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**Heritage in Britain: Lifelong Learning, Archaeology
and Partnerships**

by

Marion J. Spendlove

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Continuing Education

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

SYNOPSIS

The thesis investigates whether contemporary policy and practice support formal and informal learning in the field of archaeology. Also, the assumption that multi-sector partnerships broaden community participation in heritage activities is interrogated.

The multi-method comparative research model applied both empirical and qualitative methods to three case studies in the Midlands of Britain. Each of these projects gained funding to exhibit archaeology to the public during the course of the research. The policies and practices of the key individuals in the partnerships were investigated through taped interviews, and the data was analysed using cognitive mapping (Tolman, 1948, Buzan, 1993). Data about the visitors were gathered through questionnaire surveys, taped oral accounts, and observational studies. The interests, concerns and agenda of the principle stakeholders were compared.

The results indicated that the role of the volunteers was crucial to the success and sustainability of the projects. However, some volunteers felt that they were weaker partners, and this was linked to a distinction between amateurs and professionals. The power of local authorities in heritage partnerships and their conflicting roles as developers and guardians of the archaeological heritage are questioned. Ways to facilitate participatory partnerships are suggested.

The research draws on Foucault's definition of discourse, and Bourdieu's human capital theories and his concept of habitus and distinction. The links between informal and formal learning are rarely researched and theorised, but this study identifies how archaeologists, acting as "cultural intermediaries" (Bourdieu, 1984:14), can create and sustain learning opportunities for adults, collapsing some of the traditional hierarchies between popular entertainment, community knowledge, and intellectual knowledge. The thesis places learning in archaeology within the theory of a structured taxonomy of learning (Biggs, 1971, Biggs and Collis, 1982).

ABBREVIATIONS

ATF	Archaeology Training Forum
CEC	Commission of the European Communities
CIA	Council for Independent Archaeology
CoE	Council of Europe
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
EAEA	European Association for the Education of Adults
EC	European Commission
EH	English Heritage
EU	European Union
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFA	Institute of Field Archaeologists
MIDAS	Monuments Inventory Data Access Service
NHMF	The National Heritage Memorial Fund
NIACE	National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education
NMR	National Monuments Record
NT	The National Trust
NTS	The National Trust for Scotland
MC	The Millennium Commission
MF	The Millennium Fund
PPGs	Planning Policy Guidance notes
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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Chapter 1: Setting the Agenda

The aim of this thesis is to investigate formal and informal learning in the field of archaeology. The central question for the research is whether contemporary policy and practice in archaeology support lifelong learning. The study focuses on adult learning at heritage sites and museums, and examines the issues that arise when the archaeological heritage is managed through a partnership. Particular attention is paid to the active participation of community voluntary groups in archaeology and in other heritage activities, and to the links between formal and informal learning.

In this introduction, I will present an overview of the context of the research, and discuss how partnerships have become an important mechanism for heritage management in Britain. I will summarise current policy and practice in the field of archaeology, and define the key terms. The specific research questions are identified, and indented in bold type.

1. Lifelong Learning

In the thesis, I have used the contemporary term “lifelong learning” to describe the wide variety of learning activities that adults (over the age of eighteen years) undertake, either continuously or periodically, in different contexts and for different purposes. So far as a definition of lifelong learning is concerned, this is a contested term, and has often been used in an imprecise way.

Sometimes it is used to mean all learning, from the cradle to the grave, formal and informal. At other times it is used to mean everything except schooling and/or higher education and/or youth work and/or workplace training.

(NIACE, 2002:1)

Lifelong learning is perceived by national governments and international bodies, such as the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the European Union (EU), as "... necessary for the economic, democratic and social well-being and development of societies, organisations and individuals" (EAEA, 2002:1). Complex assumptions underlie the term, such as the perceived need of governments and transnational bodies to promote employability and active citizenship, to widen participation in social and political life, and to broaden access to learning. These principles are seen as central to the economic development and well being of societies.

However, the economic and political focus of lifelong learning has been challenged. Tight, for example, claims that there is a strong sense of expectation, even compulsion, in lifelong learning, with emphasis given to vocational forms of study and participation (1998a:251). He argues that forms of learning that are not based on work or skills training remain marginal and unconsidered (1998a:262). Also, Coffield claims that although informal learning is routinely ignored by government, employers and most researchers, it is often necessary, whereas formal training is often dispensable (2000:1). To address these gaps, close consideration is given in the research to the role of informal learning, and to conceptualising the links between informal and formal learning.

This thesis challenges the notion that learning that is not directed towards work and employability has no value.

Appreciating the range of activities that are involved in lifelong learning, a recent European Council Memorandum on Lifelong Learning uses the term lifelong learning in the sense of “lifewide learning” (CEC1832, 2000:8). The “lifewide” dimension brings the complementary nature of formal, non-formal and informal learning into sharper focus, reminding us that useful and enjoyable learning can and does take place in the family, in leisure time, in community life and in daily worklife (CEC1832, 2000:9). However, in the Memorandum, there is no consideration of what constitutes “useful” learning, although it is acknowledged that learning takes place in a variety of different environments, which they say are all equally important and interconnected (EAEA, 2000:1). The Memorandum reminds us that often, learning is divided into three categories:

- Formal learning takes place in education and training institutions, leading to recognised diplomas and qualifications.
- Non-formal learning takes place alongside the mainstream systems of education and training, and does not typically lead to formalised certificates. Non-formal learning may take place in the workplace, through civil society organisations and groups.
- Informal learning is a natural accompaniment to everyday life. Unlike formal and non-formal learning, informal learning is not necessarily intentional learning, and so may well not be

recognised, even by individuals themselves, as contributing to their knowledge and skills.

(CEC1832, 2000:6)

My own experience provides an example of these different forms of learning, and illustrates the importance of informal learning. For me, compulsory education generated little interest in studying, and I left school at the age of sixteen. In the 1960s, there were few career options for women, although I was encouraged to continue formal learning to gain skills for work. I took a full-time secretarial course. However, over the years, and without realising that I was learning, I developed an interest in history and archaeology. This “itinerant” learning included, for example, reading the *National Geographic* magazines that my father brought home when I was a child, visiting historic houses and archaeological sites on holiday, reading historical novels, and watching television programmes about history and archaeology. None of these activities was purposefully directed towards learning. I was not even aware that I was learning, and I did not feel that these activities were, or ever would be, particularly useful.

Yet years later, when our children were older, I became a mature student, and returned to formal learning to study for a BSc in Environmental Studies. The Department of Continuing Education at the university ran several courses in archaeology. Prompted by my earlier interest in the subject, I took every module on offer. I am now a part-time tutor in archaeology. Clearly, any definition of learning that proposes that it must be “useful”, or “intentional” (CEC1832, 2000:6 and 8) ignores the possibility that a long period of time may elapse between

unfocused, transient interest in a subject, and its ultimate application and use (see, for example, Eraut, 2000:15).

The EC Memorandum defines lifelong learning as “all purposeful learning activities, whether formal, non-formal or informal” (CEC1832, 2000:8). However, since not all learning is “purposeful”, this definition is inadequate. Therefore, in the thesis, I will define lifelong learning as “all learning activities, whether formal, non-formal or informal”. Such a definition allows the complete range of lifelong learning activities that take place at museums and heritage sites to be included in the research.

I have adopted an interdisciplinary approach to investigate the links between these different forms of learning, and have used both interpretative and empirical methods. To situate the thesis within a conceptual framework, I have found resonance with Bourdieu’s human capital theories and his notion of habitus (1977, 1984, 1991, 1997). I have also drawn on Foucault’s interpretations of discourse (1970, 1972, 1977, 1988). The theoretical foundations and methods are set out in Chapter 3.

Firstly, for those readers who are not archaeologists, I will describe the field of practice of archaeology, which provides the context for the research.

2. What is Archaeology?

According to Renfrew and Bahn, the aim of archaeology is "... to learn about the human past" (1996:13). Archaeology is a diverse discipline, and includes:

- Discovery and investigation of sites, buildings and artefacts. In the thesis, artefacts are defined as physical remains that show evidence of human activity.
- Recording and documentation of sites, buildings and artefacts, for example, through field survey.
- Conservation of physical evidence. Artefacts can deteriorate rapidly when they are removed from their original context, and often need some form of conservation. However, preservation of a vulnerable site or artefact can also be achieved through the recording and documentation of the archaeology (known as "preservation by record").
- Interpretation of research, in order to understand its meaning.
- Dissemination to the academic community, for example through academic journals, and/or communicating knowledge about archaeology to the public, such as through newspaper articles, television programmes, or exhibitions.

This research focuses on the last two of these aspects of archaeology: interpretation and dissemination. I will investigate what happens after the field

archaeologists have packed up their trowels and left the site. Two important questions are then raised:

How is knowledge about archaeology interpreted, disseminated and valued across different social contexts?

What are the implications for lifelong learning?

There is an important distinction between the field of practice of archaeology, and that of archaeological heritage management. One question that arises is the point at which archaeological remains become the archaeological heritage. A definition of the archaeological heritage can be found in *The European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Revised)*, or the Valetta Convention (CoE, 2001). This is synonymous with the scientific aspects of investigating, documenting, and conserving sites, buildings and artefacts that are part of the practice of archaeology:

The archaeological heritage shall include structures, constructions, groups of buildings, developed sites, moveable objects, monuments of other kinds as well as their context, whether situated on land or under water.

(CoE, 2001:2)

However, although this definition is suitably wide to satisfy the different requirements of the various states in the European Union (EU), it implies that almost anything can be defined as the archaeological heritage, and gives us little idea of what is deemed heritage in Britain. Defining “heritage” is no small

task, and is frequently avoided by commentators and researchers, who often "... use a purposely vague and malleable definition of the concept" (Harvey, 2001:322). Johnson and Thomas note that the word is used in a very wide variety of contexts, and in recent years, it has been increasingly employed to describe virtually anything by which some kind of link, however tenuous or false, may be forged with the past (1995:170).

This lack of consensus is noted with frustration by Lowenthal, who claims that "heritage today all but defies definition" (1997:94). Bearing in mind the complex nature of the term, I will explore the concept of heritage in depth in the next chapter, where I discuss the literature in the field, and justify my use of the following definition of heritage:

Heritage is the past adapted to the needs of the present.

2.1. Managing the Archaeological Heritage

The term "management" is more straightforwardly defined. Alvesson and Deetz define it as a function, a set of activities, or a profession. It is about co-ordinating and controlling work and operations in a formal organisational setting (2000:5). Archaeology may be "managed" so that it is protected from the human environment (for example, though reburial of the remains). On the other hand, it may be "managed" for the purposes of public education, for instance though an exhibition, or display. Ndoro and Pwiti argue that archaeological heritage management is not only a technical prescription, but also the creation of a

dialogue between archaeology and the general public (2001:21). These dialogues will be examined closely during the research.

Finn notes that the release of knowledge about archaeology is carefully controlled within the academic community. Often, it is only on publication that interpretation and historical perspective are open to public scrutiny, and such material may be baffling to all but the trained archaeologist or historian, and inaccessible to those without specialised knowledge (2001:262). Increasingly, new media forms such as the Internet, the popular press, and television, act as disseminators, shifting the emphasis from a pursuit of the educated few, to the entertainment of the masses.

Television programmes such as “Time Team” and “Meet the Ancestors” have brought archaeology within the range of understanding of those who are not experts or specialists. As McGuigan claims, the near universality of television viewing provides a good reason for seeing it as a distinctly democratising medium (1996:46). Yet, popular forms of interpretation are not new. Renfrew and Bahn note that archaeology has been used as a form of entertainment since the early diggings of burial mounds, and the public unwrapping of mummies in the 19th century (1996:536).

Contemporary interpretations, such as themed reconstructions, and live “re-enactments of historical events, disparagingly termed “edu-tainment” (Urry 1991:51), have become the subject of much debate (see Chapter 2). Arguably, such media operate on the periphery of mainstream education, raising questions

about their legitimacy and authenticity. I will therefore address the following question:

Are education and entertainment mutually exclusive?

Anderson notes that over the last two decades, mainstream European adult education policy and provision have focused mainly on colleges, higher education institutions and other traditional adult learning networks. Where their role has been recognised at all, museums and galleries have been perceived to be marginal and inconsequential. Currently, EU policy is changing, and the significance of the cultural dimension of many museum education programmes is increasingly recognised and encouraged (Anderson, 2000:10).

However, alongside this shift in policy, and the impetus to develop museums and heritage sites for education and a source of cultural knowledge, runs an undercurrent of concern amongst archaeologists. The archaeological resource is under threat, for example, through redevelopment, and from increasing public access to sites. These issues are discussed later in this chapter, as they raise questions about how archaeological sites can be interpreted and managed effectively for public use, without compromising their sustainability. Few researchers have addressed the role of historical conservation in contemporary society, or questioned the economics of preserving the past, although such research is taking place in the USA (Mason, 1999). At this point, I will define what is meant by conservation in the context of this research.

2.2. Preservation, Conservation and Exploitation

Larkham suggests that there are three main aspects to heritage in the context of planning and conservation: preservation, conservation and exploitation (1995:86). As I shall make use of these terms extensively, a working definition is needed for all three. For Larkham:

Preservation involves the retention, in largely unchanged form, of sites or objects of major cultural significance. Items falling into this category are frequently of national, or perhaps regional, significance.

Conservation encompasses the idea that some form of restoration should be undertaken to bring old buildings and sites into suitable modern use.

Exploitation recognises the value of heritage sites, particularly for tourism and recreation, and encompasses the development of existing sites and new sites.

(Larkham, 1995:86)

However, I feel that Larkham's definitions are somewhat over-simplistic, and there is an important distinction between conservation and preservation that needs clarification. Preservation implies that an artefact is maintained in unchanged form, without any form of human intervention. It is difficult, if not impossible, to cite examples of artefacts that have been preserved in this way.

The Victorians, for example, preserved dead animals, such as foxes, but these were conserved through a process known as taxidermy. We seek to preserve old buildings, but without some form of conservation, they will disintegrate into ruins, and will not be preserved for very long. It can be argued that the non-physical elements of heritage, such as traditional song, dance, crafts and memories, can be preserved without physical conservation. Yet, communication of these from one generation to another reworks and changes them, like Chinese whispers, altering their original form.

Clearly, conservation involves some kind of human physical intervention, management, or manipulation of the fabric or environment of the artefact. Restoration is merely one strand of conservation, involving the renewal and/or replacement of that which is worn out or missing. Thus, conservation assumes that some form of action is taken to maintain the object in its original form, or to rework it for contemporary use. An old building, for example, may need restoration in order to make it safe, or habitable. Cullingworth and Nadin note that “new uses for old buildings” is a major factor in conservation, which necessarily implies a degree of change, even if this is restricted to the interior (1997:188). The distinction between preservation and conservation may be explained by the following example; we would preserve the idea of steam as a power source by conserving railway engines.

Artefacts such as steam engines emerge as leisure attractions and educational resources, bringing us to the idea of exploitation. In particular, Larkham states, it is the theme of exploitation, which poses both practical and conceptual problems for conservation. Virtually all forms of tourism involve some form of

exploitation (1995:86), and heritage can act as a magnet for visitors. Not only tourists, but also local visitors can threaten archaeology. Conservation and visitors are simply not compatible unless compromises are made, as visitors will always represent some element of destruction to archaeological sites. Brunet *et al* describe the extreme case of the cave paintings and engravings at Lascaux in France. Here, public access has destabilised the equilibrium of water vapour and carbon dioxide in the air, which conserved the cave's art (Brunet *et al*, 2000:33). This raises the question of whether the functions of exploitation for human use, and the conservation of archaeology, can co-exist:

To what extent is the preservation of a site threatened by its exploitation as a leisure resource?

Such debates bring to the forefront the concept of an ethical archaeology. Tarlow states that ethics may be understood as a coherent set of moral values, which inform opinion, discourse and action. They are culturally variable, and are often broadly shared within cultural communities. Nevertheless, ethics are held personally (Tarlow, 2001:248). Of particular interest to archaeologists who are concerned with the ethics of conservation is the National Trust (NT) property, Uppark House. Arnold *et al* outline how this late seventeenth-century house on the Sussex Downs burned down in 1989. Numerous craftsmen and contractors laboured to rebuild and restore the structure and its interior as it had been before the fire, and it reopened to visitors in 1995. Oddly, more people came to the reconstructed house than visited the original. Does it matter if we let some or all of the existing properties fall down, if the NT is now able to build a seventeenth-century house almost "from scratch"? (Arnold *et al*, 1998:xiii) Do

we need to conserve original artefacts at all, now that we have sophisticated technology to investigate and record archaeology, when we can create effective replicas, and use digital reconstruction? Is it worthwhile to conserve anything, when the costs of conservation are so great?

This thesis investigates the extent to which society values archaeology, either in its original or its reproduced form, and whether this alters across different social contexts. However, members of the public are unlikely to value archaeology, if they do not know about it, or cannot understand it. It is here that the process of interpretation is crucial.

2.3. Interpretation

Light notes that poor understanding of the educational impact of interpretation represents a significant research challenge (1995:141). Until the latter half of the twentieth century, the practice of interpreting heritage, both as far as archaeology and the natural environment are concerned, was an uncoordinated, unprofessionalised activity, that lacked a coherent philosophical basis to distinguish it from the scientific practice of archaeology. Tilden, frequently considered the “father” of interpretation, formalised a set of ideas and practices already in existence in the USA and Europe in the 1950s (Light, 1995:120). Although he was concerned with the natural environment in America, his principles have since been applied elsewhere. Tilden defined interpretation as:

An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first-hand

experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information.

(Tilden, 1957:8)

Tilden asserted that the purpose of interpretation was to stimulate the reader or listener towards a desire to widen existing horizons of interests and knowledge. For the first time, he articulated the pedagogic link between interpretation and conservation, offering a mechanism for the protection of the resource:

... through interpretation, understanding: through understanding, appreciation: through appreciation, protection.

(Tilden, 1957:3)

According to Tilden, through understanding a heritage asset, we learn to value it, and hold it in high esteem. This, in turn, leads to concern and sensitivity for its conservation:

... the fruit of adequate interpretation is the certainty that it leads directly towards the very preservation of the treasure itself, whether it be a national park, a prehistoric ruin, an historic battlefield, or a precious monument of our wise and heroic ancestors. Indeed, such a result may be the most important end of our interpretation, for what we cannot protect we are destined to lose.

(Tilden, 1957:38)

We can also detect an altruistic approach in Tilden's work, in his commitment to a liberal mode of education. For him, interpretation reached beyond education and instruction, towards provocation, and the broadening of knowledge and interests. His aim was:

... to stimulate the reader or hearer towards a desire to widen his horizon of interests and knowledge, and to gain an understanding of the greater truths that lie behind any statements of fact.

(Tilden, 1957:34)

This research examines whether contemporary interpretations of heritage achieve Tilden's aim of critical understanding and concern for the conservation of archaeology, and whether these stimulate learning, understanding and the broadening of interest and knowledge.

Do contemporary interpretations of heritage broaden the interests and knowledge of their audiences?

Most research tends to ignore the link between interpretation and protection of the resource, but I will take a broader perspective. As part of this holistic approach, a central element of this study is an investigation of the economic, social, geographic, and political context in which interpretation takes place. Also, attention is paid to the growing recognition in the field of archaeology of the conflicts that arise between the exploitation of sites and artefacts, and the

implications for sustainability, or the protection of these resources for future generations.

Archaeologists are becoming more self-reflective about what they do, and issues of responsibility and care for the archaeological heritage are high on the agenda. Notably, ethical issues have surfaced in contemporary debates concerning two particular areas of practice: research and rescue archaeology.

2.4. Research and Rescue Archaeology

There are two principal stages in archaeological conservation. The first occurs during the gathering of information, so that relevant sites and areas may be recognised and properly recorded (Refrew and Bahn, 1996:14). In the past, research investigations frequently involved the excavation of a site. Now, it is recognised that excavation destroys the context of the archaeology forever, and non-invasive geophysical equipment has risen to the forefront as the preferred, ethically acceptable, method of site investigation. Excavation is avoided simply because of the destruction it involves.

The second aspect of archaeology is the conservation of those sites and areas that can be effectively protected. In the case of a development project, it is first necessary to understand the process of listing, or scheduling sites, and I will summarise the complex area of planning and legislation, and the role of some of the major players in heritage conservation in Britain, later in the chapter.

Most frequently, destruction to the archaeological heritage is from humans, but this is not always so. Bowkett *et al* describe a rescue project at Çiftlik, in northern Turkey, where the threat to the archaeology was not from humans, but from the natural environment. Here, erosion from the sea not only uncovered, but was also washing away, an early mosaic floor. Project methods included recording the archaeology for research purposes, and the construction and maintenance of a wall to stabilise and protect the site (Bowkett *et al*, 2001:31). Here, the boundaries between research and rescue archaeology were less clear.

Sometimes, damage or destruction cannot be prevented, such as in redevelopment projects, in which case a policy of salvage or rescue archaeology is undertaken (Renfrew and Bahn, 1996:14). Baker and Chitty have recently suggested that four hazards, all controllable through the planning process, account for nearly 70% of wholesale historic environmental losses: development and urbanisation, demolition and building alterations, mineral extraction and industry, and road building (2002:20). Drawing on Renfrew and Bahn (1996:14) the principle threats to archaeological heritage are summarised in Table 1.

It is here that questions about what constitutes ethical practice in archaeology come to the forefront, in the local, national and global context. Protection for the historic environment operates within a framework of international and national legislation and policy guidance, and every country in the world now has some form of cultural conservation mechanism in place. These international agreements provide guidance for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance.

