infrastructure 2 heritage enhancing community cohesion through integration of immigrants 3 bonding and bridging interaction-cohesion effect on integration)

Theme	Loop	Description	Social to heritage impact ⁴⁴	Heritage to social impact ⁴⁵	Reciprocity /Synergy
3	Reinforcing loop R9	heritage/ social hub centre triggers participation	x		Yes with R13
3	Balancing loop B10	participation balancing intra-island divisions		x	
3	Balancing loop B11	bonding and bridging social capital		x	
2	Reinforcing loop R12	open physical access approach reinforces trust , which increases guardianship)	x	x	Yes - balancing R15
3	Reinforcing loop R13	adoption by neighboring communities	x	x	Yes, (Simultaneous)
3	Reinforcing loop R14	In-migrants involvement enables social integration		x (can be considered social to social)	Yes with R8- (simultaneous)
2	Balancing loop R15	lack of trust to professionals allows heritage fabric neglected, focuses on intangible	x		
2	Reinforcing loop R16	digital access approach increase participation from other communities		x	Yes- (simultaneous)

Table 46 List of causal loops identified in diagrams of managers, loop themes named and presence of reciprocity or synergy identified

Managers	Relevant project types ⁴⁶	Relation between key themes mentioned by other managers/planners	Causal loops identified	Reciprocity or synergy between impact
Group 1: M1/M2/M3	V Archaeology/ wartime	Theme 2-loop 3: Rigid structures and balancing resistance to institutional change	Causal loop 1,2: Participatory projects as connecting institutions and communities and supporting institutional goals Causal loop 3 (M1-3): Research approach to co-delivering projects, rigid structures and resistance to change vs innovation in approaching the public	
Group 1a: M6 / M13	V Archaeology	Theme 1-loops 1-6: Developing trust via infiltrating informal networks and connectors	Causal loop 5-M6 Volunteering producing life-changing experiences and rangers role for developing trust and cooperation between communities and institutions Causal Loop 6 -M13 : Managers infiltrating community associations: long term institutional benefits for community -based projects through ensuring consensus	

⁴⁶ CL-Community led or V-volunteering format Relevant heritage typologies (archaeology/wartime heritage/museum project-artefacts/ intangible eg. festivals/))

<p>Group 2: M8+M9+ M10</p>	<p>Both, mostly V Museum projects /artefacts and intangible</p>	<p>Theme 3-in loop10 Theme 2 - in loop 9 Theme 5-in loop 12 Heritage protected but gap towards participatory governance remains Themes 9-10-loop.9-11 Social skills and conflict resolution skills in mangers necessary Theme 6-loop 13- Heritage tourism balancing social tensions-shared heritage Theme 4 loop 14- Enable integration of incomers Theme 3/theme 1-Loop 15</p>	<p>Causal loop 9-M8: Structure of institution and social role of managers as enablers of connections with communities Causal loop 10 M8 communities sustaining museums and intangible heritage Causal Loop 11-M8 : External researchers as mediators for achieving effective outputs and promoting heritage protection through attitudinal changes Causal loop 12-M8: A paradox: heritage benefits through co-existing, but divided goals for community groups and institutions Causal loop 13-M9: Heritage use via tourism connects it with wider public , balancing hostile behavior to non-locals Causal loop 14-M10: Impacts on social integration trigger increase in heritage audiences and internal collaboration within heritage institutions Causal loop 15-M10: Community input as resource (knowledge and time) into project retaliations-trust and dependency development</p>	<p>Loop 13 reciprocity</p>
<p>Individual 3: M11</p>	<p>CL Artefacts and intangible</p>		<p>Causal loops 16 : Heritage -community links reinforced thanks to increased accessibility as an output of participation: pathways towards sustaining heritage protection</p>	<p>Loop 16 Reciprocity in long term</p>
<p>Individual 4: M4</p>	<p>Both/all</p>	<p>Theme 3-loop4 Balancing resources and capacity for delivering projects via networks Theme-loop7 Balancing safeguarding behavior by understanding social needs</p>	<p>Causal Loop-M4 : Resource balancing and capacity reinforcement via networks Causal loop 7 -M4 Developing community trust amidst interpretation negotiations and balancing safeguarding behavior Causal loop 8-M4 Mixed Communities in flux posing challenges to project efficiency - community projects that risk to fail and breaking institutional networks</p>	