Table 1: Threats to the Archaeological Heritage

Activity	Examples	Threat	Visibility
Development	Roads, buildings, quarrying	Underground and surface remains	Conspicuous
Agricultural intensification	Mechanised farming, deep ploughing, reclamation schemes	Underground remains	Often invisible
Tourism	Heritage sites, museum displays	Underground and removable surface remains of cultural interest or importance	Conspicuous
Looting	Theft of cultural property and artefacts	Saleable objects	Visible and invisible

The Venice Charter (*the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*) was adopted in 1964, and lays down principles relating to the different aspects of archaeological heritage management. It has become the standard for conservation practice of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). This organisation acts as a statutory advisory body to the UNESCO under the World Heritage Convention (Truscott & Young, 2000:101-2).

2.5. Legislation and Policy in Britain

The principles of the Venice Charter were, to some extent, already enshrined in British policy, through the Sites and Monuments Act (1882) and the various Town and Country Planning Acts. More recently, the National Heritage Acts (1980 and 1988) and the 1998 National Lottery Act have largely incorporated subsequent amendments to the Venice Charter. In Britain, policy at local level is implemented through the Planning Policy Guidance notes (PPGs), which are designed to provide guidance to local authorities on planning matters. Through

these, scheduled monuments and sites in England are, to some extent, protected from the destructive forces of economic development, such as building development, agricultural activity and tourism.

If the owner of a listed site or monument wishes to develop it, or the land around it, there is a need for the developer to apply for Scheduled Monument Consent. Here, some judgement has to be taken as to whether the value of the threatened site outweighs the importance of the proposed development. Each developer needs to obtain planning consent, and if damage to the archaeology will result, the developer must pay for rescue excavation, in order that the site can be recorded. In some cases, the developer may be required to put into place measures that will protect the archaeology. These principles are enshrined in PPG note 16 (Renfrew and Bahn, 1996:525). However, this will only apply to buildings that are scheduled as sites, monuments, or are listed as buildings of historic interest. Sites that are not scheduled have no legal protection.

Legislation requires the Secretary of State to prepare a schedule of monuments of national importance. This scheduling is a selective and continuing process, and has been continuing for over a century (Cullingworth and Nadin, 1997:188). The National Monuments Record (NMR) currently has details of about 75,000 archaeological references in England, including casual finds, sites from aerial photographs, and historic buildings, as well as conventional earthwork sites (Chandler, 2.7.02, pers. comm.) However, Baker and Chitty point out that a proper field survey of an area can generate a 500% increase in known sites (2002:19). Also, it is important to note that the standard of information in Sites

and Monuments Records (SMRs) varies considerably (Baker and Chitty, 2002:19). The quality of an SMR can depend on the resources of local authorities, and/or the interests and level of skill of the person or people who record the archaeology, as well as the time that is available. For example, within one district council studied in this research, there were eight conservation officers on the staff. Only one of these was responsible for historic buildings: the others were ecologists. Nobody in the council was responsible for buried remains. Yet, this district council had three historic towns within its boundaries. Clearly, resources for recording archaeology are, in some areas, woefully inadequate.

Yet part of the problem of recording archaeology is the number of known sites in Britain. This has increased by c. 50% since 1990 to 19,192 monuments. At present, there are about 8,390 conservation areas and 375,000 listed buildings in England (Heritage Monitor, 2001, cited in Baker and Chitty, 2002:19). 6.5% of the land area of England contains recorded archaeological monuments (including buildings), most of which are underneath urban buildings (Darville & Fulton, 1998). It is not surprising that 30% of all planning applications have historical implications and 11% have archaeological implications (Baker and Chitty, 2002:19). It is difficult, if not impossible, to redevelop any part of England, particularly within the area of a city, without unearthing some form of either known or unknown archaeological remains.

Thus, decisions about whether archaeology should be protected or destroyed often come down to value judgements about the perceived merits of the archaeology, compared to the perceived merits of a redevelopment scheme.

Clearly, the scale of archaeology in Britain, and the lack of resources to investigate, record and monitor it, prompt questions about whether such decisions are based on credible information.

2.6. The Implications of EU Policy

A recent EU policy document is important in the context of this research. The Valetta Convention was signed by member states in 2001 and came into force in March 2001 (CoE, 2001). Its aim is to protect the archaeological heritage as a source of the European collective memory, and as an instrument for historical and scientific study (CoE, 2001:1). This document also stresses the role of public education. Under Article 9, each party has undertaken to ensure the promotion of public awareness about archaeology, particularly concerning the threats to the archaeological heritage. Signatories to the Convention agree to:

- i. ... conduct educational actions with a view to rousing and developing an awareness in public opinion of the value of the archaeological heritage for understanding the past and of the threats to this heritage.
- ii. ... promote public access to important elements of its archaeological heritage, especially sites, and to encourage the display to the public of suitable selections of archaeological objects.

(CoE, 2001:5)

However, the Valetta Convention raises several issues, particularly for amateurs who work in archaeology. Under Articles 3(e) and 3(f), signatory states have agreed:

To ensure that excavations and other potentially destructive techniques are carried out only by qualified, specially authorised persons;

To subject to specific prior authorisation, whenever foreseen by the domestic law of the State, the use of metal detectors and any other detection equipment or process for archaeological investigation.

(CoE, 2001:3)

The Council for Independent Archaeology (CIA) points out that Article 3 specifically forbids the use of all forms of detection equipment by amateurs, and effectively excludes the many active local voluntary societies in Britain from practising archaeology (CIA, 2001:2). The Valetta Convention raises questions about the role of amateur volunteers in archaeology, as well as the professional training and authorisation of archaeologists. It has also made an important distinction between amateurs and professionals. In the Convention, there is no clarification about what constitutes a professional archaeologist, leaving confusion about who is, and who is not, qualified to practice archaeology.

2.7. What constitutes a professional archaeologist?

A profession has been defined as an occupation in which:

... skilled practitioners undertake their duties impartially and without the exercise of personal preference, and are subject to the oversight of their fellow practitioners.

(Hinton, 2001:16)

This definition implies that the existence of a body to co-ordinate self-regulation is a prerequisite of a true profession. Characteristics of professional associations include:

- A code of professional conduct.
- Entry conditions for membership, including subscription to the code and demonstrated competence.
- Providing continuing education for qualified members (publications, conferences)
- Promoting development of the discipline.
- Representing the profession.
- Being equally concerned for practitioners (its members), practice (archaeology), and clients (amongst which we might include the heritage).

(Hinton, 2001:16)

The results of a survey carried out by the AEA in 2000 showed that few European states have professional associations matching this definition (cited in Hinton, 2001:16), although in Britain, the Institute of Field Archaeologists (IFA) is recognised as a professional body for field archaeologists. However, the IFA falls short of meeting the needs of many professionals who work in the field of archaeology, such as those who are involved in conservation, interpretation, or education. Furthermore, there is no provision for continuing professional development within the IFA.

It is clear that professionalism is a process, rather than an event. Individuals do not suddenly shift from being amateurs on one day, to being professionals on the next, simply because they have joined an association for field archaeologists. Professionals take part in continual professional development, and continue to uphold a particular code of professional ethics and values. Furthermore, although some field archaeologists may not be members of the IFA, they have what is known as “professional standing”, by virtue of their knowledge and experience. However, this does not necessarily equate to membership of a respected professional association.

Hinton offers a useful starting point in defining a competent European archaeologist as someone who:

- Subscribes to a code of professional ethics.
- Has been validated as competent and ethical by one of Europe’s associations (this must be a real test).

(Hinton, 2001:16)

In the thesis, the above definition will be used to distinguish a professional archaeologist from an amateur. However, issues concerning competency and professionalism raises questions about the role of amateur archaeologists, who work as volunteers at sites and museums.

Volunteers play a key role in maintaining British heritage. Some volunteers are, or have been, professionals. Others have received no formal training. Should amateur volunteers be excluded from practising archaeology, or from other areas of heritage, merely because they are not professionals?

How can the profile of amateur volunteers be raised?

I will now discuss the role of English Heritage (EH) in archaeology and lifelong learning.

2.8. The Role of English Heritage

EH is the government's statutory advisor on the historic environment, and there are parallel organisations in Scotland and Wales. Officially known as the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, EH is an executive, non-departmental public body sponsored by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), although it also works closely with the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions. The powers and responsibilities of EH are set out in the National Heritage Act (1983), and it reports to Parliament through the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport.

EH is funded in part by the Government and in part from revenue earned by its historic properties and other services. In 2000/2001, public funding for EH was worth £115m, and its income from other sources was £30.5m. Probably best known for its historic sites that are open to the public, less well known is its role as the official custodian of the historic environment as a whole (EH, 2002:1).

Four aspects of the role of EH are important in this thesis:

1. EH acts as an advisory body to the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, local authorities and other heritage organisations, in all aspects of the historic environment.
2. It has responsibility to maintain registers of England's most significant historic buildings, monuments and landscapes, including the NMR.
3. It is the main source of funding for rescue archaeology (where archaeological remains are found during the redevelopment of land), and awards grants for major repairs to monuments.
4. Its aims are to conserve and enhance the historic environment, to broaden public access to the heritage, and also increase people's understanding of the past.

(EH, 2002:1-2)

However, this research takes place against a background of reduced government financial support for archaeology. As Herbert notes, the state will

not assume the whole mantle of responsibility for the funding of Britain's archaeological heritage, and there is a need for sites and museums to generate funds for heritage management (1997:10).

2.9. Funding for the Archaeological Heritage

This continued reduction in resources for the archaeological heritage from central government means that new heritage projects are increasingly funded through other mechanisms. In the past few years, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), and, until the year 2000, the Millennium Fund (MF) became the principle ways in which finance could be obtained for the archaeological heritage. The HLF was set up under the National Lottery Act (1993), and is intended to distribute money provided by the National Lottery to the national heritage. Heritage receives a $16\frac{2}{3}$ % share of the income from the National Lottery. The work of the HLF complements that of the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF), which acts as a fund of last resort to defend the most outstanding and important parts of Britain's cultural and natural heritage (HLF, 1998).

The HLF is administered by the NHMF, and in spending money from the National Lottery, the Trustees are required to take into account policy directions issued by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (HLF, 2002:9). Since 1995, the HLF have supported over 10,000 projects with £2 billion. By the end of March 2002, 4,700 projects had been completed (HLF, 2002:10). In their strategic plan for 2002-7, the HLF states that it has not departed in any radical way from its previous priorities: conservation, access and education (2002:41). However, the HLF acknowledges the need for new thinking about the definition

of heritage itself, who values it and why (2002:2), and draws attention to the theme of community involvement:

... not just in the enjoyment of heritage but also in the process of identifying which buildings, objects, places or activities represent meaning and value from the past of their own towns, villages or communities, and how they should be looked after and managed.

(HLF, 2002:3)

Three broad aims for heritage are identified in the HLF's strategic plan for the future:

- To encourage more people to be involved in and make decisions about their heritage.
- To conserve and enhance the UK's diverse heritage.
- To ensure that everyone can learn about, have access to, and enjoy their heritage.

(HLF, 2002:1)

Some important changes to policy have been made in the 2002-2007 strategic plan, including:

- Encouraging training elements within applications for funding (2002:1), including support for volunteer training (2002:24).
- Supporting projects which increase access to and learning about heritage in private ownership.

(HLF, 2002:1)

The previous strategic plan of the HLF (2001) reflected a change of emphasis from the education of children and young people towards lifelong learning. The definition of education projects was expanded "... to include formal and informal education, interpretation and lifelong learning" (HLF, 1998:4). Through its policies, the HLF supports the government's priorities of broadening access and participation in educational activities that are inherent within the lifelong learning agenda. Bearing in mind the extensive use of public funding for heritage:

Do contemporary representations of the archaeological heritage encourage active participation by all in heritage activities?

To summarise, the HLF itself is not concerned with preservation. Rather, it is intended as an enabling body that assists others in the exercise of preservation. It claims that there is an extensive community of heritage bodies and institutions in the UK, ranging from government agencies and local government, to associations of volunteers, which are active partners in both preserving and maintaining the national heritage (HLF, 2001:4). These key partners are the subjects of this research.

One other funding body is important in the research: the Millennium Commission (MC). This was set up as an independent body in 1993 under the National Lottery Act, and is one of the good causes that share the proceeds from the National Lottery. The MC distributes lottery money to assist communities in marking the close of the second millennium and celebrating the start of the third. Initiatives that have gained support cover several areas: Millennium projects and people, the Millennium festival and the ill-fated Millennium Dome. Their initiatives were based around four core themes:

- Encouraging environmental sustainability
- Promoting science and technology
- Revitalising our cities
- Investing in education
- Supporting communities.

(MC:2000:1)

The MC claims that initiatives supported have been put forward by communities and represent the largest single non-government investment ever made in the social and community infrastructure throughout the UK (MC, 2000:1). Little research has been conducted into the extent to which such schemes encourage environmental sustainability, promote science and technology, revitalise cities, invest in education or support communities. In this thesis, I investigate these priorities.

There are many different perceptions of what constitutes environmental sustainability. For some, the concept of “environment” can mean the biological

environment, whereby sustainability may involve the maintenance or creation of habitats to conserve wildlife. Clearly, this was the case with the district council mentioned earlier, which gave priority to ecological conservation. However, this research focuses on an equally threatened resource: the historic environment. Can heritage projects serve the needs of the present, without destroying archaeology for future generations? What is the life span of exhibitions, and are they destined to close when project funding ends?

How sustainable are heritage projects?

The priorities of the HLF and the MC discussed earlier reflect the aims of government, articulated through government reports (see, for example DCMS, 1998, EH, 2000). Harvey claims that many questions can be raised concerning the overt politicisation of heritage management and funding (2001:322). Selwood also notes government control over the arts, and the tendency to value culture for its impact on agenda such as social exclusion, rather than for its intrinsic value (2002:1). I will therefore address the following question:

What is the role of government agents in managing the archaeological heritage?

One way in which policy on the archaeological heritage is increasingly implemented is through partnership schemes.

2.10. Partnerships

Tennyson and Wilde suggest that separation of the key roles of the three sectors in society, that is public, business and civil society, has given more freedom of operation, but fragmented activity and compartmentalisation have invariably resulted (2000:9). Partnerships are seen as an answer, offering the potential to bring together different, but potentially complementary skills, experience and attributes (2000:11). Research on the process of partnership can be found in areas as diverse as international development aid (Preston and McCaffery, 1999), town centre management (Inglis, 1996), post-compulsory education (Dhillon, 2002), and other fields of public service management (see, for example, Ballock and Taylor, ed. 2001). However, I have been unable to locate research on the effectiveness of heritage partnerships.

Typically, partnerships are formed either to undertake a specific project or to develop a programme of activities (Tennyson and Wilde, 2000:18). Inherent within the concept of partnership is a strong implication of shared risks and benefits. However, it is important to recognise that there are many different types of partnerships, and a plethora of terms that is not used consistently across the literature (Taket and White, 2000:15). In the thesis, I will reserve the use of the term “partnership” to describe multisectoral coalitions that have come together to undertake a particular project.

It would be quite wrong to suggest that partnerships are a new idea. We can trace an emerging discourse to the latter part of the nineteenth century, and can theorise this as part of the wider move towards social justice and inclusion that

was taking place at the time. (See, for example, Lewis, 1948 on the foundations of the John Lewis Partnership and Marchington and Sparrow, 1998:208 on more recent employer/employee partnerships).

The European Community recognises that "... working together in a variety of partnerships is an essential means of putting lifelong learning into practice". Partnerships are perceived as a mechanism for involving local and regional bodies and civil society organisations, who provide services that are close to the citizens and are better adapted to the specific needs of local communities (CEC:2000:10).

The partnership paradigm has also been adopted in heritage management. Partnerships between heritage organisations and educational establishments are actively encouraged by the HLF (2001:4) and strengthen applications for funding. In its Strategic Plan for 1999-2002, the HLF emphasises the need to require an element of partnership funding and for contributions in kind from other sources, and the desirability of working with other organisations is stressed (HLF, 1998:27). The result of this is that lead applicants, local authorities for instance, include local community organisations and educational establishments in a partnership to produce and manage heritage schemes. These policies and practices prompt the following research questions:

Are partnerships an effective way to manage the archaeological heritage?

To what extent are community representatives included in the decision-making process?

Is participation on equal terms in heritage partnerships?

One other key term needs clarification at this point. The business sector has led the way in creating the term “stakeholder”, referring to employees, suppliers and local communities in which a business is operating, as well as its customers and shareholders (Tennyson and Wilde, 2000:20). A stakeholder can therefore be defined as any individual, group, organisation or institution that has an interest, or a stake, in the project or programme.

Who are the stakeholders in archaeological heritage projects, and what are their concerns and agenda?

Those who own archaeology will clearly have a large stake in any project that involves their property. However, the issue of ownership is far from clear, as arguably, if moral or ethical arguments are used, we can say that everyone has a stake in the archaeological heritage. However, in the thesis, I will restrict the concept of ownership to legal ownership, or to cases where sites are held on an extended lease.

2.11. The Legal Owners of Archaeology

The law on the legal ownership of land and objects is complex. To summarise, legal ownership of land is usually, but not always, accompanied by the legal

ownership of any archaeological remains that are found on or below the ground. Notable exceptions include the complex issues involved in Treasure Trove, and legal covenants relating to artefacts found on land or underground. For example, a covenant is in place on the archaeological site at Sutton Hoo, and the right to excavate is retained by the descendants of a previous owner (Carver, 1998). Apart from such legal tangles, it is fair to say that if archaeological remains are found on land belonging to X, then X is the owner of archaeological remains, both above and below the surface.

However, if the site is scheduled, or includes a listed historic building, or is within an area where the environment is protected from development (for example, a Conservation Area), then the owner has no automatic right to alter or destroy any archaeology that is found. There are three main types of owners:

- Private sector, (individuals or companies).
- Public sector (government or local authority).
- Charitable Trusts.

Johnson and Thomas state that most listed buildings and scheduled monuments are privately owned, so their care and preservation depend on the efforts of owners and voluntary and private sector organisations (1995:173). Some sites and monuments are owned by companies specialising in the management of major tourist attractions, and are overtly profit making. For example, Warwick Castle is owned and managed by Madame Tussaud's. However, many smaller, less well-known monuments (including underground remains) are on farmland. These are arguably the most vulnerable of all sites, as the owners usually need

to use the land to generate revenue, and this may involve destructive practices, such as deep ploughing (especially for potatoes) and drainage schemes which are seen as “improvements”. Furthermore, it is the right of landowners to exclude the public, on the grounds of privacy, or to protect their land and farm animals. For some owners, archaeology represents a burden, rather than an asset, particularly if planning restrictions apply.

Other sites, monuments and museums are owned by local authorities, or government organisations such as EH. For many local authority owners, archaeology can represent an ongoing responsibility, even a burden, as funding from central government is progressively reduced. If the costs, such as site maintenance, conservation and staffing, outweigh the benefits, for example of attracting tourism to an area, archaeology becomes an unjustifiable drain on the resources of local government and local taxpayers. Not surprisingly, local authorities are now reluctant to open new museums.

Fortunately, many charitable trusts exist to protect the historic environment, and to widen public access to heritage (for example, the NT). Although the formation of a legal trust gives “... charitable status that includes taxation and other fiscal benefits” (Martin, 2001:397), most charitable trusts struggle to be financially viable. For example, in 1997/8, the total income of the NT was £182.4m, much of which derived from the subscriptions of its three million members (NT, 2003:7). However, the high cost of conservation means that four out of every five of its historic houses run at a loss (1998:4).

2.12. Heritage Stakeholders

From his research into French eco-museums, Howard has proposed a useful summary of the various stakeholders, or markets of heritage (Table 2). Howard argues that these groups can be known as stakeholders, but using the term “markets” emphasises that heritage is an expensive commodity, for which everyone has to pay. He uses the word “insiders” to describe the local communities, individuals, volunteers and staff who are involved in particular schemes (Howard, 2002:66). However, “insiders” are diverse group of people, who may have different perspectives. Moreover, the views of French heritage stakeholders might not be reflected in Britain. In Chapter 8, I will critically review Howard’s analysis in the light of the research, and identify the interests, concerns and agenda of those who have a stake in the archaeological heritage in Britain.

In the thesis, the heritage “customers” or consumers” will be known as “visitors”. These include adults or children who visit for leisure purposes (informal or casual visitors) as well as those who are involved in formal educational activities that are linked to the sites. Other “insiders” will be the volunteers, staff, consultants and community groups who are involved in heritage partnerships.

Table 2: Heritage Stakeholders

Stakeholder	Details, Agenda and Concerns
Owners	Especially in Built Heritage and artefacts. Can include governments and organisations. Drives upmarket (gentrification) Concerns of privacy, security, finance.
Visitors	Includes tourists, but also day-trippers, educational visits, pilgrims, connoisseurs, all with different agenda, which do not mix well. Concerns for access and interpretation.
Insiders	Concerned particularly with activities, with sites and with people. Long-settled locals and club members. Concerned for access but also to exclude outsiders. Often oppose interpretation and pricing. Concerned with person- and event-related histories.
Governments	Primarily fund Nature, Landscape, built heritage and museum sectors. Levels of government often compete. Concerned for legitimacy and prestige, to show similarity within area and difference from others.
Academics	Often “discover” heritage. Disciplines establish hegemony over types of heritage. Lack resources so advise governments. Concerns for authenticity and conservation. Also concerned for future generations.
Media	Old agenda for “newsworthiness” now joined by visual value for films, etc.

(Howard, 2002:66)

To summarise, this study examines the effectiveness of current policy and practice in the management of the archaeological heritage, and focuses particularly on lifelong learning. Education and conservation have been linked by Tilden (1957), who claims that through effective interpretation, we are able to understand and thus value and protect our heritage. In this first chapter, I have established that lifelong learning, the promotion of awareness, interest and concern for archaeology, are central to the sustainability of the archaeological heritage.

In the research, I will examine whether contemporary representations of heritage broaden access to lifelong learning for visitors to heritage sites and museums. I

will examine the various roles, interests, agenda and concerns of the stakeholders in heritage projects, to investigate whether partnerships provide an effective management tool. Particular attention will be paid to the participation of local community representatives and volunteers in heritage partnerships, and to the role of government agents. I will examine the compatibility of entertainment and education, to investigate whether they are mutually exclusive paradigms. Through investigating heritage projects, I aim to add to the discourses on lifelong learning, heritage management and multi-sector partnerships.

Chapter 2: Contemporary Discourses on Heritage

As this study is concerned with the archaeological heritage, rather than archaeology, it is important to clarify what is meant by the term “heritage”. In this chapter, I will seek a definition for the purposes of the thesis. Close attention is given to the differences between heritage and history, and the complex relationships between history, heritage and archaeology. I will investigate the authenticity and accuracy of heritage, and the ideological messages that heritage transmits. The perceived economic benefits of heritage are questioned. The links with Bourdieu’s theories of social, symbolic, and cultural capital are summarised.

1. Defining Heritage

Although we are all able to place some meaning upon the word, Herbert notes that dictionary definitions offer only the most general of guidelines (1995:8). Recognising the intangibility of heritage, the first Annual Report of the NHMF included the statement that:

We could no more define the national heritage than we could define, say, beauty or art. So, we decided to let the national heritage define itself.

(NHMF, 1981)

The scope of heritage studies is evident from Arnold *et al*’s edited conference papers *History and Heritage*. These include articles on contemporary cultural

manifestations of heritage, such as Diana, Princess of Wales (Davies, 1998:51-67) and the use of horror and medievalism in film (Arnold, 1998:39-51). Heritage, though, includes far more than royal princesses and Arnold's "Nasty Histories" (1998:39). What is deemed heritage in Britain includes the countryside, landscapes, villages, and industrial towns, and their diverse regional and local traditions. It includes our genetic inheritance, cultural and religious practices, families, places and events, as well as archaeological sites and artefacts. This implies that almost anything can be defined as heritage.

It is important to note that other cultures do not share the British preoccupation with old buildings or the "... Western mania for objects as heritage" (Lowenthal, 1998:19). Lowenthal notes that Korea cherishes masked plays, musical genres and skills such as knot making and brass smelting. On the other hand, Japanese culture admires ancient skills, but shuns old buildings, with the exception of sacred shrines (1998:19). Clearly, perceptions of heritage are not universal, and are defined through time and geographic space.

1.1. Accuracy and Authenticity

Heritage is often seen as an inferior form of history, on the mistaken assumption that heritage is "bad" history" (Lowenthal, 1998:x). History itself is seen as more accurate, losing authenticity and verity when it becomes heritage (Lowenthal, 1995:171). It is possible that archaeology is also seen as more accurate, authentic, and more trustworthy than heritage. In subtle ways, heritage appears to have less authority and status than history or archaeology.

However, as Johnson and Thomas point out, it is clear that some form of heritage production is inevitable, if archaeological sites are not to become derelict (1995:171). In defining the built heritage, they suggest that heritage undergoes some form of transformation which adds value (1995:171). When identifying certain aspects of the historical past as heritage, a society is stating very clearly to itself and to others which particular aspects of the historical past are important to that society.

However, this does not mean that an archaeological site cannot be displayed as heritage in a scientifically accurate way, although choices have to be made about which elements of the site are more important than others, and how these should be interpreted. At this point, archaeology is transformed into heritage, and the problematic notion of subjectivity creeps in.

Thucydides, writing about the Peloponnesian War in the fourth century, was an early proponent of historical accuracy. He made it a principle not to write down the first story that came his way, or to be guided by his own general impressions. He states that either he was present himself at the events which he described, or he heard them from eye-witnesses, whose reports he checked as thoroughly as possible. He still found that the truth was not easy to discover, as:

... different eye-witnesses give different accounts of the same events, speaking out of partiality for one side or the other or else from imperfect memories.

(Warner (ed.), 1954:24)

Thucydides reminds us that the existence of “historical fact” is contested. Accounts of events, whether written or oral, are subjective accounts. Moreover, the historical record is partial and fragmented. The foundations of history are “... a social form of knowledge; the work, in any given instance, of a thousand different hands” (Samuel, 1994:8).

Accounts of the past, whether written or oral, cannot be separated from the narrators, and their omissions, additions and partial recollections. Yet, historians or archaeologists rarely acknowledge these shortcomings. Validity is achieved through “objective”, distanced accounts of history that are separated from, rather than intertwined with, human thoughts and actions.

Concerns about authenticity also trouble Lowenthal (1985). He notes that memory, history and relics continually furbish our awareness of the past:

But how can we be sure that they reflect what has happened?
The past is gone; its parity with things now seen, recalled or read about can never be proved. No statement about the past can be confirmed by examining the supposed facts. Because knowing occurs only in the epistemological present ...

(Lowenthal, 1985:187)

We cannot confirm the truth of the past, either through observation or experiment, as the past is beyond reach. Past facts, by their very nature, cannot be verified (Lowenthal, 1985:187). How, then, can we understand the past?

Drawing on French ethno-historians, who use a genealogical perspective to understand present-day places, Shurmer-Smith and Hannam assert that:

The past is not a thing but a process: is not discontinuous and bounded... History can also be regarded as existing without the need to step backwards at all.

(Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994:57)

History can be seen as a contemporary human artefact, constructed in the present from various remnants of the past. Shurmer-Smith and Hannam claim that histories emphasise what persists, drawing on reminiscences, festivals, mementoes, photographs, stories and proverbs, local practices and artefacts (1994:57):

History is not just the traces of the past, but is the outcome of a dialogue between the present and the past: the present itself being many voiced.

(Shurmer-Smith and Hannam, 1994:45)

Thus, history emerges as a human artefact, constructed in the present through various remnants of the past, including written and oral accounts, traditions, and archaeological artefacts.

I will now investigate the relationships between history, heritage, and archaeology.

1.2. Archaeology, Heritage and History

Lowenthal acknowledges that history and heritage are inextricably conjoined, but he emphasises the need to underscore their dissimilar intents.

The historian ... seeks to convey a past consensually known, open to inspection and proof, continually revised and eroded as time and hindsight outdate its truths. The heritage fashioner, however, historically scrupulous, seeks to design a past that will fix the identity and enhance the well-being of some chosen individual or folk.

(Lowenthal, 1998:xi)

Thus, the aims of history and heritage are clearly contrary to each other, and it is vital to bear that opposition in mind (Lowenthal, 1998:xi). History involves inquiry into the past, but heritage involves purpose in the present (1998:x). History constantly revises the past, whereas heritage fashions and establishes the past in the present. Lowenthal adds:

In fact, heritage is not history at all; while it borrows from and enlivens historical study, heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened but a profession of faith in a past tailored to present-day purposes.

(Lowenthal, 1998:x)

Concise working definitions of these two concepts for the thesis emerge as:

- Heritage is the past adapted to the needs of the present.
- History is an enquiry into the past.

1.3. Heritage and Tradition

Traditions can be regarded as part of both history and heritage. Archaeological sites can be the focus of customs, such as the ceremonies held during the summer solstice at Stonehenge. Hobsbawm and Ranger's influential study of traditional practices, *The Invention of Tradition*, dismisses the idea that traditions are ancient in origin. Hobsbawm claims that many practices, which appear or claim to be old, are often quite recent in origin, and are sometimes invented. Nothing, Hobsbawm states, appears more ancient and linked to an immemorial past than the pageantry surrounding the British monarchy in its public ceremonial manifestations (1983:1). Yet, a chapter in the book establishes that it is the product of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Equally, Welsh traditions do not escape close historical scrutiny by Morgan:

Wales in the eighteenth century did not have an unbroken or a fortunate historical tradition; it did not have a glorious or heroic recent past. Hence the rediscovery of the remote past, the Druids and the Celts and the others, had an astounding effect on the Welsh.

(Morgan, 1983:99)

Trevor-Roper has investigated the distinctive national dress and Highland culture of Scotland, finding this a retrospective invention (1983:15-41). Does it matter if we believe the Scottish kilt to be ancient in origin? Or whether Uppark House, described in the introduction, is a modern reconstruction? Surely, the important question is whether or not these relatively recent origins are articulated to the public, who are then free to make a considered choice. Hidden truths speak of subterfuge and deceit, whereas ethical, honest and open practices are highly respected in society.

Shurmer-Smith and Hannam remind us that Trevor-Roper's expert authentication of Hitler's diaries was discredited after a scientific analysis of their paper and ink, alerting us to the "endless chain of simulacra which makes up what we take for the past" (1994:57). Does authenticity matter more in the case of Hitler's diaries than in the case of the Scottish kilt and Uppark House – or less? Rather than warning us of the shortcomings of historical investigation, these examples inform us of the dominance of scientific, rather than historical discourses. Even the need for truth is questioned by Foucault:

Why, in fact, are we attached to the truth? Why the truth rather than illusion? And I think that, instead of trying to find out what truth, as opposed to error, is, it might be more interesting to take up the problem posed by Nietzsche: how is it that, in our societies, "the truth" has been given this value, thus placing us absolutely under its thrall.

(Foucault, 1988:107)

Yet, the “truths” that are deliberately omitted from history, or obliterated from heritage, inform us about present social and political environments. Walsh (2001:83) describes how the collective memory of France has been restructured, as more people realise the need for a more “honest” approach to the mediation of that difficult period in French history during World War II that many would like to forget (2001:83). The refusal of the state to recognise both the true level of collaboration, or the real nature of resistance, was reflected by the virtual absence of historians or state museums that honestly dealt with these issues. By the 1980’s, the resuscitation of the collective memory was underway, with new museums opening every year that dealt with the role of the resistance (2001:89). Thus, narratives can be omitted, revised or resurrected with the passage of time, as discourses steer towards new trajectories.

Although memories are not easily erased from the collective memory, artefacts can be removed. One particular feature of the archaeological heritage is its destructability, either through time or through human agency. In wartime, national heritage becomes a target, in invaders’ efforts to remove the cultural and ethnic icons of the past, that are of importance to nations and communities in the present. Renfrew and Bahn describe how the Old Bridge of Mostar, constructed in 1566, was destroyed by the warring factions in former Yugoslavia. The monument had great significance to the mainly Muslim members of the city. The bridge finally collapsed on 9th November 1993, after months of shelling from Croatian guns (1996:511). More recently, The Temple of the Tooth Relic of the Buddha, the most sacred Buddhist site in Sri Lanka, was bombed on 25th January 1998 by Tamil terrorists who are fighting for a

separate state within the country. The Temple complex is an important archaeological site, included in the World Heritage List (Wijesuriya, 2000:99).

On the other hand, local educational initiatives such as Study Circles, now operating in the newly-emerging states of Eastern Europe, represent amateur attempts to capture and record the heritage of the past, in texts, exhibitions and local museums. These include:

... local history and cultural heritage values, a handful of old anecdotes and short stories, a collection of recipes for traditional food, or a description (using local dialect) of old tools, skills and crafts.

(Êrzen, 2001)

As Lowenthal notes, it is community efforts that spark heritage action, from folk festivals and nature conservation to re-enactments and museums (1998:80). He suggests that small, local initiatives suggest "...verities felt lacking in larger, national patrimonies." This, he declares, is most evident among minorities that "...deploy heritage not to opt out of nation-states, but to achieve gains within them" (Lowenthal, 1998:81). Investigating heritage involves finding out who has produced it, and questioning the purposes and "truths" it promotes.

Macauley (1979) reminds us that the present, rather than the past, shapes heritage, in his fictional account of the discovery of an archaeological site in the year 4020 AD, and the subsequent creation of a heritage narrative from the archaeological remains. This satirical, easily digested narrative, written for a

non-specialist audience, tells us more about history, heritage, and the practice of archaeology than many academic texts. We cannot step back into the past, and our knowledge is based more on our own conceptions of our contemporary lives and environments than those of our predecessors.

Harvey suggests that many contemporary studies of heritage issues have failed to fully explore the historical scope that the concept of heritage implies, and have been too preoccupied with certain manifestations of heritage's recent trajectory. Many commentators do suggest that heritage is a relatively recent phenomenon, becoming apparent in the rapid growth of museums, heritage centres, and heritage-based attractions during the 1980s (for example, Hewison, 1988, McCrone *et al*, 1995).

In a longer historical analysis of the evolution of heritage practices, Harvey provides a narrative of "heritageisation" as a process. His analysis assumes that heritage has always been with us and has always been produced by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences (2001:320). In contrast to other commentators, Harvey does not start with an arbitrary date like 1882 (the date of the Ancient Monuments Act in Great Britain), the French Revolution (1789-99), or the establishment of the National Trust in 1895. Following Foucault (although he suggests his idea is resonant of Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), he places the actors as representatives of a particular strand of heritage at a particular moment in time, "...reflecting the agendas, perceptions and arrangements of that time" (2001:320).

However, some more focused accounts of recent heritage manifestations have the advantage of detail concerning the conditions of their formation (see, for example, Carver, 1998, for a description of the production of the heritage site at Sutton Hoo). Acknowledging that heritage is a product of the present, I will now examine the current purposes of heritage in Britain.

2. Heritage as an Economic and Political Instrument

It has been argued that the exponential growth of museums during the 1980s was a response to the climate of economic recession and de-industrialisation of the time. It was no accident that, particularly in the north of England, new heritage attractions such as Beamish, Wigan Pier and “Catherine Cookson Country” in South Tyneside emerged as tourist attractions, in efforts to regenerate these areas:

Heritage has been a key element in many regeneration projects.

At one level it has contributed, in some areas, to economic development, especially through tourism.

(Walsh, 1992:140)

The strongest critic of these, and other attractions like them, was Hewison, who aligned this government-funded rise of the “heritage industry” with the decline of Britain’s manufacturing industries. As an historian, Hewison affirmed his belief in the need for a past, and for an understanding of history. However, he argued that the growth of a “heritage culture” led not only to a distortion of the past, but to a stifling of the culture of the present (1987:10).

Hewison claimed that the “heritage industry” represented an attempt by the government to dispel a “climate of decline”, through exploiting the economic potential of our culture (1987:9). It found a ready market, as the perception of decline includes all sorts of insecurities and doubts that makes its products especially attractive and reassuring, shifting attention away from the economic failures of the present (1987:10).

Such desperate measures are not only the product of economic necessity: there is also a need to create a past that will substitute for the erasures of the present.

(Hewison, 1987:97)

Hewison pointed out that industrial museums are no substitute for industrial enterprises, neither were Community Programme jobs real jobs. Beamish Open Air Museum trained the drivers of redundant 1920s trams, but at the end of twelve months, it was the man, not the tram, that left (1987:104).

The economic justification for conservation schemes is often the result of weakness: there is nothing else to be done with the building except turn it into a museum; there is nothing else to be done with the people except temporarily to employ them as museum attendants. When the heritage argument meets real financial forces, it crumbles.

(Hewison, 1987:104)

West's influential critique of the Blists Hill complex at Ironbridge, a site displaying industrial archaeology, added fuel to the debate. Here, West was:

not just referring to those who contracted to "dress up", to add a benign face to a particularly ruthless epoch, but to the countless coach-loads of schoolchildren and pleasure-seeking families as well, who are daily "educated" into "a very partial *imagined community*" of the past.

(West, 1988:37)

For West, such displays represented "... a complete breakdown of the distinction between history-making and money-making" (1988:57), resulting in a bland, superficial version of history. Although he acknowledged that the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust had made a significant contribution to popularising the past as an available form of knowledge, he argued that they had represented the Victorian labour process as a pleasurable spectacle, that denied the presence of class-struggle in the work-place. Also, in the pursuit of "authenticity", they had created a really hazardous and unhealthy work environment, apparently mindless of the health and safety of their employees (1987:59). Fortunately, time, health and safety laws, and the museum have changed, but the legacy of critique that surrounds the popularisation of the past lives on.

West cautioned that "the little Utopia of Blists Hill" did not resolve the unemployment problems of the area. Such arguments re-emerge in critiques of heritage sites and museums that are designed to attract tourists to revive failing

local economies, and “resolve” local or regional unemployment (see for example, Smales, 1999). Corner and Harvey, in a sophisticated analysis of the interface between heritage and commercial enterprise, claim that:

... in the most disadvantaged places, heritage, or the simulacrum of heritage, can be mobilised to gain competitive advantage in the race between places ... underlining the importance of place-making in placeless times, the heightened importance of distinction in a world where differences are being effaced...

(Corner and Harvey, 1991:38)

Beamish, the Land of the Prince Bishops, Roman Northumberland and Catherine Cookson Country are all heritage assets that can be exploited to attract tourists and investors alike. However, it becomes difficult to avoid the reality that the North-East was once an area of heavy engineering, shipbuilding and coal mining. For many in the region, the conservation of local culture and traditions is extremely important (1991:39) but Corner and Harvey argue that tradition and heritage are also things that entrepreneurs can exploit: they are “products” (1991:40).

But products need customers. There is no doubt that tourism, and what is broadly referred to as the “leisure industry”, represent an important part of Britain’s economy. Research by the National Tourist Board and the DCMS claims that tourism is one of the largest industries in the UK. In 2001, tourism was worth approximately £75 billion – more than 5% of GDP. In 2000, UK residents made over 175 million trips within the UK, spending £26.1 billion. 25.2

million overseas visitors came to Britain, and spent more than £12.5 billion. The National Tourist Boards estimate that there were around 130,000 paid jobs (full- or part time) and 85,000 volunteers working in the visitor attractions sector in 2000. In terms of the number of attractions, museums, art galleries, historic houses and castles represented 50% of the total number of visitor attractions. However, major heritage attractions secured only one third of all reported visits, a reflection of the large number of small sites in Britain. An estimated £1.4 billion gross revenue was generated by heritage attractions in 2000. Around half of this came from admissions or donations, 31% from retailing, 16% from catering and 5% from other sources (Star UK, 2002).

The most popular visitor attractions are in London. Despite much criticism, The Millennium Dome attracted 6.5 million visits in 2000, almost twice the number of visits to the next most popular paid visitor attraction, the London Eye (3.3 million visits). The British Museum, which has no admission charge, generated 5.5 million visits in 2000. This, together with The National Gallery and the Tate Modern is the most visited free admission attraction in the UK, after Blackpool Pleasure Beach (Star UK, 2002).

The archaeological heritage is now regarded as an economic resource, locally, nationally and globally. As Howard notes, conservation organisations, such as EH, are now arguing unashamedly that heritage conservation and interpretation, far from being a drain on regional finances, actually enhances the economy: it makes good economic sense (2002:64). Making heritage assets accessible through interpretation, whether this is for wealth creation or for education, has

now become an activity of central concern to many organisations across all sectors (Fladmark, 2000:243).

Urry claims that the result of the internationalisation of tourism is that different countries, or different places within a country, come to specialise in providing particular kinds of objects to be gazed upon by tourists. Britain, he suggests, has come to specialise in history and heritage, and this affects both what overseas visitors expect to gaze upon and what attracts UK residents to spend time holiday-making within Britain. Furthermore, the internationalisation of holiday-making is more developed in the UK than in some other countries. This is partly because of the early and innovative development of the package, or inclusive, holiday in Britain, and partly because of the availability of many historical sites that are suitable for attracting large numbers of overseas tourists (1990:45).

However, Urry notes that the economic benefits from tourism are often less than anticipated. Much of the tourist investment in the developing world has been undertaken by large-scale companies based in North America or Western Europe, and the bulk of tourist expenditure is retained by the transnational companies involved. He also draws our attention to the detrimental industrial, environmental and social impact that large numbers of overseas tourists can bring to an area (1990:50-56). Moreover, problems can arise when tourism accounts for an exceptionally high proportion of the national income of the country (1990:57). For example, with the virtual closure of the countryside for a season in 2001, because of an outbreak of foot and mouth disease, Britain experienced huge losses of tourist revenue. The estimated cost of the outbreak

to the NT was £4.5m, made up of lost admission fees, retail and catering income, and fewer holiday bookings (NT, 2002:03).

Urry has analysed the type of work that is most common in the tourist industry at local or regional level. This comprises transport, hotels, catering and entertainment. In many tourist-related services there are an exceptional variety of functions that have to be met – food production, food service, entertainment, accommodation services, and bars. He notes that the development of flexible forms of employment is affected by the fact that most tourist-related services have to be provided when the customer demands them. This increases the use of temporary, part-time and functionally flexible workers (Urry, 1990:72). How much “regeneration” of an area is likely to occur, when jobs are seasonal, temporary, part-time and, more often than not, poorly-paid?

Although there is little doubt that heritage in the UK, particularly in our capital city, represents a popular attraction for overseas tourists, and a reason why many of them visit the country, it is much more difficult to assess the economic impact of local or regional heritage initiatives. The link between heritage and regeneration appears to be a tenuous one.

The current government, like its predecessors, places great faith in the historic environment as an economic instrument. Disregarding the possibility that the benefits of heritage may be overestimated, the government publication *Power of Place* states that:

The historic environment is an irreplaceable asset representing the investment of centuries of skills and resources. It gives places a unique competitive advantage. It generates jobs. It attracts people to live in an area, business to invest and tourists to visit.

(DCMS, 2000:8)

The perceived importance of the historic environment as "...something from which the economy benefits" (DCMS, 2001:1) is difficult to balance with the reductions in funding for archaeology that I described in the first chapter.

I will now turn to the debates on the ideological messages that heritage transmits, and the discourses on cultural power.