Table 47 List of causal loops identified in diagrams of planners, loop themes named and presence of reciprocity or synergy identified

Planners	Relation between key themes mentioned by others	Causal loops identified	Reciprocity or synergy between impacts
P1	Theme 1-loops 17, 18 Theme 6b-mediating role of managers' interpretation for shaping common perceptions?	Causal loops 17,18 A balancing causal loop-mutual trust as a prerequisite for reaching the stage of ownership of projects by communities A reinforcing causal loop: from material outputs to appreciation (see theme p1)	
P2	Theme 2-loop19 Theme 8-loop 22: professionals and personal networks in flux	Causal loop CL19 A balancing loop between institutional structure restrictions and institutional <i>learning</i> around cooperation Causal loop CL20 - a social exchange: the idea of trust and practically expressed reciprocity in sharing projects Causal loop 21 : heritage and societal gain combined Causal loop 22: Social to institutional gain - professionals and personal networks in flux)	
P4-5	Theme e7-loop23 Theme 5-loop 24 Theme 10-loop 24: partnership and cooperation	P4-5 A Causal reinforcing Loop 23/Theme 9 : Impacts of power to define agendas on place and social wellbeing transformation P4-5 A balancing causal loop24 : Cooperation or Partnership model -separation of responsibilities	
P6	Theme 3-loop 27 Theme 10 and 1 –loops 28, 29 Theme 8-loop30 Theme 4-loop 32 Theme 6b -Loop 31	A balancing causal loop 27: Partnerships in strategic level-out of island links towards heritage benefits A balancing Causal loop 28: Partnership/Collaboration and financial independence: reducing social effectiveness A balancing causal loop 29: unclear share of responsibilities and different priorities leading to material decay of heritage sites A reinforcing causal loop 30: Social degradation leading to heritage loss A reinforcing causal loop 31: from use to value definition to policy level protection of heritage assets A balancing causal loop 32: heritage counter-acting for slow social integration of incomers	
P7	Theme 3 Loop 33, 34	P7-A reinforcing causal loop 33: from realization of institutional goals to supporting community learning (included balancing one: easing lands ownership issues) P7- A reinforcing causal loop 34 Participation in planning depicting themes for natural-cultural	reciprocity - loop 34

		integration and enhancing further community learning	
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Appendix J: Community contribution in multiple phases of heritage management process

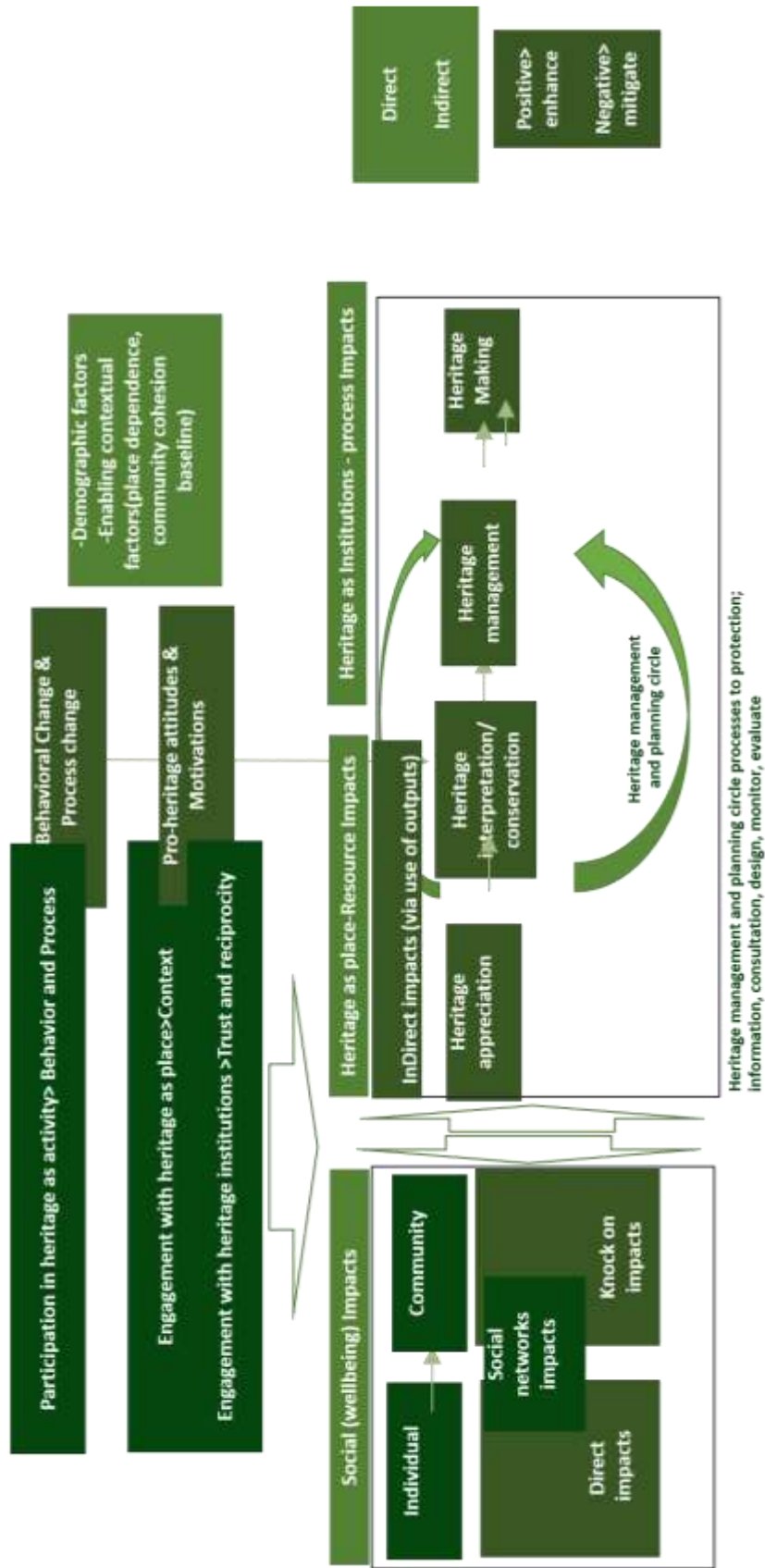
Note : The table presents an appraisal of the areas where participants contributed to project planning and management goals through the two distinct modalities of participation. Its structure is based on the work of Hockings et al (framework for assessment of Management Processes); it includes various managerial concerns falling under four major categories: (i) **Management structures and systems** (ii) **Resource management** (iii) **Visitors management** and (iv) **Community management and involvement**. It was compiled by assessing statements by managers and planners' interviews' related to participants direct contributions to management processes (relevant nodes list). While the table offers little information on contributions towards institutional change or learning (as mapped earlier through thematic analysis and causal loop diagrams), it allows an easy breakdown of direct contributions of participants (non-experts) in project management process, broken down in different phases, aspiring to act as a useful checklist for managers who are interested in incorporating participatory projects in their practices.