3. Heritage and Power

Some critical theorists have used museums and heritage to analyse relationships of cultural power (for example, Neitzche, 1980, Bourdieu, 1984, Walsh, 1992, Maleuvre, 1999). Hooper-Greenhill adopts a Foucauldian approach to illuminate her genealogical study of the development of early museums, and to theorise power relationships (1992). She notes that the Medici Palace in Florence, often regarded as the first European museum, emerged at a time when the success and rapid growth of banking, trading and mercantile activities were producing large fortunes for the most powerful of the merchant class. Through these fortunes, culture and display were used to reinforce the economic power of those in authority:

The networks of power and influence that were constituted through these activities were adapted from use in the economic field to use in a newly developing cultural field. Culture, connoisseurship and ostentatious display began to be used to support the positions of the dominant merchant groups to underline their economic power.

(Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:24)

Walsh uses an historical analysis in his postmodern study of the power of nations (1992). He traces the development of museums, from their emergence as “proto-museums” in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1992:18). He argues that this development of heritage was part of the experience of modernity – the developments in science and technology, the Industrial Revolution and urbanisation, as well as the consequent changes in the experience of time and space (1992:37). Walsh claims that in the museum, the viewer’s perception of the object is often constructed through an acceptance of the naming of the object by an “authority”. The display thus promotes a process of de-differentiation as each object is placed within the legitimising context of the modern linear narrative, which tacitly promotes the modern idea of progress (1992:36).

3.1. The work of Pierre Bourdieu

I have drawn on Bourdieu’s conceptualisations of power in the theoretical framework of the research, and I will now describe his theories, and discuss the

ways that other researchers have made use of these to analyse the relationships between heritage and power.

Bourdieu's interests concern the ways in which social advantage and disadvantage are maintained. A sociologist and anthropologist, within the tradition of French critical theory, his explanatory framework offers a critical analysis of class relations. For Bourdieu, capital is theorised as taking several forms. He distinguishes between these different forms of capital as economic, human, social, cultural, and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1997). The most easily recognisable and influential of these is economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money, and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights (1997:47). Human capital is the potential of an individual to produce labour, and therefore to realise economic capital. Bourdieu acknowledges that economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital. Other forms of capital are more disguised and indirect, and conceal their effects (1997:54).

3.2. Symbolic Capital

A symbol is something that stands in place of something else. The signs and symbols that constitute language allow people to tap into a large reservoir of common understandings and meanings, allowing more complex forms of "negotiation" between people. This allows more complex interactions to take place (Layder, 1994, 61). Symbolic communication can be verbal or non-verbal, human or inanimate. A handshake, for instance, is also a symbolic representation of a greeting, or a wooden cross may symbolise Christianity.

More than likely, the things that are meaningful to people involve combinations of physical and social aspects, and social behaviour has to be understood in terms of the meanings that these have for those involved (Layder, 1994:62). For example, an Olympic medal is not merely a metal object, but a representation of the achievement of the team or individual that has achieved great success in a particular sport.

Symbolic capital is the ability of an individual or group to understand and take part in collective rituals, whether in sport or any other area of social and cultural life. It can also mean the possession of a “good name”, or honour, that represents the recognition of the status and/or achievement of an individual or group. Bourdieu states that symbolic capital also refers to the understanding of cultural rules, such as the interval that should pass between the bestowing of a gift and the offering of a reciprocal gift (1977:6). How have these ideas been used by researchers in the field of archaeological heritage management?

In his seminal study of museums, Merriman describes symbolic power as taste, manners and style, which can be expressed as connoisseurship, or aesthetic ethos, through investment of the time spent by parents and teachers, or exposure to “higher” cultures. Its material manifestations are in school or university certificates (1991:78). Drawing heavily on Bourdieu’s *“Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste”*, Merriman claims that symbolic capital produces a “culture of distinction”, separating the cultivated and the non-cultivated” (1991:81). For example, confronted with a work of art, those who do not have the necessary symbolic capital to understand its meaning will feel overwhelmed (1991:44-45).

Merriman challenges the concept of museums, claiming that they betray their true function, which is to reinforce for some people the feeling of belonging, and for others, the feeling of exclusion (1991:112). He adds that symbolic power produces a consensus that those who are dominant have a right to their position (1991:78). Even the arrangement of museums and galleries, their selection and presentation, gives the objects they contain a special significance.

As Hewison says, these objects serve the same functions as the selections that make written history, as by displaying the evidence of past cultures, they help to locate a contemporary society in relation to a previous tradition (1987:84).

In the twentieth century, museums have taken over the function once exercised by church and ruler, they provide the symbols through which a nation and a culture understands itself.

(Hewison, 1987:84)

Hewison claims that in sanctioning the creation of commodities that have immaterial, rather than material values, the objects that hold these values are a source of aesthetic pleasure, emotional response, historic knowledge, but above all, of cultural meaning. Such objects are some of the most valuable a society can own, representing that society's significance (1987:85). According to such analyses, heritage sites and museums can be theorised as part of a society's symbolic capital, and those who authorise the presentations possess the power and authority to manipulate what is constituted and valued as heritage.

Capital can present itself in two other fundamental guises that are important in this thesis: social and cultural capital.

3.3. Social Capital

According to Bourdieu, social capital is made up of social obligations or “connections”. These are convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital, and may be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1997:47). Social capital is the aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutional relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, or to membership in a group, which gives each of its members access to the collectively-owned capital (Bourdieu, 1997:51).

Thus, social capital can be conceptualised as a network of contacts within which an individual or group operates, such as clubs and societies, family, friends and acquaintances. Coleman interprets social capital as the set of resources inherent within the family and the community that are most useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person (1994:300). For Bourdieu, the volume of social capital possessed depends on the size of the network of connections that can be effectively mobilised, and on the volume of capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in her/his own right by each of those to whom he is connected.

Bourdieu includes manners, in the form of bearing and pronunciation, within the concept of social capital. Through the mode of acquisition that these point to,

they indicate initial membership of a more or less prestigious group (1997:51). Social capital is thus tied to the identification of the individual or group in society, the mobilisation of these resources, and the complex relationships of these resources with economic capital.

Although the direct transmission of economic capital remains one of the principal means of reproduction, the effect of social capital (“a helping hand”, “string-pulling”, “the old boy network”) tends to correct the effect of academic sanctions (Bourdieu, 1997:58). Thus, academic qualifications can be less important than social networks, although Bourdieu admits that educational qualifications never function perfectly as currency. Never entirely separable from their holders, their value rises in proportion to the value of their bearers, especially in the least rigid areas of the social structure (1997:58), where social structures are flexible. Recent research may support this claim. In their study of the relationship between lifelong learning and social capital in Northern Ireland, Field and Spence found that:

... a high level of networking and communal trust (albeit within two partly segregated ethnic/religious divisions) may help to explain a relatively low level of participation in formal adult learning opportunities.

(Field and Spence, 2000:32)

The researchers suggest that social networks may create a strong preference for informal learning rather than formal provision. In small contexts, particularly within the relatively small communities that exist in Northern Ireland, informal

learning will often be good enough (2000:40). However, although a high level of social capital can help to sustain a lively culture of informal learning, the high value placed on formal academic achievements is not matched by an equal appreciation of the potential and efficacy of informal learning (Field and Spence, 2000:40-41).

3.4. Cultural Capital

The fact that culture can be capital is often hidden and misrecognised (Featherstone,1991:105-6). For Bourdieu, cultural capital is convertible, under certain conditions, into economic capital, and may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1997:47). Bourdieu claims that by conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and even to exchange them. Furthermore, it facilitates the conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital, establishing the value of the holder and the monetary value for which it can be exchanged on the labour market (1997:51).

Bourdieu describes how the cultural capital objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments and instruments, is passed on in society. A collection of paintings, for example, can be transmitted as easily as economic capital. But what is transmissible is legal ownership, and not necessarily what constitutes the precondition for appropriation, such as the ability to appreciate the painting or the skill to use the instruments (1997:50).

Merriman asserts that his analysis of museum visiting patterns (1991) supports Bourdieu's thesis. He states that regular visitors, who come from the higher-status and "better-educated" groups, possess the cultural competence required to "read" a museum display, and are more used to getting information from text (cited in Walsh, 1992:124). Merriman claims that those who visit museums, and other heritage attractions, are likely to attend theatre productions, concerts, ballet and opera. He argues that museums "divide the population into those who possess the culture or competence to perceive them as a leisure opportunity, and make sense of a visit, and those who do not" (cited in Walsh, 1992:125).

Merriman suggests that museums may be used by people with a new-found status to legitimate their position in a new group, or the "embourgeoisement thesis". He claims that the demonstration of visiting such places, and associating with groups of people who share a broadly common set of aspirations and attitudes, is as important in some ways as the actual learning experience itself (cited in Walsh, 1992:125).

However, Bourdieu's theories contrast with the psychological approach, and tend to play down individual variability. They also emphasise class distinctions to the exclusion of other explanatory factors, tending towards determinism, and suggesting that such theories can explain all social behaviour (Merriman, 1991:81-82). There is also an inherent assumption that communication is a direct, one-way process, yet interpretation involves communication between the speaker and the listener.

Furthermore, it can be argued that social capital's weakness is its lack of theorisation of the notion of trust, and the lack of attention that is given to the role of institutions in building social capital. Yet, trust and institutions are central to contemporary understandings of the co-operative behaviour upon which social capital theory is premised (Fieschi, 2003:69-70). In the thesis, close attention is given to the role of institutions in building social capital.

Despite some omissions, Bourdieu provides some reasons for the lack of participation in museum and heritage activities by some cultural groups, and a theoretical mechanism through which the dominant groups in society are sustained and reproduced.

3.5. Participation in Heritage Activities

Researchers have noted that the same groups who do not take part in museum visiting do not take part in educational activities beyond the compulsory school-leaving age. For example, McCrone *et al* found that life members of the National Trust for Scotland were:

... overwhelmingly middle class, specifically from the professional classes (80%), with teachers being the most common occupational group. 35% of life members in the survey were, or had been, teachers.

(McCrone *et al*, 1995:143)

Furthermore, taking into account the occupational backgrounds of their families of origin, over half of the respondents (52%) were either teachers themselves, had parents who were teachers, or were married to teachers. As McCrone *et al* state, it is a remarkable preponderance from one occupational group (1995:143). Of 97 respondents, the mean age was 59, and the life members tended to have above average incomes (1997:144). Heritage visiting, as far as the National Trust for Scotland is concerned, appears to be predominantly a middle-class pastime for the well-educated (1997:138).

However, Divall found that transport museums did not seem to fit this account well. He suggested that these places enjoy the cultural connotations of being museums, but as institutions conveying a mundane feature of everyday life, they have the advantage of a subject matter that is familiar to many people (1998:198). There are indications that the social profile of the visitor may be changing, and that such new museums may be attracting wider audiences.

Chadwick and Stannett's collection of papers includes details of several initiatives in museums to target under-represented audiences (1995). The Wakefield MDC Museums and Galleries focused upon adults with learning difficulties, and the museum has successfully attracted grant aid to run workshops with disadvantaged groups (Scaife, 1995:108). Such initiatives represent attempts to raise the cultural capital of some groups in society. Social disadvantage is high on the political agenda, and heritage has been mobilised once again to meet the concerns of the present.

Coupled with such initiatives, the new representations of heritage, such as themed exhibitions, open-air sites, and dramatic reconstructions, may be shifting visitor profiles. Working farm museums, and exhibitions such as the Jorvik Centre and the Black Country Museum, may attract wider audiences because of their entertainment value. But do these contemporary representations of heritage confer the same level of cultural capital as their elitist predecessors, the “high culture” museums and galleries? Does the ease of physical and intellectual accessibility of the new museums reduce their value as cultural capital?

3.6. Cultural Capital and the City

Featherstone theorises cities, rather than people, in terms of their cultural capital. He demonstrates that there is an expanding range of criteria on which cities may be ranked. He claims that the shift towards postmodern culture introduces a movement away from agreed universal criteria of judgement of cultural taste, towards a more relativistic and pluralistic situation in which the excluded, the strange, the other, the vulgar, which were previously excluded can now be allowed in (1991:106). Hence, there is greater tolerance of difference and diversity:

From the perspective of the economic utility of cultural capital, this means that while traditional industrial towns are to be regarded as low in cultural capital (with the exception of those who are able to repackage and museumify these elements as

assets) the range is extended from traditional historic value and treasures to include new and more popular cultural forms.

(Featherstone, 1991:106)

These include theme parks, malls, shopping centres, and museums, which are perceived as attractive and saleable (Featherstone, 1991:106). In short, those who seek to invest in new service, information and “high-tech” industries may be swayed by the ambience and cultural capital of cities, and may have helped to speed up the re-conversion strategies, such as the redevelopment and gentrification of docklands and inner city areas. Under global conditions of intensified competition and the freeing of market forces for investment and capital flows, cities have become more entrepreneurial and aware of their image, and the ways in which image translates into jobs for the local economy. The process entails the de-industrialisation of inner city areas and docklands, which become gentrified by members of the new middle class and developed as sites of tourism and cultural consumption (Featherstone, 1991:107).

Thus, a complex picture emerges in terms of the relationship between heritage and enterprise. New heritage ventures in cities cannot be judged simply in terms of the number of jobs in the immediate service industries, such as catering, hotels and transport. The implications of “heritageisation” (Harvey, 2000:320) are more far-reaching and more difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate when the raising of the cultural capital of cities is taken into account. Museums and heritage sites can represent powerful symbols of identity, not only for people, but also for places, yet the long-term benefits of raising the cultural capital of cities is far more difficult to quantify.

Raising cultural capital through heritage and cultural tourism can influence the economic status of nations. Samuel claims that heritage is proving crucial in the construction of post-colonial identities. Indeed, the demand for the restitution of national art treasures is not the least of the effects of the coming-of-age of newly independent states. The medium of cultural tourism allows, and encourages, a new class of historic nations to emerge, such as in Sicily, which now appears as an outer limb of Hellas, or a detached province of Byzantium (Samuel, 1994:308). Samuel suggests that building on cultural difference, heritage "...helps to support both a multi-ethnic vision of the future and a more pluralist one of the past" (1994, 308).

To conclude this summary of heritage discourses, heritage has a great range of meanings and purposes for different people in different cultural and geographic spaces. I have conceptualised heritage as a product of societal power relations that are in force at the time that it is created. Heritage is not history, but is shaped and fixed in time and space, whereas history is edited and reconsidered, as narratives are retold and re-written over time. Yet, history and heritage both have the potential to be manipulated for the purposes of the present.

It has become evident during these first two chapters that government discourse is clearly directed towards economic growth, encouraging employability through lifelong learning, the regeneration of towns and cities through cultural tourism, and encouraging people and places to forge new identities. It was within the context of these discourses that the research was carried out.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter, I will describe the theoretical framework that underpins the methodology, discuss the ethical issues that arise, set out the research design, and discuss the research instruments.

1. The Theoretical Framework

This study into contemporary policy and practice in archaeology draws on the work of Foucault and Bourdieu. For such critical theorists, "...patterns indicating discourses, meanings and social practices that are dominant" are of greatest interest to investigate (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000:148). However, the critical approach promotes no overarching methodological framework, and neither empirical nor interpretative research is favoured.

The "black and white contrast" between either the objective or subjective points of view has been challenged by the contention that scientific enquiry is not "formalistic" (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998:25). Such claims represent a fundamental shift from the empirical paradigms, which derive validity from their claims of objectivity, repeatability and generalisability. For example, in constructivist epistemology, truth, or meaning, come into existence during our engagement with the realities in our world. Thus, meaning is not discovered, but constructed in the minds of individuals, and strikingly diverse understandings can be formed of the same phenomenon (Crotty 1998:8-9). It is also accepted that, in complicated ways, culture, language, selective perception, subjective forms of cognition, social conventions, politics, ideology, power and narration

permeate scientific activity (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000:2). Clearly, the divisions between the paradigms of empirical and interpretative research are blurred.

Tashakkori and Teddlie argue that researchers may be both objective and subjective in epistemological orientation, even over the course of studying a research question (1998:25). They term this methodological position “pragmatism” (1998:26).

In this case, it is more reasonable to think of a continuum than two opposing poles. At some points, one may be more “subjective”, while at others, more “objective”; at some points the knower and the known must be interactive, while at others, one may more easily stand apart from what one is studying.

(Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998:25-26)

This preference for a continuum reflects the importance of looking at research design issues as shades of grey rather than as black or white (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998:32). Pragmatists believe either qualitative or quantitative methods, or both, are useful, and that the choice should depend upon the research question as it is currently posed, and the phase of the research cycle that is ongoing (1998:26). Alvesson and Skoldberg also stress that it is important to bear in mind that a choice between quantitative and qualitative methods cannot be made in the abstract, but must be related to the particular research problem and research object (2000:4). Bearing the above in mind, a pragmatic paradigm was adopted for the research.

All research projects are likely to raise ethical issues, particularly if they directly involve people (Blaxter *et al*, 1996:146). Therefore, in formulating the research design, I was guided by the following considerations:

- Bearing in mind the research questions, which methods would produce the most useful and valid data?
- Which methods were practical?
- Which methods were ethical?
- Bearing in mind the type of data that would be generated, what were the most useful and valid tools for analysis?

1.1. Practical Solutions

The research questions concerned policies and practices in organisations and institutions, processes that take place in heritage organisations and partnerships, and the relationships between those who are responsible for, and those who visit, sites and museums. These dictated that data needed to be gathered at several different levels, and would involve different research subjects. Bearing in mind the scope of the research, I used a mixed method research design. Mixed method studies combine the qualitative and quantitative approaches within different phases of the research process (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998:19). Both quantitative and qualitative research was conducted in parallel at different levels of the research, allowing a high degree of complexity and flexibility in the design and analysis.

Case studies are suitable for these complex, flexible designs, and are particularly appropriate for individual researchers, as this method gives an opportunity to study one aspect of a problem in some depth within a limited time scale (Bell, 1987:10). The great strength of the case study method is that it allows the researcher to concentrate on a specific instance or situation and to identify, or attempt to identify, the various interactive processes at work. These processes may remain hidden in a large-scale survey, but may be crucial to the success or failure of systems or organisations (Bell, 1987:11).

Case studies take as their subject one or more selected examples of a social entity, such as communities, social groups, organisations, events, life histories, work teams, roles or relationships, that are studied using a variety of data collection techniques. This use of different methods allows a more rounded, holistic, study than with any other design (Hakim, 2000:61). Case studies are a useful design for research on organisations and institutions in both the private and public sectors. These include:

... studies of firms ... workplaces, schools, trade unions, bureaucracies, studies of “best practice”, policy implementation and evaluation, industrial relations, management and organisation issues, organisation cultures, processes of change and adaption...

(Hakim, 2000:69)

Typically, case studies are based on two or more methods of data collection (Hakim, 2000:63). The fieldwork for case studies may incorporate the analysis of administrative records and other documents, depth interviews, larger scale

structured surveys (either personal interview or postal surveys), and/or participant- and non-participant observation. Virtually any type of evidence that is relevant and available can be used in case studies (Hakim, 2000:63).

However, a further level of analysis is allowed if multiple case studies are used, as the data from different cases can be compared. Comparative research is a basic strategy of social research that often focuses on configurations of similarities and differences across a limited range of cases (Ragin, 1994:184).

The emphasis of comparative research on diversity (especially the different patterns that may exist within a specific set of cases) and on familiarity with each case make the approach especially well suited for the goals of exploring diversity, interpreting cultural or historical significance, and advancing theory.

(Ragin, 1994:108)

Comparative research offers a way to advance theory through its use of flexible frames, its explicit focus on the causes of diversity, and the emphasis on the systematic analysis of similarity and difference (Ragin, 1994:111). However, when multiple case studies are studied, the research necessarily loses some depth in the investigation of each individual case study. This was carefully balanced with the advantages of comparing several cases. I decided to use three case studies, as this was a small enough number to allow a degree of

depth at each, yet was also a manageable number of cases to investigate within the time-frame of the research.

1.2. Selection of the Case Studies

Each of the case studies needed to be:

- A site or museum that interpreted and presented the archaeological heritage to the public.
- Working in a partnership.
- Accessible geographically from my home.
- Willing to participate in the research.

Typically in case study research, the researcher identifies an “instance”, which could be the introduction of a new syllabus, or any innovation or stage of development in an institution, and observes, questions, and studies. The case study researcher aims to identify the unique features of each case study, and to show how these features affect the implementation of systems and influence the way an organisation operates (Bell, 1987:11).

At the planning stage of the research, the extra-mural department at my university had links with three archaeological projects, and all of these had an “instance” in common. Although no two heritage sites or museums will ever be the same, all of them had applied for funding to develop their sites. All three can be described as sites of local importance, rather than regionally or nationally important sites. At least two of these case studies were planning to open new

exhibitions to the public during the course of the research. I would therefore have the opportunity to closely observe the process of producing a public exhibition of archaeology, and investigate the processes that were involved. The strong links with my department at the university would help to minimise any problems of access to the sites, and to the key personnel who were involved in the projects.

However, one of the sites that I had originally chosen raised ethical issues. I was to discover later that all of them, in different ways, raised similar dilemmas.

2. Ethical Issues

2.1. Researching the Known

An ethical predicament surfaced, as I knew some of the key personnel who were involved at one of the case studies. As an undergraduate, I had been involved in the initial clearance and excavation at the site, and the key contact at this case study had been my lecturer. She had been very supportive during my years as a student. This could be regarded as an advantage in the research, in that a high degree of trust had already been established between us, and I was familiar with the background to the project. However, if I were going to undertake critical research, I would need to examine the interests, concerns and agenda of the key contacts. If they were to be part of my investigation, I might be torn between my loyalty to them as colleagues, and my loyalty to the research. I felt uncomfortable with this, and thought that it would be much easier to investigate

a case study where I did not have any prior knowledge of the people who were involved.

Therefore, I decided to change the case study where I felt I had the most personal involvement, and find another site where I did not know any of the key officials, and there was no link with the university. The alternative case study that was chosen also involved an application for funding, it was a local site, and displayed archaeology to the public.

I established contact at this case study, secured access, and have enjoyed a good working relationship with the personnel responsible for the management of this new site, as well as with some of the visitors. However, with the benefit of hindsight, I now feel that changing my original research plan might not have been a wise move. The initial funding application at the new site was refused by the HLF. Ultimately, this more “objective” case study research was the least “in depth” of the three. I did not become as closely involved with this case study as I did with the others, and the level of trust between us was not as high.

This may be because there were no formal or informal links with my university. I had not carried out any research at the site or its surrounding area prior to this investigation, as I had at the other two sites. In the analysis, I found that it was less easy to contextualise the data within this organisation. However, this was through no fault of the individuals in this new organisation, who were always welcoming and co-operative.

On the other hand, the surveys and interviews with the visitors at this new site yielded rich data. Other data from this case study was particularly valuable in theorising the relationships between organisations and volunteers. Furthermore, the new case study also provided another point of comparison, as it was owned and managed by a Trust, whereas the other two sites were owned and managed by local authorities.

However, I was still left with the problem of “researching the known” at the other two case studies. At one, although I did not know the contacts very well at the outset, I developed close working relationships with them during the research. Whilst carrying out the fieldwork, I found myself working alongside one of the partners, in my role as a tutor at the university. Clearly, I had been naïve to expect that I could avoid these ethical issues in the research.

There is a silence in the literature about researching people who are friends and acquaintances. However, Blaxter *et al* note that being both an insider, having been accepted by the individuals, groups or institutions, and also being an outsider is an awkward position for the researcher:

However well you are accepted, you will still not be one of them.

You may become a member of their group for a time, but you will simultaneously be operating as an external observer and analyst of the group’s activities. The dual roles of stranger and colleague, of insider and outsider, can be difficult to manage and sustain psychologically.

(Blaxter *et al*, 1996:166)

I felt that there were several ways that I could manage such dilemmas. I have attempted to separate my role of a researcher from my role as a colleague and friend. At times, this has been difficult, sometimes it has been impossible. However, when analysing the data, I was able to distance myself from individuals through focusing on discourses, rather than individual personalities. The concept of discourse is defined later in this chapter.

2.2. Anonymity and Trust

To protect the research subjects, I have not identified any of the case studies. However, the anonymity of the case studies was more difficult to put into place than it first appeared, and raises two important issues:

- It has meant withholding some information from the thesis that might identify organisations, institutions or individuals. This has resulted in a thesis that is not as open and explicit as I would have wished.
- Anonymity denies others the opportunity to knowingly repeat this research at the same case studies in the future.

However, I feel that these actions have been necessary in order to protect the research subjects, and to conduct the research in an ethical way. In the thesis, I will refer to the three case studies as the garden site, the small museum and the redevelopment project.

Paradoxically, two people that I interviewed were unhappy with the concept of their anonymous status. One interviewee said that she was quite happy to be identified, and seemed a little disgruntled because her name would not appear in the text. Another informant said that he was not at all sure if he wanted to be interviewed, if his name was not included. However, I insisted on anonymity, and assured him that this was part of the ethical approach to research in the social sciences.

As part of my research practice, I wrote and asked this interviewee to check and approve the transcript of the interview, and alter any part of it that he was not happy with. When he returned this to me, he also enclosed a letter, in which he made it clear that he wished to remain anonymous. He included another proviso: he gave permission for the corrected transcript to be used in the thesis provided all of the informal wording of the transcript would be put into formal prose, using my own words.

During another interview, although I had assured the respondent of his anonymity in the research, he added at one point during the interview:

You understand, I am being very, very frank indeed. I may regret having said some of these things. But I think you need to be in the picture. I trust you implicitly.

(Interview 3)

To be trusted by respondents is a privilege, but it also brings a burden of responsibility. Therefore, shortly after carrying out each interview, I sent each

respondent two copies of the transcript, with a letter thanking them for their time, and asking them to alter anything with which they were not happy. I also asked them to add anything that they felt was relevant. I included a stamped-addressed envelope and asked them to send one approved copy back to me, and asked them to keep the other copy. One of the interviewees took some months to return this to me. I rang to ask if there was a problem. I was told that the transcript had been sent to the organisation's lawyer, to make sure that there was nothing in it that could be wrongly construed. It was returned shortly afterwards, with minor amendments. Individuals can be particularly careful with their words.

Nevertheless, participants have little control over the ways in which their words are interpreted and presented to others. This remains a matter of trusting the researcher. Since then, I have been haunted by the words "I trust you implicitly" (Interview 3), particularly when writing about people who knew me so little, yet who trusted me so much, and whose words have provided such rich data for this research.

3. The Analytical Framework

Foucault's notion of discourse is a central theme in this study and is defined and discussed in this section. I have also drawn heavily on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which is outlined in section 2.3.2.

3.1. Discourse

Foucault defines discourse as follows:

We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation; it does not form a rhetorical or formal unity, endlessly repeatable, whose appearance or use in history might be indicated (and, if necessary, explained); it is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined.

(Foucault, 1972:117)

Thus, different cultural groups, such as archaeologists, have their own discourses, or groups of statements that are accepted within that particular group. For Foucault, discourses are not linguistic systems, or merely texts. They are practices, like the scientific discourse of psychoanalysis and its institutional, philosophical and scientific levels. By analysing statements, single units which constitute a discursive formation, it is possible to see their constraints, and where they situate the speaker (Horrocks and Jevtic, 1997:86). Questions about what constitutes an “authentic” presentation of archaeology therefore become questions about whose discourse is privileged, rather than whether one or another presentation constitutes a “true” representation. In other words, as Scarborough claims, in discourse analysis, the emphasis slips from truth to value, and from epistemology to production and distribution (1996:31).

Edwards contends that discourse analysis places emphasis on the oppressive consequences of assuming knowledge to be universal, that is, true for everyone across time and in all settings. The meaning of language is held to be contingent on the specific contexts in which it is constituted. There are constant processes of constructing different meanings from the same texts. The assumptions within such texts, the issues they exclude and marginalise from legitimate debate, and the consequences of the acceptances of what they construct as “true”, become the subject of analysis. Which discourses are most powerful, and how they frame practices, also become significant questions (Edwards, 1997:7).

The question of whose voice is heard, and the ways in which some discourses are privileged over others, are the central philosophical questions for this thesis. This involves an inquiry into “... who is setting the agenda, how and what those agenda are, and where and how these are contested” (Edwards, 1997:7). Thus, questions about current agenda and values shift to questions about the power of various contemporary discourses.

Ideas about power and knowledge are central to Foucault’s work. Traditional views of power treat it as a commodity, to be held by an organisation, or group, or individual, so power is to be acquired, and one group holds power over another (Baxter, 1996:85). As Baxter states, Foucault proposes an alternative view, when he talks of power as a condition that reproduces specific organisational discourses, which in turn have the effect of constituting knowledge in that organisation (1996:85). Foucault does not believe that the

question of “who exercises power?” can be resolved unless that other question “how does it happen?” is resolved at the same time (Foucault, 1988:103).

In his later work, Foucault acknowledges that in the Western industrialised societies, the questions about who exercises power, how and on whom, are certainly questions that people feel most strongly about. However, although such questions are fundamental, Foucault claims that this is not the important issue (1988:103):

... even if we reach the point of designating exactly all those people, all those “decision-makers”, we will still not really know why and how the decision was made, how it came to be accepted by everybody, and how it is that it hurts a particular category of person...

(Foucault, 1988:103-104)

Therefore, the relationships between the individual and the strategies, networks and mechanisms of power become important questions for this research.

One limitation of emphasising discourses and structures in society is that little attention is given to the role of the individual. For example, individual and group processes were not investigated in this research, and these may be particularly important within partnerships. Partnerships are, after all, teams of people working together, to achieve a common aim, but people do not always like each other, or work together well. According to some theorists (Tuckman, 1965, Belbin, 1981) this can be attributed to individual personality “types”, or to

particular stages in the development of a group. However, such frameworks are designed to investigate and facilitate practices at the micro-level, and largely ignore the embedded structures of the practices themselves (see Bourdieu, 1977:81).

Although this research did not set out to address the influence of individual actions, or the way that individuals can influence decision-making, in the light of the research, I will suggest ways in which partnership processes can be facilitated. However, the central issues for this research are to uncover the practices and structures that support certain ways of working, and to theorise how these structures influence the interpretation and dissemination of knowledge about archaeology.

3.2. Habitus

In this study, I challenge the norms and assumptions in individual and collective practices and actions. To theorise the interests, concerns and agenda of the subjects of the research, I have found resonance with Bourdieu's notion of habitus. For Bourdieu, the habitus is a system of durable but changeable dispositions through which we perceive the world, make judgements, and act in the everyday world.

In short, the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history.

(Bourdieu, 1977:82)

Bourdieu states that we have awareness that some, but not all, of this exists. Thus, for example, the habitus acquired in the family underlies the structuring of school experiences (in particular, the reception and assimilation of the pedagogic message). The habitus transformed by schooling in turn underlies the structuring of all subsequent experiences, for example, the reception and assimilation of the messages of the culture industry, or experiences at work (1977:87). The homogeneity of habitus causes practices and works to be immediately intelligible and foreseeable, and hence taken for granted (Bourdieu, 1977:80):

... the habitus could be considered as a subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception and action common to all members of the same group or class ...

(Bourdieu, 1977:88)

Within the habitus, the subjective and the objective come together, for example, through the relationship between the length of time an individual spends in education, and the resultant personality, individuality, or habitus, of that individual. Bourdieu claims that habitus is laid down in the earliest upbringing of individuals, and involves "...their mastery of a common code" (1977:81), for example, through competence in language. Therefore, through researching the interests, agenda and concerns of research subjects, I am investigating the habitus of those subjects, or the:

... socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structure, and the socially structured situation in which agents' *interests* are defined ...

(Bourdieu, 1977:76)

However, challenging the practices of organisations and institutions, and questioning the habitus of individuals, is only a partial solution to the ethical dilemmas discussed earlier in this chapter. However carefully I try to conceal the identity of the organisations and individuals in this account of the research, they are likely to recognise themselves. They might disagree with what I have said about their organisations, and their roles in the projects and partnerships. After all their co-operation, kind hospitality, personal honesty, the time they have given to me in their busy lives, and the risks they have taken through allowing me to research them and their organisations, I am aware that they might not be receptive to critique of their habitus, and their working practices. I might lose trusted acquaintances, or even friends.

Taking Bourdieu's social capital theory into account (1997:47), a perceived lack of mutual reciprocation on my part might be theorised as a threat to the accumulation of my social capital amongst the local heritage fraternity. Such a response would not be without justification, as organisations and institutions – or groups of any kind – are not objective entities, but are made up of individuals, with thoughts and feelings. It is therefore difficult to aim critique at the collective level without this being interpreted by others as criticism of the individuals who make up the group or organisation. Here, I will make it clear that it is the discourses and the habitus of the individuals, organisations and

institutions that are the subjects of my research. Any perceived personal criticism of individuals is unintentional.

3.3. Reciprocation

I felt, and still feel, greatly indebted to the people and organisations who had agreed to take part in the research, and I wanted to thank them in some practical way. At the very least, I felt that I should disseminate the results of this research to them, in a format that would be useful to them, particularly as reciprocation is theorised by Bourdieu as necessary for the maintenance of social networks (1977:180). Some questions were therefore included in the surveys for the benefit of the organisations, rather than for the benefit of this research. Two of the organisations wanted to know whether their marketing material had been successful in bringing people to the sites. All of them were anxious to find out how the visitors knew about the exhibitions. Where such questions are relevant to the research, they are included in the results and analysis.

As part of the process of conducting ethical research, drafts of the survey questionnaires were forwarded to the organisations for formal approval prior to the surveys. The dates for the surveys were agreed beforehand with each of the three organisations. Shortly after completing each survey, I produced a detailed report of the results of the surveys for the organisations concerned, which included the raw data gathered, a full analysis, a discussion of the results, and my recommendations for developing the site for adult learners.

4. Research Design and Instruments

The research strategy that was submitted to the funding organisation in May 2001 is set out in Table 3.

Table 3: Research Strategy

Level	Categories for analysis	Source	Sample Size
1. Policy as espoused	Identify concepts and constraints: heritage/ conservation/education	Government documents and academic discourse	Last ten years
2. Policy as enacted	a) Response to policy as Espoused b) Conservation values of stakeholders c) Educational policy at site	Three different case studies Taped interviews	Two key personnel at each site (one at director, one at implementation level) <i>(6 in all)</i>
3. Policy as experienced	a) Response to policy as enacted b) Conservation values of visitors c) The learning experience	75 individuals Questionnaire survey	25 questionnaires at each case study <i>(75 in all)</i>

4.1. The Timescale

The research was scheduled to take place over a three-year period. The first year involved research training and foundational studies in Continuing Education. I also began to study the literature on heritage sites and museums. During this time, I carried out informal pilot studies to investigate suitable

methods for investigating the project, including a focus group, a small-scale visitor survey, and a taped interview with a local authority manager who was responsible for heritage, and a small visitor survey. Towards the end of the first year, I designed and submitted the research proposal for funding to carry out the research.

Following this successful application, fieldwork continued throughout the second year, and extended fieldwork was carried out during the final year (Table 4).

Table 4: Timescale for the Research

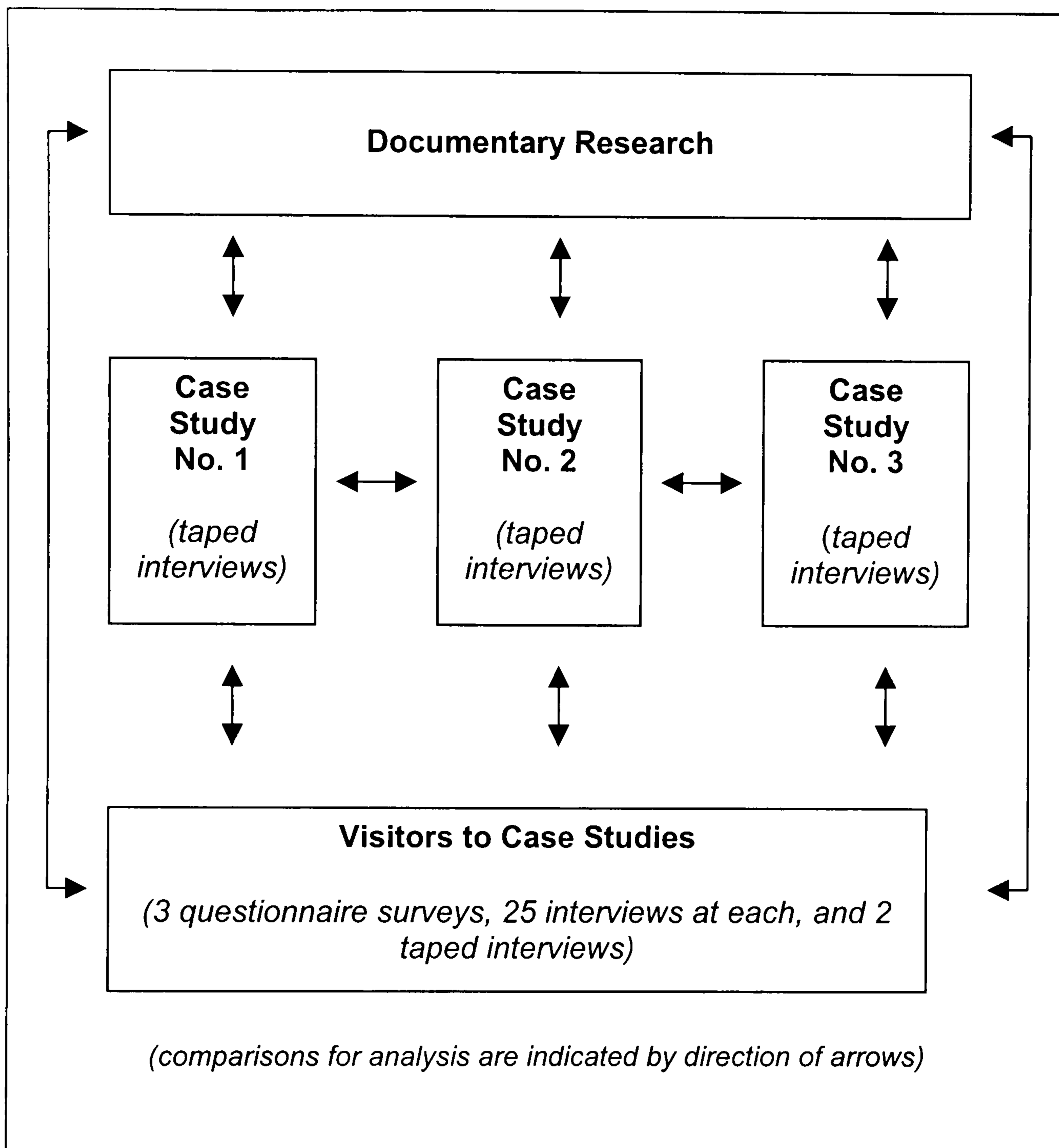
Elements of Research Project	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Foundation Studies in CE/Research Methods	_____		
Literature review	_____	— — — —	
Pilot Study of questionnaires and interviews		—	
Thesis design and fieldwork		_____	
Reports on case studies for organisations		— — —	
Analysis and writing			_____
Submission			—

The documentary research sample size was extended to focus on the last twenty years.

4.2. Final Research Design

The final research design is shown in Figure 1 and illustrates how the study was planned at three investigative levels: policy, organisations and visitors.

Figure 1: Research Design and Methods



4.3. Investigating Organisations: Interviews

The interview method can be a very useful technique for collecting data, which would be unlikely to be accessible using other techniques, such as observation or questionnaires (Blaxter *et al*, 1996:153). Much of the methodological literature on interviewing deals with the nuances of producing data that is “uncontaminated” by the researcher (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997:113). For

example, there are different ways to raise questions, and various devices to encourage open communication. Most of these techniques rely upon interviewer and question neutrality (1997:116).

However, sensitivity to representational matters, characteristic of ethnomethodological poststructuralist, postmodernist, and constructionist inquiry, has raised a number of questions about collecting knowledge in this way (1997:113).

In various ways, these perspectives hold that meaning is socially constituted. All knowledge is created from the actions undertaken to obtain it.

(Holstein and Gubrium, 1997:113)

Holstein and Gubrium claim that understanding how the meaning making process unfolds in the interview is as critical as apprehending what is substantively asked and conveyed. The “hows” of interviewing refer to the interactional, narrative procedures of knowledge production, not merely to interview techniques. The “whats” pertain to the issues guiding the interview, the content of the questions, and the substantive information communicated by the respondent (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997:114). Thus, all participants in an interview are inevitably implicated in meaning-making (1997:126).

Thus, the challenge of the interview method is to show how interview responses are produced in the interaction between interviewer and respondent, without

losing sight of the meanings produced, or the circumstances that condition the meaning-making process (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997:127). In the presentation, analysis and discussion of the results, close attention is given to these issues.

4.4. Design and Implementation of the Interview Questionnaires

A structured, open-ended interview questionnaire was produced for each organisation prior to the interview. The questions were designed to produce data on the following issues:

- The role of the individual in the organisation, and his/her interests and concerns.
- The individual's perceptions of the function and role of the site.
- The way the organisations operated, for example through a formal or informal partnership with other organisations.
- The management structure of the organisation.
- The level of expertise available to the organisation.
- The decision-making process.
- Whether any particular policies or practices raised difficulties.
- The philosophy and practices of the organisation concerning:
 - (a) The conservation of the site and its artefacts.
 - (b) Public education at the site.

The interviews were tape-recorded, so that I would be free to concentrate on the interview. However, tape-recording may make respondents anxious, and less likely to reveal confidential information (Blaxter *et al*, 1996:154). Certainly, I

noticed that interviewees tended to change their normal free, unconstrained way of communicating with me to more formal, considered speech as soon as the tape-recorder was switched on. Some of the most revealing conversations that I had with the interviewees occurred after the tape recorder had been switched off. In such cases, I wrote notes at the first opportunity.

One interviewee, although he had agreed to take part in a taped interview, appeared to be uncomfortable with the idea. He always chose a particularly noisy place to meet, and promised to find somewhere quieter for our next meeting. I felt that he was using evasive tactics, which made it impractical to tape-record our discussions. I therefore took notes both during and immediately after my interviews with him. I transcribed these afterwards, and sent them to him for amendment and approval.

Further unrecorded discussions took place concerning some of the issues that arose during the fieldwork. Written notes were kept of telephone conversations and discussions, and copies of e-mails were retained. Also, informal discussions continued with the contacts at the case studies after the taped interviews had taken place. For practical reasons, I did not always take notes during these interviews. For example, one discussion took place while we were on top of a large spoil-heap in the middle of a redevelopment site. I also discussed the project with others in the case study organisations. For example, informal discussions were held concerning the educational aspects of the projects with some of the staff and volunteers who acted as educators and guides at the sites. Notes were kept of these discussions.

The great advantage of the tape-recorded interviews was that I could transcribe the discussions afterwards to a verbatim record for analysis. However, the first, verbatim transcript that I sent was returned to me, carefully punctuated, with all the grammar and phrasing of our conversation amended to read as conventional written text. To save these busy executives time, I therefore punctuated the interview transcripts, and corrected any grammatical errors prior to sending them to the interviewees. However, I feel that these amended transcripts lose some of the spontaneity of the original discussions, although I was able to refer to the raw data on the tape-recording.

4.5. Investigating Visitors: The Questionnaire Surveys

To understand the social profile of visitor that came to the museum or heritage site, to investigate what they had learned about the material that was presented, and for comparison with earlier surveys in museums, I needed to collect data about the visitors to the case study sites. This included:

- The social profiles of the visitors.
- Their reasons for visiting the exhibition.
- Their responses to the exhibition.
- Their learning experiences.
- Their attitudes and values concerning the archaeology that was presented.