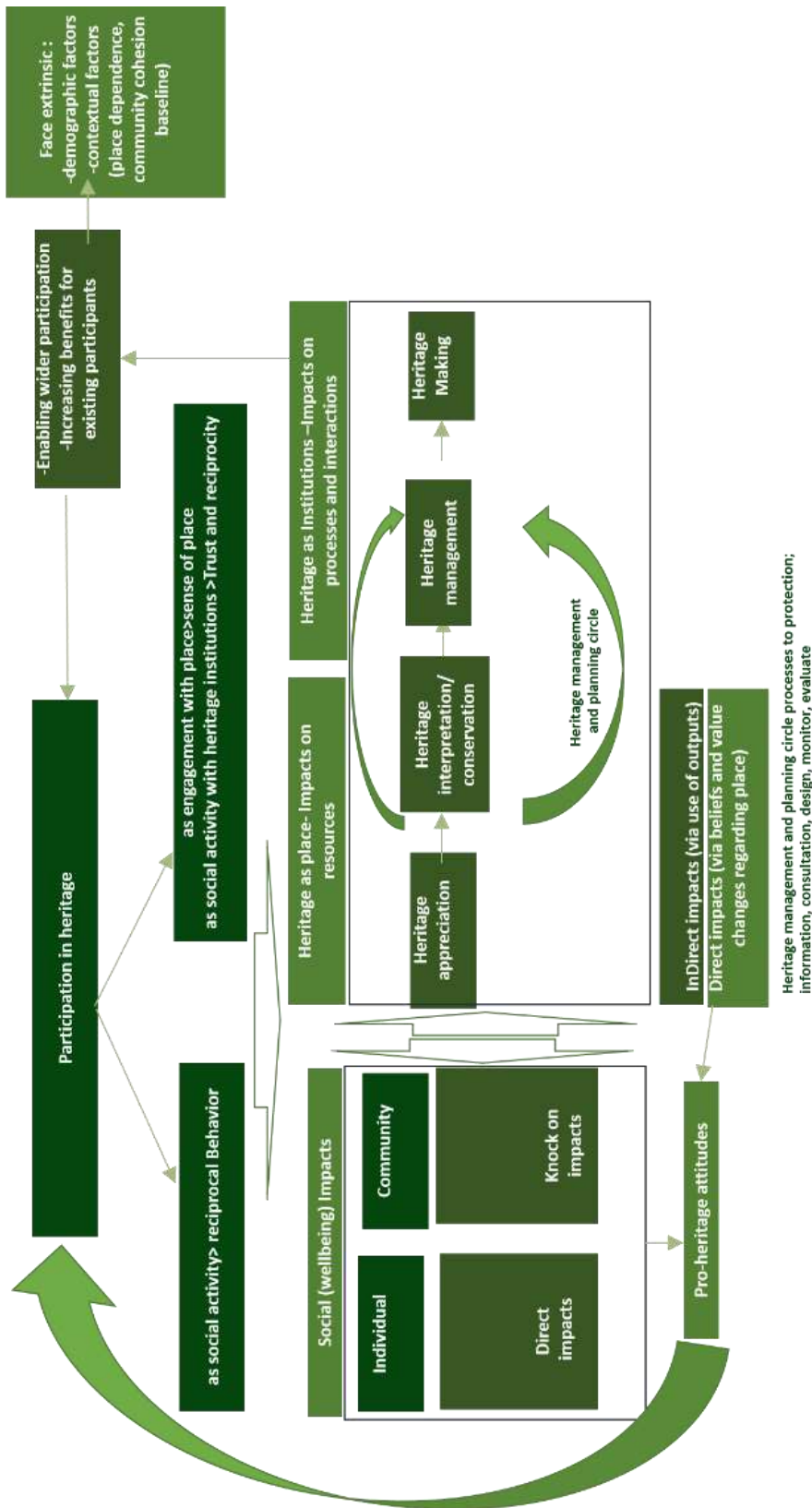
The following matrix was compiled based on statements by managers and planners interviews. The table enables a quick comparison between modalities: community -led and volunteering projects.

Table 48 Evaluating the overall contribution of community participants towards management goals in various phases of the process (assessment by the author, comparing evidence gathered from the cases studies analysed)

Areas		Community-led members' contribution	Volunteers contribution
	(1)Management structures and systems		
Project Planning stage	1 Identification of heritage values		x
	2 Management planning		x
	3 Develop planning system		-
Project Delivery stage (asset and resource management)	4 Develop regular works plan		-
	5 Monitoring and evaluation		-
	6 Maintenance of equipment		x
	7 Major infrastructure		x
	8 Personnel management /roles and tasks		x
	9 Staff training-capacity building		-
	10 Legal and regulatory enforcement		x
	(2) Resource management		
	11 Resource acquisition	Financial management	x
	12 Resource allocation/cultural and natural resource management	Inventory/document Research /document ,analyse needs, devise conservation strategy	x
Asset regulation/ ongoing service provision	(3) Visitors management		
	13 visitor facilities		x
	14 Commercial benefits from tourism		-
	15 Access	Devise interpretation strategy and exhibition/sharing strategy	x
		Devise regulatory approach to access	x
	16 Education and awareness		x
All phases	(4)Community management and involvement		
	17a Individual wellbeing		x
	17b Local Community wellbeing		x
	18 Input to management decisions		x
	19 Cooperation with neighboring land/sea owners and users		x
	20 Conflict resolution mechanism and platforms for delegation		-

Appendix K: Conceptual and analytical framework developed





Figures 95a,b Preliminary and final conceptual and analytical framework for understand reciprocal & synergistic interrelationships between community and heritage impacts of participation

Appendix L: Social and institutional impacts findings of thematic analysis, A3
tables linking variables with quotes-evidence



Figures 96 *Typical stages or phases linking project planning with delivery and evaluation process of projects (heritage or not, generic), viewing process from a project management perspective.*



Figures 97 *Typical 'linear' Process of heritage management, following Burra charter values-based approach Framework. Dissemination; celebrations, interpretations//Conservation plan: Maintenance/documentation/risk assessment*