I felt that a questionnaire survey would be the most appropriate method, supported by my own observations. The aim of a survey is to obtain information, which can be analysed and patterns extracted and comparisons

made (Bell, 1987:13). Typically, surveys seek information about the respondent's own behaviour and experiences, values and attitudes, personal characteristics and social circumstances (Hakim, 1987:52).

Many researchers in the heritage field have relied on this method of data collection (for example, Chadwick, 1980, Merriman, 1991, McCrone *et al*, 1995). However, there is a limit to the data that can be gathered through questionnaires. Measuring the social class of visitors is unlikely to shed light on what they have learned, or their attitudes and values. Clearly, a more flexible research method is needed. I decided to use a structured interview questionnaire, with both open and closed questions, and to interview the visitors myself.

There was a need to balance the length of the questionnaire with the constraints of time. The questionnaire could not be too long, as I needed to interview enough visitors to present valid comparisons of data. Also, visitors might be unwilling to participate in a protracted interview. Although the questionnaire for each case study was three pages long, informal testing of the questionnaires indicated that each interview could be carried out within approximately seven minutes. During the informal pilot studies, I had found that some visitors were happy to talk for much longer, sometimes for too long. To avoid this, I devised a number of strategies that would not cause offence, if I had to terminate the interviews.

4.6. Key Variables

Key variables were selected so that the data from the three case studies could be compared. These were: age, gender, ethnicity, occupational type (employed, retired, unemployed or full-time student), length of residence in the area, the reasons for the visit, the distance that visitors had travelled to the exhibition and the frequency of their visits to heritage sites, museums or historic buildings. The visitors were also asked whether they had come alone, with family or friends, or were accompanied by children. After the first survey, I decided to include occupational type in the questionnaire, to discover whether this linked with other variables. However, questions to highlight the visitors' learning experiences during the visit, and their values, were more problematic to formulate.

4.7. Investigating Learning

Within the context of an interview survey, it is difficult to frame questions to investigate the learning experience. Umiker-Seboek provides a useful summary of contemporary methods for investigating learning in museums (1994:1). He states that the dominant model of museum evaluation, developed over the last twenty years, is based on behaviourist and cognitive models adopted for museum research via sociology and psychology (1994:1). He claims that currently, there is the beginning of a critical shift towards:

- The active, contextualised process of interpretation.
- An enactive approach to cognition, where visitors are not viewed as passive "interpreters".

- An appreciation of the storied nature of thought and communication. The use of both verbal and non-verbal narratives provides contrasting “views” of visitors’ experiences.
- Recognition of the dialogic nature of self and meaning.
- A view of the production of meaning as cultural work.
- Affirmation of the multi-functional nature of museums.
- Recognition of the impact of different cognitive styles on the museum experiences.

(Umiker-Seboek 1992:2-4)

Clearly, researching the learning of visitors is far from a straightforward enterprise, and there are a variety of methodological approaches and methods on offer. Some researchers have focused on observational studies of data recorded on video to study the behaviour of visitors in exhibitions. These rely on the relationship between observable behaviour and learning. For example, Dierking (1988) used observational studies of visitors in museums to investigate the interactive, social nature of learning.

In practical terms, I found that the opportunities for observing visitors and their interactions with the exhibits, the staff, and the other people in their group, were very limited when I was carrying out interviews as well. Nevertheless, when time permitted, I observed the visitors’ actions and reactions to the exhibitions, and made notes. These provided valuable contextual and supporting data for the analysis. Certain observations were followed up during the interviews (for example, “I noticed that you were looking at the map...”) and these were used to

formulate other questions relating to the visitors' learning during the interview surveys. I also asked those whom I had observed whether they had any objection to the use of my notes in the research. Nobody objected.

On balance, I feel that the use of observation is a useful supporting method for a visitor survey. One problem with interview surveys is their reliance on the response of the visitor. I have found that visitors can stubbornly insist that they have not learned anything, despite contradictory observational data. During the pilot studies, visitors frequently responded to questions about their learning by saying: "Oh, I didn't come to learn." Possibly, they might resist the idea of learning in their leisure time, or they may associate learning with a more formal environment. Furthermore, for some people, the word "learning" may have negative associations with prior experiences at school.

The following examples illustrate these difficulties. At one of the case study sites, there was a large map on the exhibition wall. When I asked the visitors whether they understood the maps, most of them replied that they had. However, only one visitor noticed that this particular map had been hung upside down. Some of these people had not even looked at the maps. Others had merely glanced at them and passed by. The respondents may have been trying to give the answer that they thought I wanted, or may have been reluctant to admit that they had not spent enough time studying the map. Perhaps this is the equivalent of admitting that you have "not done your homework". Observing people as they passed the map confirmed the initial conclusion from the first few responses to the survey. Few visitors paused for long enough to read it, let alone to understand the material.

Another example shows how the reverse can occur. After a recent excavation with our Open Studies students, we decided to open the site to the people in the village for a day. One of the students carried out a visitor survey, to evaluate the success of the Open Day. She asked a visitor whether he had learned anything. He replied that he had not. However, I had met him earlier, and he had known nothing about the feature that I was interpreting for the visitors – a medieval drain. He had not known what the feature was, and could not even guess what it might be, when he came to the exhibition. I had spent some time with him, discussing how we think that medieval drains were constructed and the possible purposes of this particular drain. He had seemed fascinated by the idea, and had suggested some ideas about the reasons for its construction. Yet, he had told the interviewer that he had learned nothing during his visit. However, he certainly knew more about medieval drains than before he had come.

Gathering meaningful data about learning needs to be approached in a more creative way than asking a direct question. In the research, open questions were designed to investigate whether:

- The visitor had understood the interpretation. Had the visitor read the text, observed or discussed the artefact with anyone?
- The exhibition or artefacts had changed the perspective or the understanding of the visitor in some way.
- The exhibition or artefacts had prompted interest in the visitor.

I found the following questions most useful in the interview surveys, as they prompted discussions about what the visitors had learned, without asking a direct question:

- What do you think of the illustrations and/or the text?
- Which part of the exhibition did you find most interesting? Why do you say this?
- Did anything surprise you about (name an important exhibit)?
- Would you like to learn more about (the history of the area/named artefact)?

I felt that responses to such questions would also give some indication of the values of the visitors concerning the archaeology that was presented. In the analysis, the values of the visitors were compared with the values of the key executives in the organisations who chose the exhibits, to discover whether these were the same, or different.

4.8. Sampling Method

Concerning sampling size, Borun *et al* state that "...25 randomly-selected visitors can give a good idea of what's going on" (1996:219). I feel that this represented a manageable number of interviews to carry out at each case study, and would allow sufficient time for discussions with each visitor.

The first visitor was chosen at random. After each interview, I approached the next person who was leaving the exhibition. During the interviews, I spent between ten minutes and an hour in discussions with the visitors. As a result of

the survey, further in-depth, taped interviews with two of the participants took place at their homes. These taped interviews were transcribed and analysed, and are included in the results.

In order to standardise the data across the case studies, each visitor survey took place at the weekend. Two of the surveys were carried out on a Saturday. However, the third site was only open on alternate Sunday afternoons and to complete the necessary number of interviews, the survey continued over a period of two consecutive Sundays.

During my previous discussions with the key officials at this site, it had been pointed out that this exhibition became very crowded with visitors when it was raining. The museum was the only place in the immediate area that offered shelter. However, the weather was fine during all of the surveys. Therefore, the data excludes visitors who may have come into the exhibition merely to avoid the rain.

As the number of questionnaires was relatively small, analysis of the data was carried out manually.

4.9. Primary Analysis of the Taped Interviews

As Perakyla notes, there is no single, coherent set of “qualitative methods” applicable in all analysis of texts, talk and interaction. Rather, there are a number of different sets of methods available. However, the question of objectivity is relevant for all of these methods. In research practice, enhancing

objectivity is a very concrete activity (1997:201). Therefore, I carried out the detailed analysis of the taped interviews several months after they had taken place, in order to be able to “stand back” from the data more easily.

I read each transcript, and highlighted what I felt were the main themes and the significant statements in each. Then, I removed all the references to organisations and individuals in the transcripts and produced further copies. To cross-check my work, I asked two other people (a business manager and a second-year law student) to analyse the unmarked transcripts, and to identify the key issues that they felt were important. Although both of them are members of my family, neither of them had any direct connection with a heritage organisation or museum, or with social research. We all identified the same main themes, but they also highlighted some key statements that I had missed.

After identifying concepts, themes and key statements, the data had to be organised into a manageable and useful form for both secondary analysis and presentation. A cognitive map was produced for each transcript, to allow each interview to be summarised on a single page for presentation and comparison. Although cognitive mapping, or mind mapping, has many uses, it is rarely used in the analysis of social research. However, Inglis used this method to “map” the attitude of stakeholders in a town centre management project for her MBA (1996).

Cognitive mapping is attributed to Tolman (1948), who used maps to describe experiments in which rats were trained to follow a complex path to a food box. The maps tracked the rats’ turns and changes of direction. On the basis of the

data, Tolman argued that the rat had acquired a mental map of where the food was located (1948:204). Buzan suggests that the mind map can be applied to every aspect of life where improved learning and clearer thinking will enhance human performance (1993:39). Such mind maps allow the identification and analysis of many elements all at once, "... thus increasing the probability of creative association and integration, and raising the probability of gaining new insights" (1993:164).

Buzan's version of the mind map has four characteristics:

- The subject of attention is crystallised in a central image.
- The main themes of the subject radiate from the central image as branches.
- Branches comprise a key image or key word printed on an associated line. Topics of lesser importance are also represented as branches attached to higher level branches.
- The branches form a connected nodal structure.

(Buzan, 1993:59)

In the analysis, I have adapted Buzan's version of cognitive mapping to incorporate phrases, rather than single words. The key concepts are colour-coded, to allow similarities and differences in the interviews to be easily identified, and drawn together in the second analysis.

These, together with the data from the literature review, policy research, the visitor surveys and observational notes, provided the basis for my narrative of the events and processes that took place during the research.

4.10. Presentation of the Results

I have presented the data and the primary analysis of the three case studies separately, in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The data is presented, wherever possible, in the same order that the research was undertaken. I have started each chapter with a brief description of the site, giving as much background information as is possible, without compromising the anonymity of the sites, or the identity of the respondents. This has necessarily resulted in somewhat vague descriptions of the location of the sites, and the material presented in the exhibitions.

The context of the interviews, and my relationship with the interviewees, are then summarised. The cognitive map of the interview data and my narrative of the interview follow this. Although I have included citations from the promotional literature and other documents that were given to me by the executives in the organisations, to preserve the anonymity of the case studies, these are not referenced.

Each of the three results chapters ends with an analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (or a SWOT analysis) of each project, which is used as the basis for a short discussion and summary of the features of each case study.

4.11. Secondary Analysis of the Data

The secondary analysis of the data from the visitor surveys is presented in Chapter 7. This includes a comparison of two exhibitions that were held at the small museum. In Chapter 8, the data on partnerships is drawn together, and is linked with the themes from the visitor surveys and the taped interviews with the visitors.

I will now present the results of the research.

Chapter 4: The Garden Site

1. The Site

The garden site is situated in a suburban area, within ten miles of the centre of a major town. It comprises approximately 10 acres of historic walled gardens, which have been gradually restored over the past twenty years. The site is listed as Grade II*, and is held on a long lease by a charitable trust, who are responsible for its management. The gardens have been open to the public for over fifteen years. The adjacent historic house and its surrounding gardens, were originally part of the estate, but are in private ownership and have no public access.

It is open from April until the end of October from Tuesday to Thursday, from 1.30 p.m. – 4.30 p.m. It is closed to the public on Mondays and Fridays. On Saturdays, Sundays and Bank Holiday Mondays it is open from 2.00 p.m. until 6.00 p.m. There is an entrance fee (Adults £3.00, Senior Citizens £2.00 and Children £1), that includes a guided tour, but this needs to be booked in advance. Refreshments are available for visitors in a portacabin. Meals can be arranged for larger parties (maximum of 50 visitors). There is a small shop area in a corner of the portacabin. A number of special events are arranged throughout the season, such as plant sales, a car boot sale, open-air drama performances, musical evenings and special Christmas events.

The Trust employs three full-time gardeners and three part-time office staff. Approximately 120 volunteers carry out the rest of the work.

1.1. The Interpretation Scheme

Careful attention has been paid to the detailed restoration of the garden as it would have been at a particular point in history. Many of the archaeological features of the garden, such as terracing and walls, remain largely unaltered, and over the years, various features of the garden, such as walks, gazebos, parterres, the kitchen gardens and the walkways, have been integrated. Wherever possible, original varieties of plants are grown that are contemporary with the period of the garden, and original landscaping materials are used. However, some of the materials that are used for the pathways can be difficult to negotiate for wheelchair-users, particularly in wet weather.

Apart from the guided tours that are included in the entry price, visitors can purchase a small booklet that describes the site. Other publications produced by the organisation are on sale in the shop area, for under a pound. These include leaflets about historical recipes and remedies, and a guide to pruning trees and shrubs. Other, more expensive, publications about the history of the site and the surrounding area are also on sale in the shop.

Unobtrusive signs are placed around the site describing some of its features. In the gardens, signs at waist- or shoulder height identify some of the more unusual varieties of plants that are grown.

1.2. Management Policy and Structure

The Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Trust state that, in the long term, its aim is to reunite the whole gardens and parkland. The object of the Trust is to promote the permanent preservation and restoration of the gardens, including any structures and buildings, for the benefit and education of the public generally.

In the policy statement and aims, restoration takes precedence over “re-creation” (i.e. rebuilding), funds permitting. This is an important distinction. Restoration involves working from original drawings or models that represent the supposed original form of the features, but re-creation is carried out without reference to such evidence. Concerning the management of the archaeology at the site:

- For the purposes of restoration, archaeological evidence shall be taken into account.
- Existing ground levels should generally take priority over archaeological evidence.
- In the first instance, all other archaeological evidence should be preserved “*in-situ*”.

(Volunteers' Handbook)

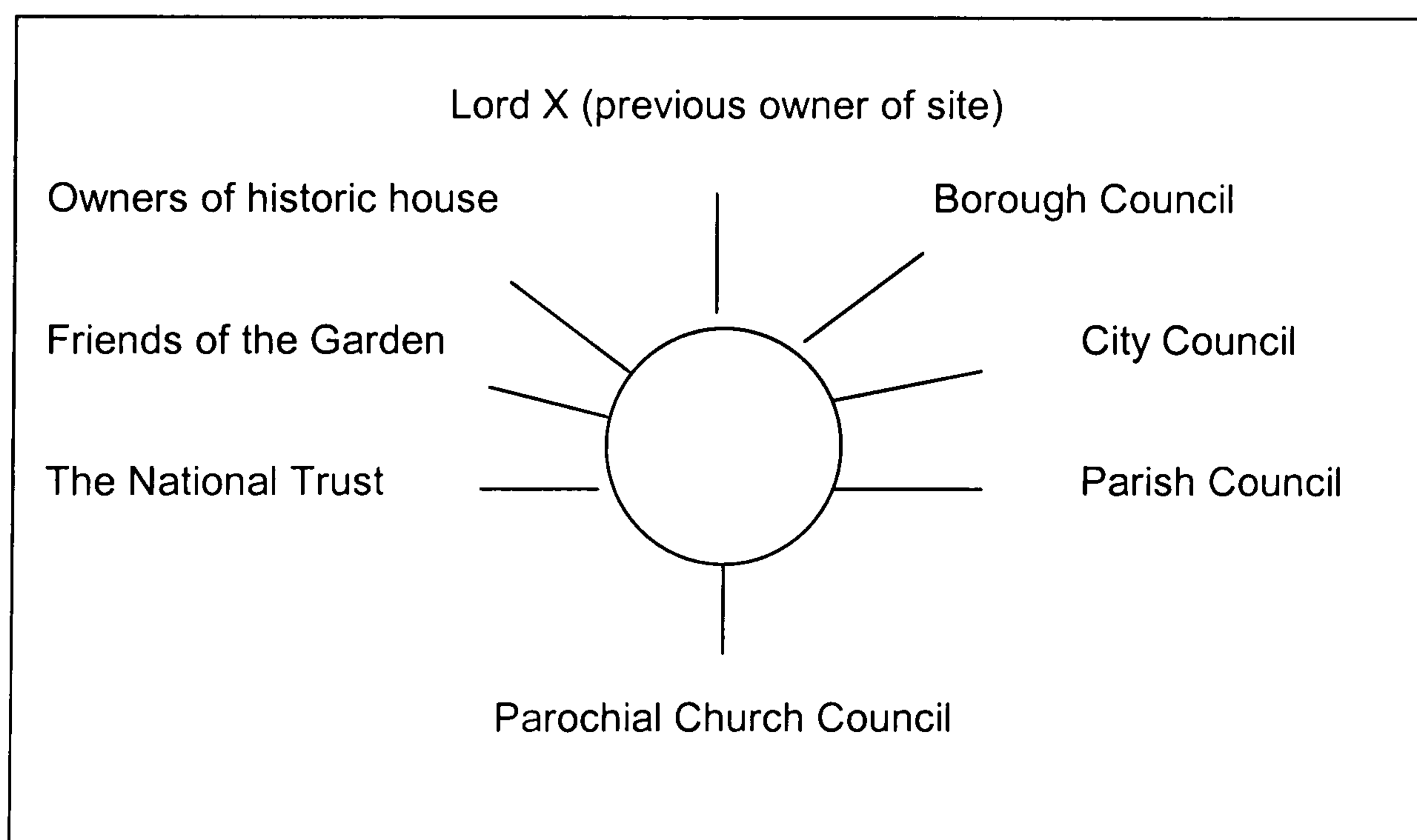
However, the first two of these directives are contradictory. If archaeological evidence is taken into account in restoration work, then this may involve alterations to existing ground levels. Fortunately, another directive states:

The Restoration/Recreation policy shall be reviewed every five years by an appropriate committee, subcommittee, or person or persons designated by the Trust with a major review every ten years.

(Volunteers' Handbook)

The 17 trustees are responsible for the major policymaking decisions, and meet annually. They include representatives from the Church Council, the Parish Council, two Borough Councils and a representative from the owners of the adjacent historic house. The Executive Committee meets approximately five times a year. The primary stakeholders are identified in Figure 2.

Figure 2: The Garden Site: Primary Stakeholders
(identified from documentary evidence)



The interviewees agreed that the Executive Committee was the major policymaking body in the organisation, and added that: “The trustees’ Annual Meeting is a bit of a rubber-stamp.” All of the trustees are on the Executive

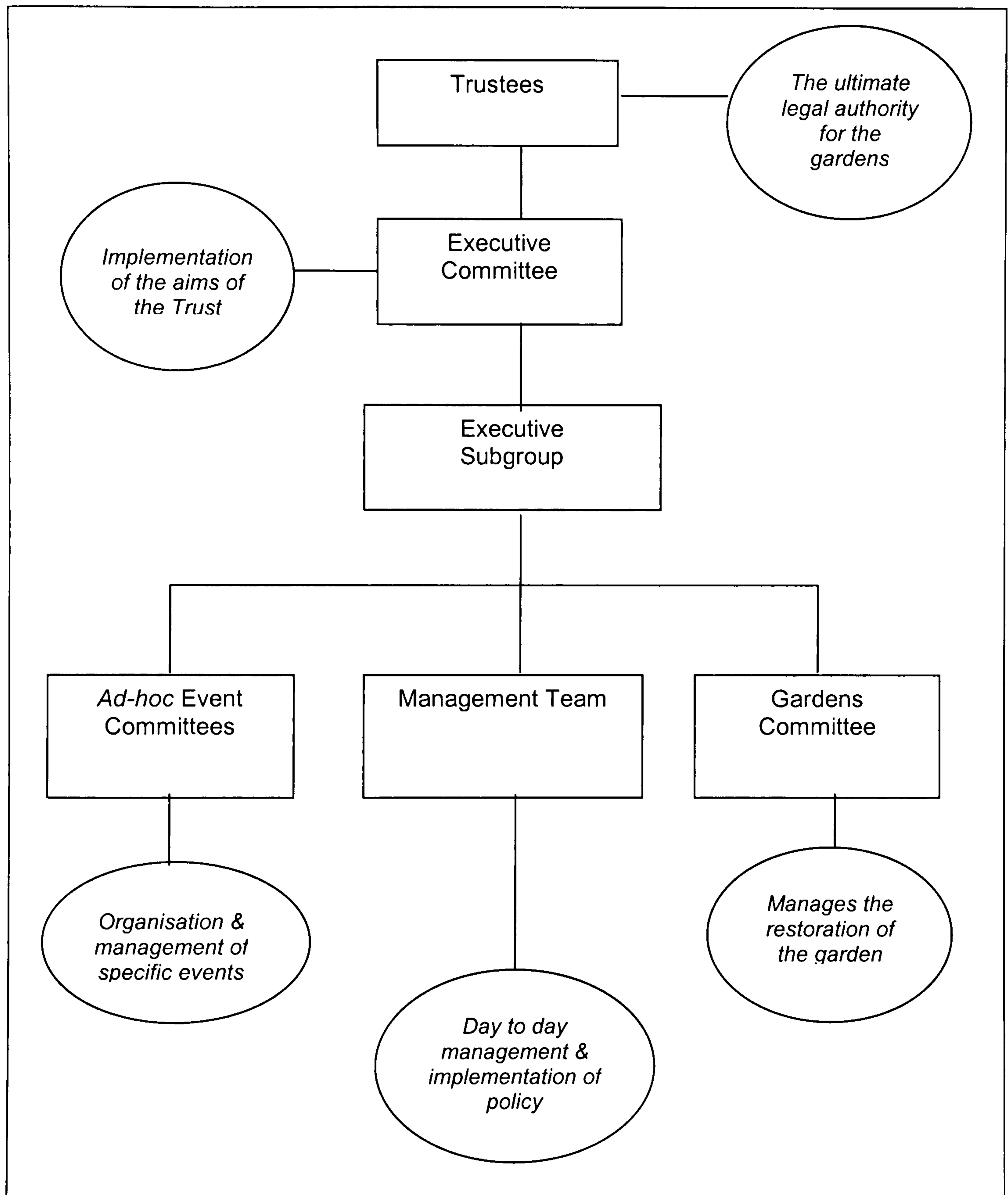
Committee, which meets five times a year. This Committee includes people with expertise that the Trustees do not have, such as a representative from the NT, and a local government Legal Officer and a Planning Officer. The implementation of the day-to-day running of the Trust is carried out under the direction of the Management Team. This group was meeting on the afternoon of my visit:

Well, it's just the day-to-day. The Management Team is the Head Gardener, it's myself, it's the Guides Co-ordinator, the Shop Supervisor, the Visitor Centre Supervisor. As I said, it's... just the same as the planning routine would be in a company, the heads of departments meeting together on a fairly regular basis to discuss the nuts and bolts. When are we going to fix that broken gate, and by the way, the volunteers want a new light put up in the toilet... it covers the whole range. You name it, they deal with it.

Interview A

The Management Team includes a retired architect, who plays a leading role in any hard restoration work, and deals with the quotations, drawings and liaison with the NT. The Gardens Committee included two garden historians, who were able to provide horticultural experience and expertise. One of them had written one of the organisation's gardening booklets. Another voluntary consultant who was involved with the site used to be a curator at Kew Gardens. The management structure of the organisation is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Management Structure of the Garden Site
 (Adapted from Volunteers' Handbook and Interview)



The interviewees stated that the only professional advice that the organisation lacked was a lawyer, who the interviewees felt would be useful: “Just to scan their eye over things. Just to cover ourselves.” Also, they said that a good professional voluntary fundraiser would be useful, to bring in sponsorship and raise the profile of the site. The previous Chairman had wide contacts, and was known nationally as a judge of the Royal Horticultural Society. In the past, the organisation had paid a professional fundraiser, but she had moved out of the area.

2. The Interview Data

I interviewed the Chairman of the Management Team and the Secretary. I did not know either of them, or anyone else from the organisation, prior to carrying out the research. The Chairman and the Secretary asked to be interviewed at the same time. The Chairman did most of the talking, with the Secretary adding details. At various times during the interview, questions were directed specifically to one or other of them. All the citations are extracted from the Chairman's responses, although the cognitive map is a synthesis of both of their responses. During the interview, I was handed various booklets and promotional material about the site, which I have used in the analysis. The interview took place in a small office in the portacabin that is used by the organisation as an office.

The cognitive map from the interview is shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Analysis of Interview No. 1



2.1. Personal Interests, Agenda and Concerns

Originally, the Chairman had become involved with volunteering at the site through visiting the garden site with his mother. He said that through coming to the site, he had met people who had persuaded him to train as a guide. This was four years ago. Subsequently, he had taken responsibility for guide training, IT advice, liaison with historians and updating the information for guides.

The Secretary was employed on a part-time basis, but it is clear that her responsibilities extended well beyond taking minutes, or planning agenda and secretarial support for the Chairman and Head Gardener. She also dealt with publicity and marketing for the site, and had detailed historical knowledge of the Trust and its organisation. Clearly, both of the interviewees were enthusiastic, were extremely busy, and worked very hard.

2.2. The Organisation

The organisation is hierarchical and highly structured. The interview data shows that this had led to some problems. There had been a gap between the management team and the heads of department. The interviewees made it clear that they did not want to go into details, but stated that a further management level had recently been created, to co-ordinate the activities of the management team and the committees. This had shifted some of the responsibilities further down the organisation. So far, the interviewees felt, the different structure was beginning to work quite well. This new sub-group was quite informal, and could operate by telephone if necessary, and deal with

anything of an urgent nature and, if necessary, refer policy decisions to a higher level. The executive sub-group is clearly at the heart of the organisation, as it is here that policy is co-ordinated and implemented.

The organisation operates under a high degree of external and internal control, from both within and outside the organisation. For example, the NT has a covenant on the site:

I have not seen it myself, but basically, I think, in practical terms, you can't put a lick of paint anywhere round here without their say so... In practical terms, if a fence falls down, or a wall comes down, (the NT) have to agree to (the repair)

The Gardens Committee included a representative from the NT, so "he has quite an influence over what happens in the garden". The interviewee stated that:

To be fair, we get a lot of support from the National Trust in the practical sense, like that – but no money. No money.

2.3. Revenue and Funding

The main concern of the interviewees was finance. They agreed that finance for the site was "a nightmare". About a third of the revenue for the day-to-day running of the site was raised through each of the following:

- Income from the activities in the garden, such as gate money, special events and profits on the shop.
- A grant from the local Borough Council.
- Other charitable monies and contributions from individuals, such as bequests.

The organisation's contribution came mostly from ticket sales, and small donations:

We have a lot of donations from gifts in memory. A lot of what the gardeners spend on bulbs and flowers are gifts in memory ... we plant bulbs every year.

The problem with gaining more finance for the site was that even on the special event days, they were unable to cope with any more visitors. For instance, at a recent event:

A couple of hundred more people and we would have been bursting at the seams. So it's not as if more advertising... would make a difference.

Although large events raised awareness of the site, to raise the revenue levels, they needed more people to come through the gate on a regular, day-to-day basis. The site is advertised in national magazines, and the guides give talks throughout England. These result in some visits from coach-parties. They felt

that these people tended to be “garden enthusiasts”. Recent advertising had concentrated on the local area, to bring in more visitors from the community:

By and large, the only “distance visitors” that we get are the garden enthusiasts. We are not a tourist area: generally speaking, people around here aren’t on holiday... It’s primarily a local heritage site, but, of course, it is worth visiting.

The perception of these key officials was that it was a local site, and not a tourist attraction. However, it is not in a location that would attract tourists. The site is located in a residential suburb, close to an industrial area, rather than in a tourist- or a shopping area. Also, the adjacent historic house is not open to the public.

2.4. Funding Applications to the HLF

In contrast to the difficulties of raising revenue for the running of the site, the interviewees felt that raising money for a project was relatively easy. The Trust had applied for funding from the HLF in early 1999, to build a visitor centre and facilities for the gardening staff. However, the proposal had been turned down, as the HLF felt that there was a possibility that the adjacent historic house, which had originally been part of the estate, might be sold at some time in the future, and could be used as a visitor centre. The organisation was asked to re-submit a much smaller application for the gardener’s changing rooms, a mess room and a workshop. At the time of the interview, they were awaiting a decision about this funding application from the HLF.

During the interview, the Chairman stated that the original application for funding had wasted a lot of time and money. The applications kept being deferred by the HLF, and there had been three changes of contacts:

So we're having to go through the same scenario with each of these people, who now don't know the gardens because they didn't visit when the other people did. And now we've just heard that we're going back to the original contact. So, it's gone round in a circle.

Also, the consultant that they had used had moved from the company he was with, and set up on his own. So, rather than stay with that company, they went with him, and this also caused delays.

2.5. Volunteers in Partnership

In addition to the paid staff, the site has 120 volunteers and guides. The Chairman said that they did not need any more volunteers at the moment. He mentioned that some volunteers did not want to talk to the public:

...so we've got guides, we've got gardening volunteers, we've got shop assistants, we've got coffee shop assistants, we've got odd job and DIY people, we've got car park attendants... And we've got good office volunteers as well. The guides show visitors around the site, and some of them also lecture off-site throughout England.

The interviewees agreed that most of the volunteers were retired, although a number of them might have taken early retirement. However, there were a significant number of married women, who either had part-time jobs or no job at all. "... their families are growing up, so they are looking for something to do." They both agreed that there were more women volunteers than men.

The Volunteers' Handbook provides insight into the organisation's working practices and relationship with the volunteers. Volunteers can give as little or as much time as they wish. The organisation does not specify an upper age limit and recognises the valuable contribution made by older volunteers in terms of knowledge and experience. However, volunteers are discouraged from continuing beyond a point detrimental to the health and safety of themselves or others, or when their tasks become too onerous.

The relationship between the Trust and the volunteers is formally articulated as a partnership. The Handbook for Volunteers states that:

While staff provide the structure, organisation and day-to-day management of the Trust's work, volunteers provide a wide range of important and supportive roles, plus time, flexibility and many specialist skills, including the essential role of welcoming our many visitors. The importance of maintaining a balanced and effective partnership is essential and well understood.

(Volunteers' Handbook)

It is acknowledged that although the volunteers give their time freely and without obligation, there is a presumption of mutual support and reliability. Reciprocal expectations are raised and recognised, and the handbook sets out what the volunteers can expect from the Trust, and what the Trust expects from the volunteers.

2.6. Education and Training

The interviewees stated that suitable guides are selected so that their interests and experience match those of particular groups that visit. For example, if a group is interested in history, or gardening, the organisation selects someone with an interest in history or gardening. The Chairman added: "One of the guides has a degree in archaeology, there are several ex-teachers and ... at least one University lecturer".

The volunteers are asked to attend recommended training sessions. Volunteers are informed of any developments in the garden, or new historical information, through regular "Guide Updates". These are referenced by paragraph so that they can be transferred into the (approx. 40-page) Guide Notes. The Guide Co-ordinator, a volunteer, is in charge of education, and keeps these Guide Notes up to date. The organisation also has an educational booklet, which can be photocopied for schools, and has started to publish its own booklets on garden history.

In response to a question about the value of accreditation for volunteers, the Chairman felt that some kind of formal accreditation for Guides was not a good

idea: "I think it might frighten some of them off, to be honest." He could not see what benefits the organisation would get out of it.

I have to ask myself, what's in it? It's a piece of paper to me, a certificate on the wall when you've got it. I know I am the Jeremiah in this, because most people think it's a good idea, but accredited training schemes, why? What do we get out of it?

He felt that the Guides received praise from their visitors, and that was enough:

We have several letters. We have good feedback from our visitors, from good visits, and they say thank you so much. The Guide was most informative and helpful – and we always copy that to the Guides they are talking about.

This, the Secretary felt, was a good response for them, and an incentive for the volunteers to carry on.

2.7. Summary of the Organisation

- The driving force behind the site is restoration and conservation.
- The management structure is hierarchical and inefficient. However, in the case of a charitable trust, the creation of an executive sub-group raises problems from a legal point of view. In order to comply with rules set down by the Charities Commission, the Management Team should carry out this function.
- The relationship between the organisation and the volunteers is formally expressed as a partnership agreement, whereby the mutual expectations of the partners are clearly articulated.
- There is a high level of expertise available free of charge to the organisation, particularly so far as horticulture, architecture, historical knowledge, archaeology, conservation, staff training, public education and IT are concerned. However, the knowledge and skills of a volunteer lawyer and a fundraiser, are particularly needed.
- There is a close association with the NT, but the arrangement does not include financial support.
- Revenue to maintain the site is a major concern. The site operates “on a shoestring”, and lack of finance for day-to-day expenditure is of great concern to the organisation.

- The lack of funding for dedicated buildings was the greatest obstacle to developing the site for education. A visitor centre with educational facilities is regarded as a high priority by the organisation.
- Applying for funding from the HLF had been costly for the organisation, both in terms of time and finance.
- The key officials regard the garden as a local site, rather than as a tourist attraction.

3. The Visitor Survey

The key contacts at the organisation suggested that a suitable day for the survey might be one of the “events” days, as these were busier than normal. However, I avoided the days that were specifically targeted at children, or those that were not directly connected with a historic garden, such as car boot sales. I carried out the survey on a Saturday in July 2001, when there would be a gardening and craft exhibition.

The weather was fine and sunny. I carried out most of the interviews on a pathway, close to the exit, or I interviewed visitors as they walked or sat around the gardens, or sat in the café.

3.1. Gender, Ethnicity, Age and Occupation

Of the 25 visitors that I interviewed, 16 were women and 9 were men. All of them described their ethnicity as British and white, apart from one man, who said he was "British-Afro-Caribbean". The age distribution of the interviewees is shown in Figure 5.

The majority (64%) of the visitors were over 50 years of age, and over a third of the visitors were retired (36%) (see Figure 6).

Figure 5: Age Distribution (years)

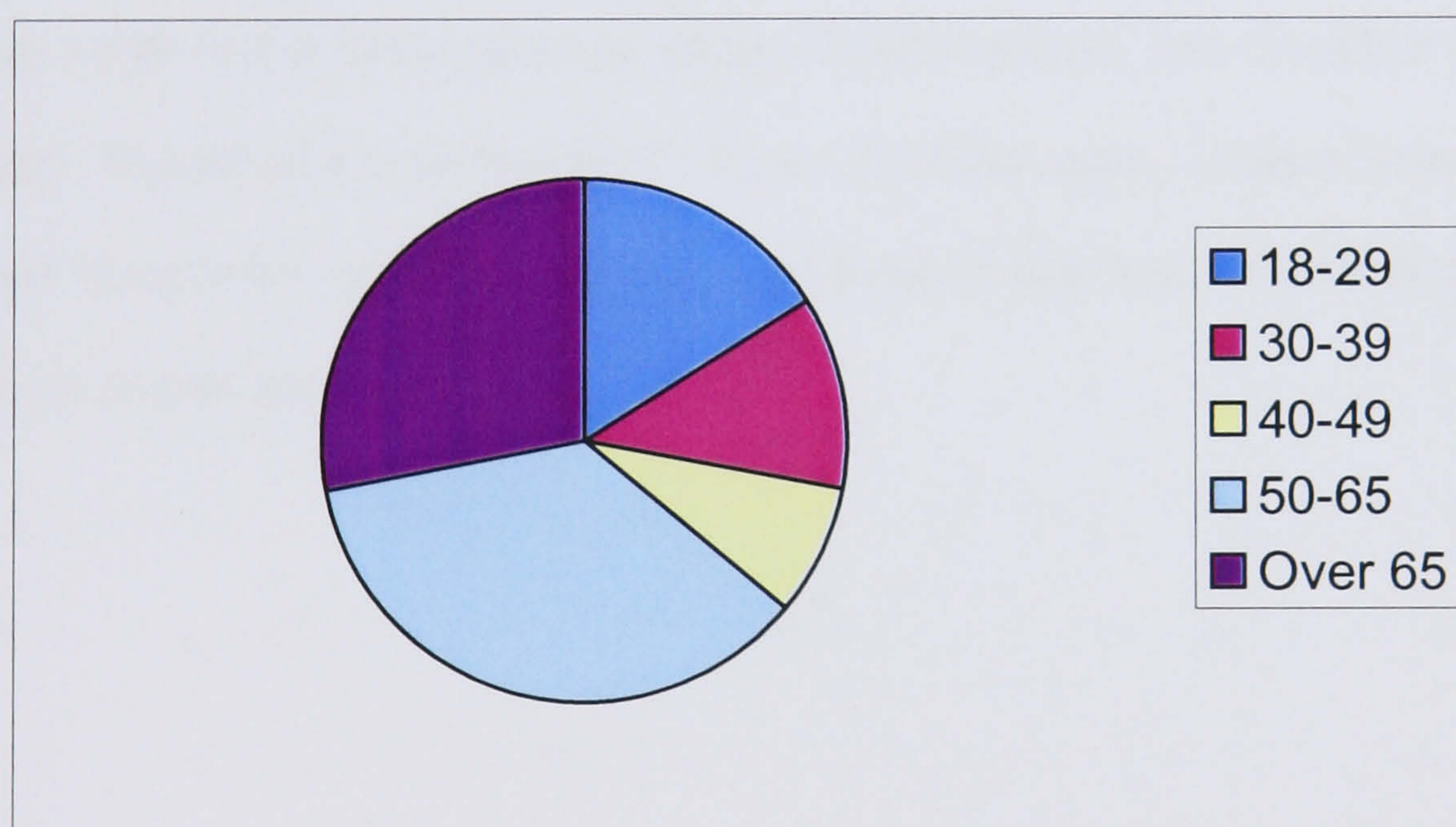
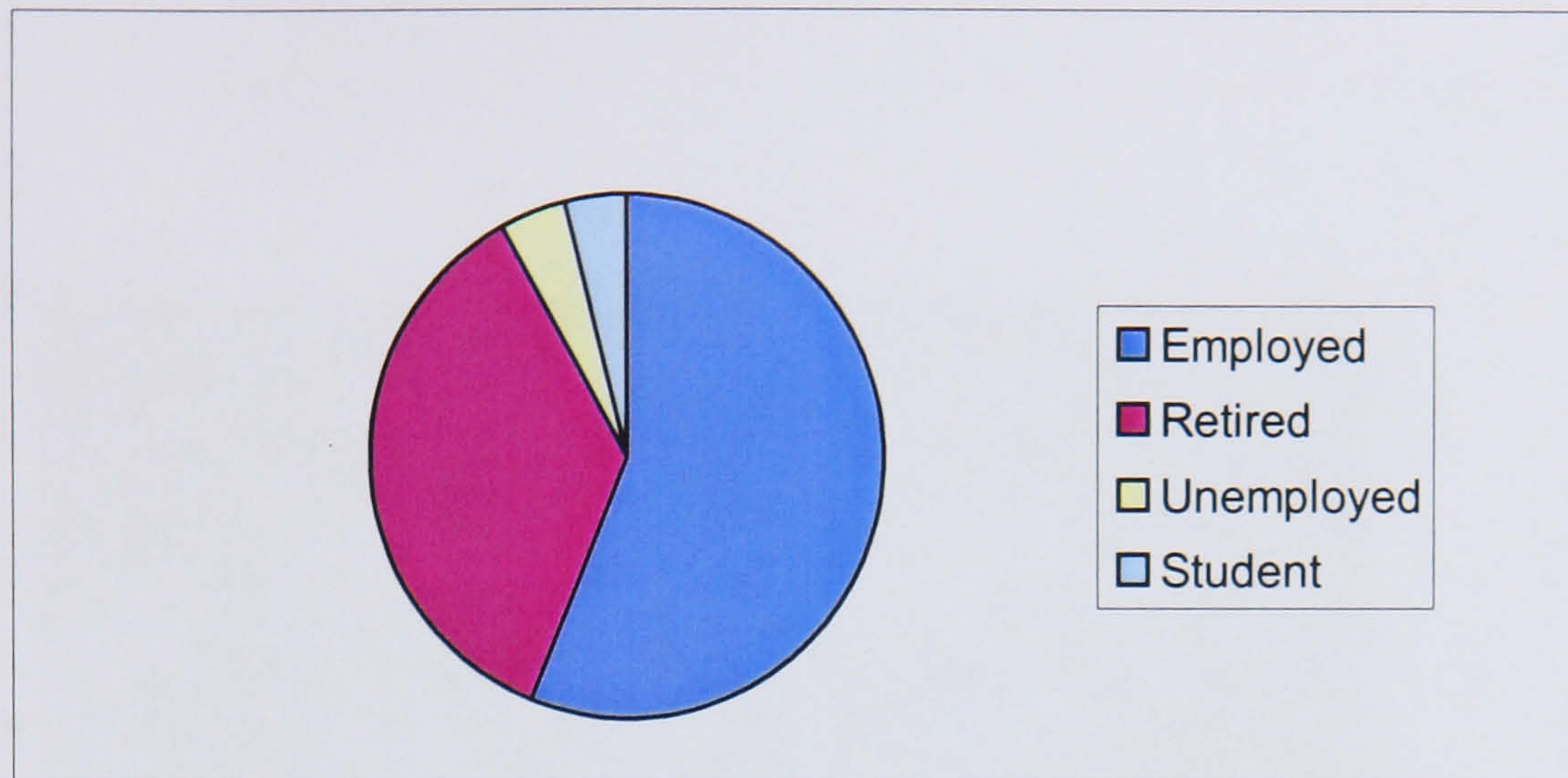
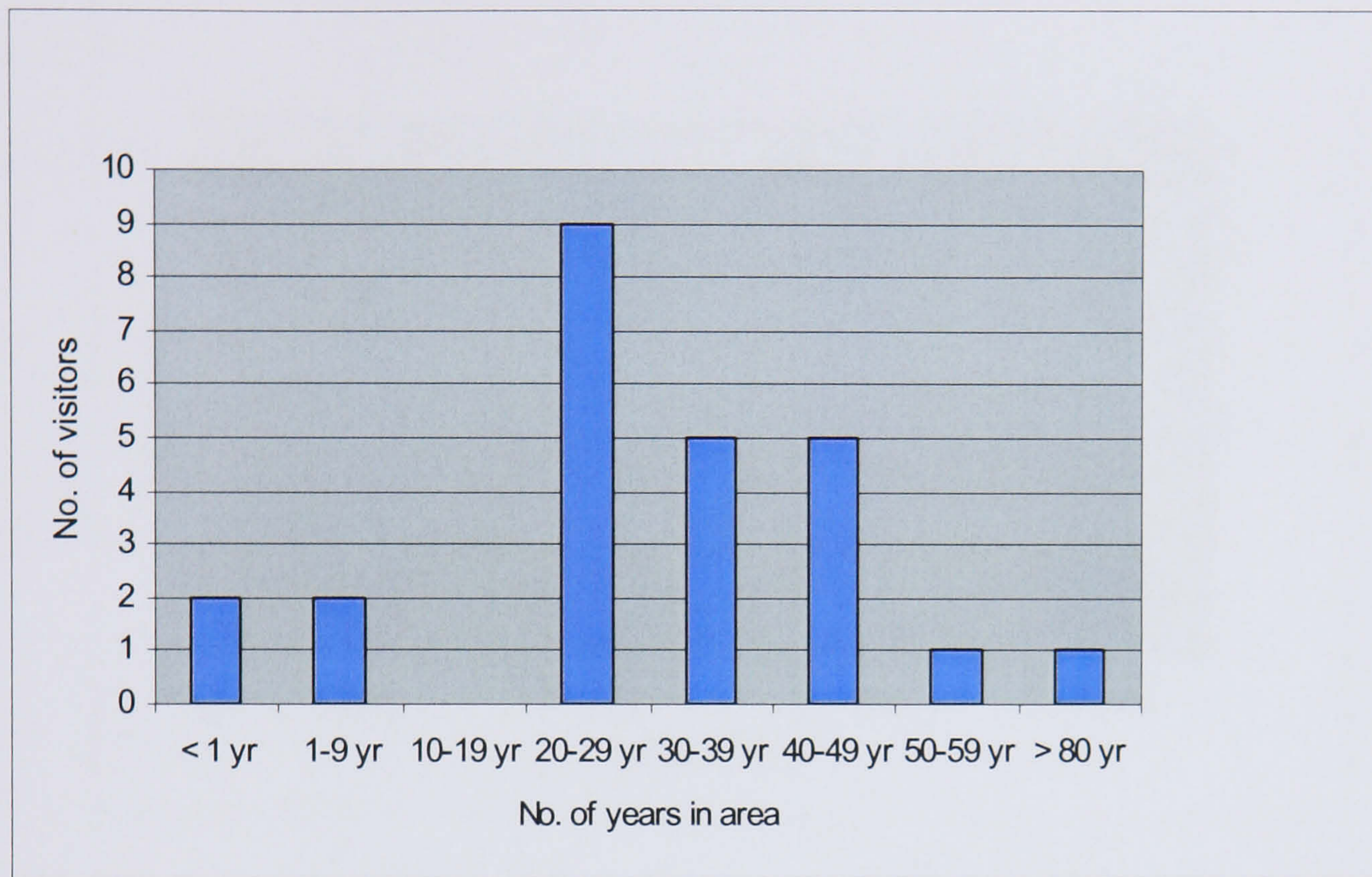