Table 49 Institutional impacts as perceived by practitioners, as supported by quotes and relevant coding framework developed as part of thematic analysis

Aggregated impact types	Coding framework	Sample quote	Heritage project management Phases ⁴⁷	Level of manifestation: Institution and external networks
Heritage trusts in partnership with public and private organisations	Public Partners via fundraising	to help raise funds..for this new one.we had a bus before. But it was happy now..you know.and we got in touch with every organization on the island..the lifeboats, the kirk, the school. and they contributed ..	1.	a. Public partnership formation
	Common vision for future of culture and heritage for local development	we are hoping to make Rackwick into a cultural centre.. Were talking about it with other people because Rackwick is getting silent.. e is a writer, he writes books and his wife is a great drama person, writes as well. so were thinking of it becoming an art music and writing	1. 2.	c. Collaboration with independent museum-private
	Participation as informing of art (integration of various aspects of culture and heritage)	<i>we offered range of activities, so despite the pre-planning and pre- expectation of the project, we needed that would be needed support required. Although the artist, they have the had good organization skills, good ..communication skills as well..</i>	1,2,3	d. Enabling individuals participation via volunteering
Educational role	increase awareness for heritage historic value	.. it did increase interest in war time history and also really highlighted was the idea of actually preserving physical sites themselves..because I know..they.. by putting that interpretation panels up, got a lot of local people interested who didn't know what those concrete building were there for, weren't aware..	2. 3.	a. Partnership formation- training etc (knowledge) Volunteering recruitment pool
	Direct Increase awareness around heritage, significance and risks Indirect: increase acceptance of future projects	<i>they don't think of volunteering as..they offer their extra time. So school packs.so we are going to sell it on the internet. the English school..how do they call it? We are just about to launch that, just sell that on the internet..because the curriculum has changed and they and the teachers..had nothing very much to go on..</i> <i>were about 70 German ships , sunken deep in water here..the man who raised it, there was no commemoration of his work really..and with this relation we were ..trying to pay attention to this..</i>	1. 2.	d. Enabling individuals participation via volunteering and commemoration (celebration)
Shape public's perception on heritage-sharing planning vision, aims and outputs	Enhance perception and value for heritage i.pride in local heritage ii. local Vs global perception of	Local vs global_wartime and archaeology So they are afraid of designation and hate them. All «island” considered about that..but they Tuned in the scheme in 2011-2012.. the prime minister invited specially in Orkney ..for WW1 commemorations, and I was hold up by the council to help convince him to make Orkney the place to commemorate the naval history for WW1. vs>>	1. AND 2.	b Collaborative governance -shared responsibilities with her. trust

50. Heritage project planning/management phases include:1. Strategic planning 2. Design 3.Delivery

	heritage ownership (even positively as a decrease in overprotective closed appropriation	here is real sense of place in the individual islands. But also local Pride and different parishes in Orkney or Stromness, rivalry with Kirkwall you know.. ..but this may Spreading out the attention to other areas that may have not been so appreciate..		
Acceptance of realized public projects>indirect :trust in council for heritage planning		But the information boards were very good and very well put together..And they were put somewhere that it was unobtrusive. In as much they were put in the waiting halls, so they didn't intrude into the landscape in any way.. NEGATIVE people think there is somewhere we must go and look at, and not everybody respects that it is a family home and then ..the privacy.	1,3	Legitimacy /'Social License to operate'
Collaborative governance- & community role	Gatekeepers-self defined protection by community (managers' job made easier)	<i>we cant keep everything open..you know.. 24/7 ..it would be too much to supervise..because we couldn't afford to do it all the time. and so we trust people...to look after things. .</i> <i>we helped only as a family..as a family museum really.so we have done that..and there was a chap who came up form Longhope..and he painted..he gathered all machinery</i>	3.	Responsibility for safeguarding transferred
			3.	Responsibility for project delivery transferred
	Clarify perception of local groups' own role in heritage management process	being involved at an earlier stage you can bring the experience we have here..with the experience of the funding organization..	1,2,3.	n/a
Aggregated	Coding framework	Sample quote	P h a s e s	Level of manifestation: <u>internal processes and behaviors</u>
Informed output	.a. increase local knowledge (as resource) in documentation	<i>' some of the photos in the archives were form people's collections. There was some from the 1st WW, there was a soldier having..from a lady in Stromness, for the battery, she had some we haven't seen before..I suppose..Few things popped up..(18-M8)</i> did a superb project, you know this encourage lot of history and photos, from all the people in the community ..and also the wider community down in the island has brought stuff and so they got several cabinets, displaying that..and people enjoying it 24/7,..all year around (I11-m11)	3 .	Fulfil gap in existing research resources. Adapt to different data collection method Establish trust-relationships for future projects
Research-protect heritage	preservation of heritage at risk-actual conservation outputs	<i>.i mean most of info was about the period after war , about 50's, 60's for the N.battery. that we couldn't get from the archives. cause these are more about the war, these are dark army records, really so.... (C1)</i>	3 .	Fulfil gap in existing research resources. Adapt to different data collection method
		<i>he gathered all machinery from around the farm, you know went through to a hundred years i think..8.45 so very old farm machinery has been painted and.. he oxidized paint first then</i>	3 .	(in that case for Leader) : Strengthen technical knowledge

		<i>hammerised ..tried to preserve some pieces (i18-C7)</i>		
		<i>they actually read the ..how to build A wall. (Laughing), sounds delighting..yeah that was quite neat really..it was built in 1860 and was in poor repair. (i16-C5)</i>	3	Identify community interests.. / knowledge and significance attributed
Research understand heritage	a..Island resourcefulness /local knowledge provenance related	<i>some people coming from south..they take facades off so that they go back to the stone. whereas us, ..we take all of tendering..because it must evolve.! it doesn't make sense to go back to the old..(I14-15/C3,4)</i>	3	n/a
	b.Staffing /capacity in numbers and relevant training	<i>building dry stone walls, and that was actually for the island, because there were a number of people who were very interested in being able to do that(I16/C5)</i>	2	Identify community interests and capacities in specific skills
	c. Internal collaboration and exchange vies with other disciplines	<i>also business finance, communication ..and visitors officer, the exhibition officer, so its..5 of us..working very closely on all programs that we run. So all these residency programs, really the curator and i work very close on that, you know there is together..because then, the outcomes become some means/..sort of presentation, exhibition, film screening.. whatever ..so we ve all been aware of what everyone's doing (i10-M10)</i>	2 3	Intensify internal knowledge exchange between disciplines
	d. Enlarge scope of archaeology as discipline to encompass other heritage assets	<i>But it was a standing building recording and so it was. Recording every door, an open hinge, marks on the floor, the big beds.. but also doing measuring photography, plans.. just recording (c1 AND M1)</i>	3	Reflective on disciplinary boundaries and exchanges outside them
Institutional development responsiveness through feedback	Understand spatial needs for new roles of heritage institutional spaces	<i>it s one of the things that made us think how do we go about providing other facilities for messier work..that was an early trigger for that. (I10-M10)</i>	2	Reflective process in facility provision
	community defining-recruitment processes adjusted to local need	<i>we ve got a lot of experience..you are learning all the time, maybe also looking at each as an individual project you're looking at who are the main beneficiaries of a project..(I8-M8)</i>	2	b. learning on defining community beneficiaries
More than research	-communication skills for managers	<i>good community skills..it s quite tricky cause not everyone..is.there people who are doing the research..for the artworks etc but not necessarily they may be not good communicator (I10-M10)</i>	2	Developing communication- skills in setting up projects

Table 50 Social impacts as perceived by community members/participants, as supported by quotes and relevant coding framework developed as part of thematic analysis

Coding framework	Sample quote	Coding framework	Aggregation
Become part of a social group-integrate	<p>she has done all these explanations with lovely artistic pictures..beautiful! so they help, yes. and J...her borther. He was often the portraitist person, sitting people who wanted to do portraits of him.it. was nice young people took part so thast was good,yeah..They have been brought up in Rackwick but their father died before Jack, 4 years ago..and their mother lives in Stromness and ..(Dorothy) o I'm just delighted about, because they are always part of that community you know? (I18/c7)</p> <p>i think they enjoy engaging with people on a kind of different kind of level...They enjoy the fact they become part of the team.(I6/M6)</p>	Social cohesion between community groups (see Cloete, 2014 and Oxoby, 2009:1136 for discussion on scale)	1 Social capital -social cohesion
Increase inclusion of newcomers through community roles	its made Hoy work together better as a team, I think so..the project officer then enhanced that! Because before you know.. they were a bit..who was she that she dropped in ??.. and i found that very hard(I18/c7)	Social cohesion –Bridging social capital	
Increase social bonds-friends Fight isolation-physical and social	<p>So were very dependent on Stromness people supporting us, so we had run quite a few things for SFLP we run film shows and other things, an art group and a craft group..it was really nice a take off..and now people would come to that..(I18/c7)</p> <p>nowadays the ferries don't work that way, but we could really go over.. and quite a few people particularly the locals, born and bred here have links with Hoy, and you know for them it was quite good, because it was a social event as well, as going over for sth specific..yes, to reconnect..you know they could meet up, and chat etc (I16/C5)</p>	Social capital- bonding & bridging	
Unlock potentials for self-enclosed groups	I' m not very creative at all in that way, but I went along because I was just interested in the process..and I think for the number of women that went there, they had no intention of doing it, they were just fascinated by the process ..but a number of visitors that came over were very keen to actually go out and try themselves..(I16/c5) 'And people would come and make themselves a cup of tea, and in winter there is nowhere on the island to eat except for Hoy kirk..from here to Longhope..(I37/c21)	<p>Social inclusion Bridging social capital</p> <p>Bonding social capital</p>	2 Social inclusion
Started cooperation with local companies-professional networks	<p>the residency has prepared him for all sorts of activities looking at art and archaeology. So for us that about giving an artist an opportunity and he just ran with it , since then</p> <p>because of the commitment to training as part of the scheme,30.30 we insisted they have an apprentice in the job. That wasn't particularly.. wasn't..it was certainly we asked that often.</p>	<p>Sharing benefits with local community - economic prosperity</p> <p>Linking social capital</p>	

Coding framework	Sample quote	Coding framework	Aggregation
	They were working on a set of ancient monuments, cause the old buildings value as ancient monuments, .. but the heritage skills were not much different from fitting a kitchen! (I4/M4)		
Sense of belonging to community?	Max came and then went on all night.. he went back and it was the sunrise next morning,.so the piece of music he wrote was called the sunrise..that was our wedding.. ..we cooked nothing, cost us nothing because all our friends and Lucy's ones gave everything..soups, sandwiches..and that was the community spirit..so that to me was brilliant	Sense of belonging-empowerment Social cohesion	3 Community empowerment and resilience
Increase bonding and team work between members-also to be used as a skill	its made Hoy work together better as a team, I think so..x then enhanced that! (I18/c7)	Community Bonding-Collective empowerment	
Transmit skills form older to younger	If you' re speaking to youngsters-you say take away your phones and your microwaves..wifi..see then your only way would be to catch food by fly, swim or run it..and they realised they would have no idea what to do. They don't have heat..so its very easy to take them back to the Mesolithic....its very easy for us older people, to get to..we can relate to it..(I14-15/c3,4) they did a lot.. my neighbours in Racwick..some more in Hoy i think A.C.and .. submitted photos based on her dad.. now what is interesting is what is happening..my husband and i were elders.so we were supervising and help the young folks.. whereas now, which is superb, after my husband dies, x is the cleaner for the Kirk..! (I18/c7)	Intergenerational links	
Increase sense of belonging to place and identify yourself with local heritage and culture	i think they enjoy engaging with people on a kind of different kind of level..and they enjoy seeing the work that we do ..whats the best way to describe it? They enjoy the fact they become part of the monument..kind of makes sense.(I6/M6)	Sense of belonging to place	4 Community and place bonds ⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Connections with place (via .place identity, attachment or place dependence, that are pre-existing and reinforced or created by heritage participation as impacts. Indirectly such impacts occur for non-participants via use of heritage assets /outputs of projects ;eg. Once paths were opened people were able to appreciate walks in nature

Coding framework	Sample quote	Coding framework	Aggregation
Increase sense of ownership and responsibility for protection	<p>nd its on tv now! They are able to say ; i was there, I was part of that and again it is about this sense of ownership and being part of something bigger (I6/M6)</p> <p>now what is interesting is what is happening..my husbands.. elders.so we were supervising and help the young folks.. whereas now, .. (I18/c7)</p> <p>i have been talking to friends in Stromness..who are friends of Max as well, and also Lyan..because with her interest..and then connects to the owners of the other holiday cottages..he is a writer, he writes books and his wife is a great drama person, writes as well. so were thinking of it becoming a cultural centre (I18/c7)</p>	Sense of ownership /stewardship ⁴⁹	
Increase collaborations with other communities- as a development of self-reflective process	Nowadays the ferries don't work that way, but we could really go over.. and quite a few people particularly the locals, born and bred here have links with Hoy, and you know for them it was quite good, because it was a social event as well, as going over for sth specific..yes, to reconnect..you know they could meet up, and chat etc (I16/C5)	Sense of place :local vs global, world and island identity	
Educate-increase awareness about historical developments or natural heritage conservation/landscape	so the rspv..they are going to set up stalls and a marquee..and we reduce the prices, admission prices to encourage more people to come..and see what RSPB do..also it helps us a w ell..thats all connected to the eagles that were found in the tomb..(I14-15/C3-4)	Knowledge, education and development	5 Knowledge, education and development
Increase excitement for learning more about heritage	<p>with the younger audiences again its about giving them that wider experience, potentially working with artists and learning about the artworks we have in our collections..in the temporary displays..(I10-M10)</p> <p>normally they deal with archaeol. digs, Neolithic or Bronze age, Iron Age or Viking sites..But it was a standing building recording and so it was..recording every door, an open hinge, marks on the floor, the big beds.. but also doing measuring photography, plans.. just recording(C1)</p>	<p>Knowledge, education and development</p> <p>Excitement</p>	
Skills for survival-use	one person who's got learning difficulties..i suppose for him its really useful working with other people and developing skills..this kind of things .but I think possibly not in terms of getting a job.volunteering is very	<p>Knowledge, education and development</p> <p>Social inclusion</p>	

Coding framework	Sample quote	Coding framework	Aggregation
<p>Opportunities for job market</p> <p>Vocational training</p>	<p>much seen as getting into work, isn't it? or as a bridge between people..who are struggling to get into work and getting actually a job(I9/M9)</p> <p>for 5 years I have been working as a tour guide..cause I started up-Julian might have mentioned that- originally when the partnership was running.. I did a tour guide training course (C1) because they are hired by the college..then naturally they were happy helping, getting experience, I presume on a voluntary basis.. or on a basis..with students.(I4/M4)</p> <p>wants really to let it so that young people who try to get on their feet doing music or arts.. can sort of stay there..(I18/c7)</p>		
Self motivation and self-direction for existing abilities won!	<p>when they're able to do that, when ready. we encourage them to do one of the talks the shorts ones, one at a time..so we build up..confidence..and once they've learnt the information(I14-15/C3-4) here were very few of them looked at it further. They learned their notes but didnt ..try to explore more, research further..become people who are checking facts out for themselves..yes. (I4/M4)</p> <p>it s good..and the archaeologists are fantastic here..they' re teaching us..they're both retired..retired teachers..and the others..museum work ..so they have got different talents, different skills. they both have degree in archaeology..which is great. they have experience..theyre absolutely terrific.. (I14-15/C3-4)</p>	Self empowerment, development	6 self efficacy /control and wellbeing (Personal development)
Skills for daily life recreation		Mental health/development	
Find life-orientation and goals!	<p>.really give them a kind of experience they cannot get through any formal education..to sort of support and extend what they do...so they are some sort of ley audiences..they also.. the way that are working together..(i10/ M10)</p> <p>when they come from school (-even when they're still at school) just in very short time.. you see them blossom! and they never look back.(I14-15/C3-4)</p>	Empowerment, development	
Increase mental health! (also as recreation amidst lack of social infrastructure)	<p>but I would say a lot of people who have been involved with volunteering, conserving the boats, are folks who are probably retired..or in early retirement 9 (I9-M9)</p> <p>Elderly people with dementia, young people with additional support needs , even just</p>	Mental Health	

Coding framework	Sample quote	Coding framework	Aggregation
	kids who struggle a bit at school.. you know we have a lot of school groups come here, just its maybe quite a light, simple transformation, but juts the freedom and different dynamics created when you are outside of a classroom situation, how differently kids react to one another (i10/M10)		
Personal satisfaction and pride for service offered	“..is nothing as good as taking over from us....i was so delighted.. and they have done a brilliant job, ..setting up the committee now and those taking part .. I would like them to be on the board..’cause X was brilliant..But It was great working with X, doing the heritage center and a heritage trail around the island. Partly because the projects were the right projects..because they meant sth to someone..and so you got that kind of..as someone was being paid to being involved, you got a sense of self-worth or sense of worth to what you were doing,..because people were not going to say..its rubbish!..”	Empowerment, personal development	