Figure 6: Occupational Class

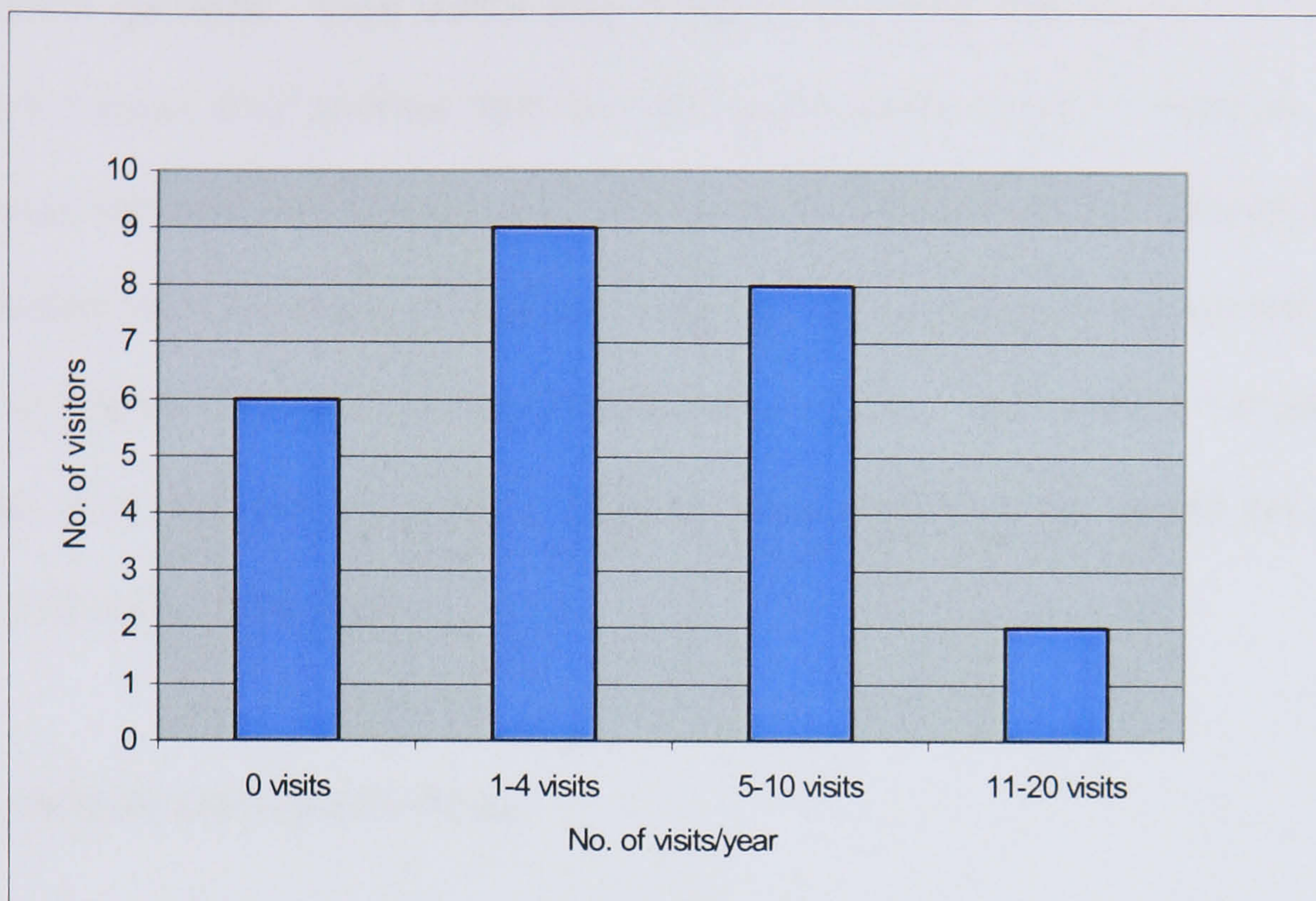
3.2. Length of Residency of Visitors

Most of the visitors lived locally. 21 of the 25 people I interviewed were resident within five miles of the site. However, all but 2 interviewees had travelled to the site by car. The other 4 lived between 10 and 20 miles away. Most of them can be termed “long-term residents” as they had lived in the area for many years, some for all of their lives (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Length of Residency

3.3. Visiting Patterns

For most of the visitors, it was not their first visit to the site. Although I did not specifically ask them which other sites they had visited during the last 12 months, 10 people mentioned during the interviews that they had visited the site before. Some came several times a year, others only once a year. The visiting patterns of the interviewees are shown in Figure 8, which shows a relatively high proportion of interviewees who had not visited another heritage site in the past year.

Figure 8: Frequency of Visits to other Sites

3.4. Motivations and Perceptions

Visitors had come for various reasons: an interest in gardening, the craft fair, interest in local history, or a combination of all or some of these. However, only one person had come just because of an interest in local history.

Most of the people that I interviewed said that they had enjoyed their visit. When asked what they liked the most, people mentioned:

The layout/improvements in the garden/the buildings	(10)
The craft exhibition/plants for sale	(9)
Everything	(3)
Meeting people/the social aspect	(2)

Concerning what they did not like, two people mentioned the lack of seating around the gardens. One visitor was disappointed that she could not visit the adjacent house, and another said that the paths were rough to walk on. One young woman said that she did not like one particular area of the garden, as the shrubs had been prickly. A young man said that he had been disappointed at the range of plants for sale, and would not come again. Two visitors complained that the entry fee was too high. One of these said that he would not come again, because of the cost.

3.5. Learning through Visiting

I asked the interviewees whether they had found anything particularly helpful to their understanding of the site. 12 people mentioned the storyboards, 6 mentioned the brochure and another said: "the staff". 5 people said that they had found nothing particularly helpful. However, 17 visitors commented that the interpretative material had been easy to understand. One person did not find it easy to understand, and two interviewees said that they did not read it.

Half of the interviewees would like to learn more about the history of the area. The rest said they would not. Two visitors cited lack of time as a reason. The others felt that they knew a lot already.

3.6. Other Comments

I asked the visitors what the local heritage meant to them. Regardless of whether or not they would come back to the site, or visited heritage sites regularly, they all felt it was important that it should be preserved:

It's got to stay. If you lose it, the youngsters don't know about the past. (Female, 30-39, local resident for 6 years)

It means the social and industrial background of the immediate area. (Male, Afro-Caribbean, 30-39, local resident for 3 years)

Definitely, it's important to preserve the past. There's a good contrast with the industrial town. (Male, 18-29, local resident for 23 years)

It's very important and it should be preserved. Some countries don't have a history. (Female, 40-49, local resident for 2 months)

I feel it is important. It should be preserved. For example, I feel it should have more money from Lottery Funding. (Male, 50-65, Local resident for 28 years)

I think we should hang on to it. There is too much knocking down. (Female, 40-49, local resident for 48 years)

It is all too quickly brushed aside, and when it is gone, you don't get it back again. (Male, 50-65, local resident for 20 years)

I tend to take a general interest. It is nice to see it's carrying on. I like to see things being preserved. With the gardens programmes on telly, people are more interested. (Female, 50-65, local resident for 29 years)

We are keeping part of the old traditions of the country. Although we are in (the city) there is a piece of heritage like this on the doorstep. (Female, over 65, local resident for 84 years)

It's very important. We need to preserve it for future generations. It is too easy to dig it up. (The city) has knocked all its buildings down for redevelopment, schools, hospitals and houses. People cling to memories and things that were in their lives as a child. You need to know your roots. Although you look to the future, it is nice to know you have got a past. (Female, over 65, local resident for 40 years)

It's awful to see so much of (the city) knocked down and spoiled. (Male, over 65, local resident for 40 years)

Being a (city) person, I am very interested and very saddened to see the lovely old buildings in (the city) that have gone. Just little

pockets in (the city) like this. (Male, over 65, local resident for 38 years)

It is part of everyone's history. (Male, 50-65, local resident for 27 years)

Somewhere you belong. (Female, 40-49, local resident for 30 years)

I love it here. (Female, over 65, local resident for 31 years)

One lady offered to fill in her own questionnaire, as I was busy interviewing someone else. She wrote on the back of her questionnaire:

I feel it is most important to try to preserve all that we have for ourselves and future generations and hope the work will continue. I would like to take part in such work, but have to rely for the most on public transport being convenient to get to such places. I admire and appreciate all the work like-minded volunteers do to enable people like myself and my husband to enjoy the pleasure and benefits we reap from all their hard work. (Female, British, 50-65, local resident for 39 years)

We discussed her responses as soon as I was free, and she agreed to take part in a taped interview.

3.7. Taped Interviews

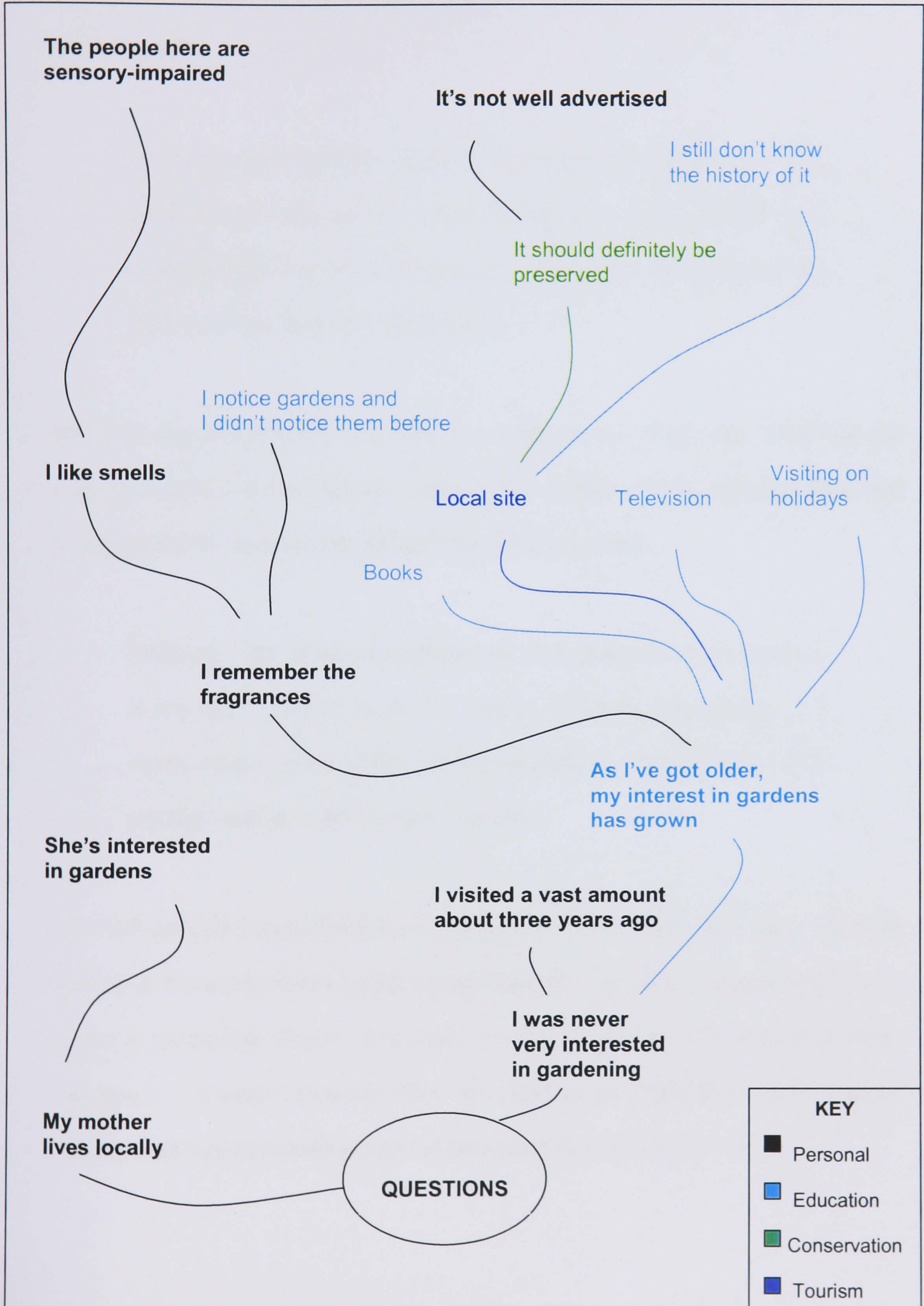
The questionnaire included a section asking the visitors whether they would be prepared to talk about their visit in more depth in a taped interview. Nine people indicated that they were prepared to be interviewed, and gave me their contact details. I wrote to them all after the survey, to arrange a date. Two people telephoned me and I arranged the interviews. I wrote to the other respondents again, but received no reply. I decided not to approach these people again, as I did not want to pressurise them into taking part in an interview, particularly as some of them were elderly.

3.7.1. Interview A

This interview lasted for approximately one hour, and took place five months after the survey. The cognitive map appears in Figure 9. The interviewee was in the age group 40-49, and worked as a Scheme Manager for a supported housing scheme for adults with hearing and sight problems. I interviewed this lady at the flat where she lived and worked, which was a supported accommodation block. The flats had a communal garden for all the residents at the rear. During the interview, she said that she did all the gardening herself.

The survey questionnaire indicated that the interviewee had lived in the area for only two months. It emerged during the interview that when she was younger, she had actually lived locally for sixteen years, with her mother. This had been her first visit to the garden site, and she had come with her mother.

Figure 9: Analysis of Interview A



I asked her what she remembered about the visit. She remembered the visits to the arts and crafts, as she bought a statue. I asked her: "What is your memory of the place?"

Well as I was walking around the gardens, and because it was quite a warm day as well, I was just thinking of the families that probably had been there in the past. When you go to places like that, it always takes you backwards.

She said that she still did not know about the history of the site. She had not seen the leaflets or the books. I asked her whether visiting heritage sites had prompted her to study anything, such as doing a course:

Probably. But at the very bottom of everything else that goes on in my life. I like to know the history of where I am going ... I mean what I knew about the Bronte sisters, I could write on a postage stamp, until I went to Howarth.

She had not been very interested in gardening until about a year ago. She had found that the more historic gardens that she saw, the more it encouraged her to do some gardening herself. She had travelled around the country with a friend but added "... I wasn't aware of what I was looking at, if you know what I mean." She claimed that schoolwork had not prompted any interest in history:

There was none of that. It was schoolwork, inner cities. I mean, all my life I thought Wales was Rhyl. But as I've got older, of course, my interest has grown.

Early in the interview, she said that her interest had come from watching programmes about gardening on the television. However, in response to another question, she said that she had picked up some of this interest from her mother:

She's always been a gardener all her life, and I've taken no interest whatsoever. She's a very good gardener. ...it's suddenly come ... it's just happened in the last year or so, and I think it's very therapeutic, pottering around with tubs and things.

I asked her which had come first, the interest in gardening, or visiting heritage gardens.

I visited first. I saw herbs and gardens and things, and that's what I wanted to do, because I like smells.

I asked her whether she had bought any books about gardening:

Yes, I have, I've bought gardening books. And because people here are sensory-impaired, the gardens at the back have got mint and thyme and rosemary and lavender.

Clearly, though, her interest in gardening had been prompted by several factors:

- Her mother had an interest in gardening.
- She had watched gardening programmes on television.
- More recently, she had visited historic gardens.

I asked her whether she felt that heritage sites, such as the one she had visited, were there to educate, or to preserve:

I think they are there to preserve. Although it wasn't until about four years ago, when I used to go castle-hunting, that's what I was doing in Wales, I realised how much history and culture we've got. As a teenager, you don't take much notice of that sort of thing. I think it comes with age... I think it's important, but I think you'll learn it when you want to learn it. And it should definitely be preserved. We've got such a lot of history and culture.

For this interviewee:

- Visits to historic gardens may have triggered a latent interest in gardening.
- Currently, her gardening skills were of direct benefit to the small community of disabled people where she worked.

3.7.2. Interview B

This interview took place in the interviewee's home, five months after her visit. I taped two hours of the interview. The cognitive map is shown in Figure 10.

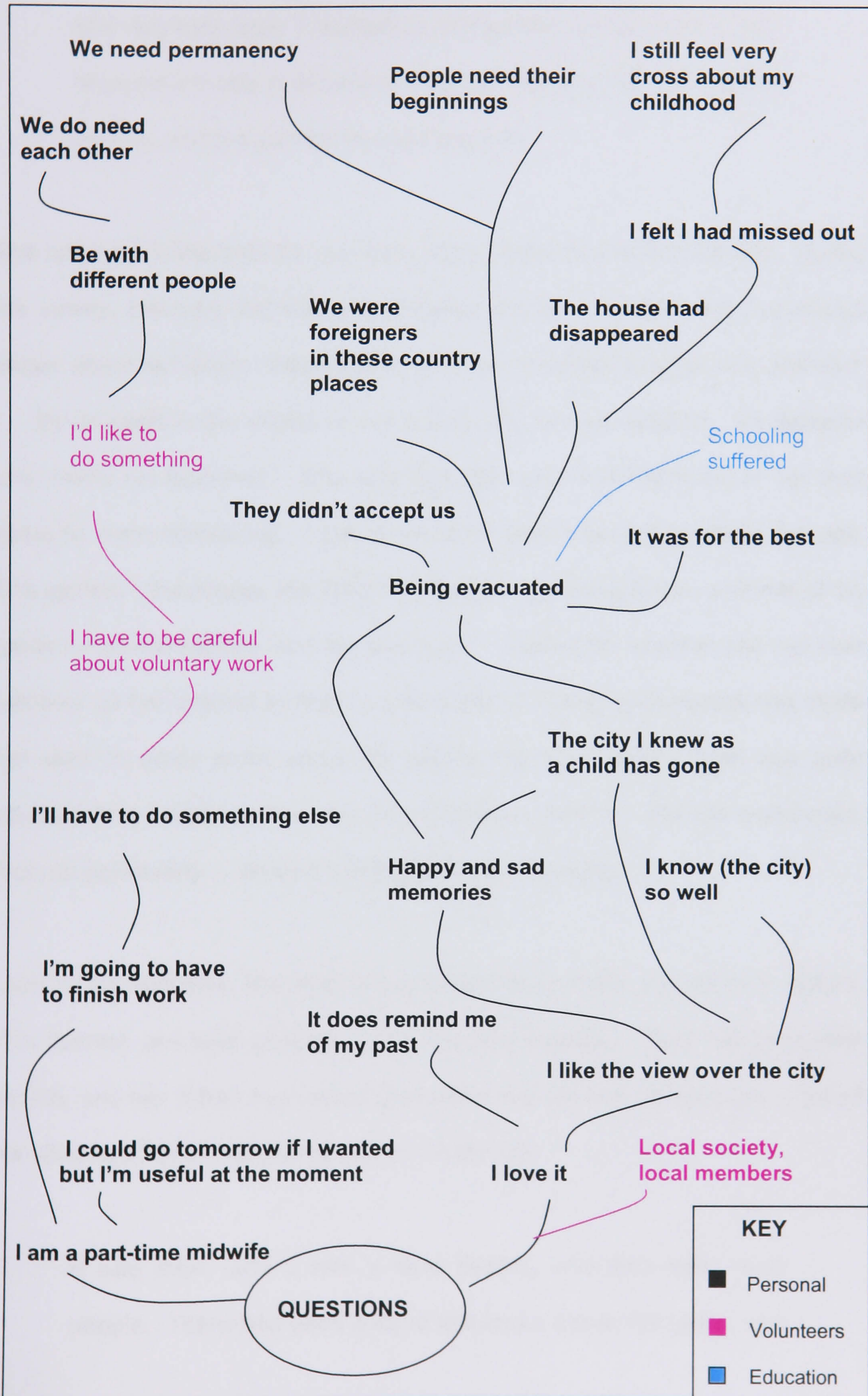
The interviewee was over 65, but still worked part-time. Unusually for a heritage visitor, she had come on her own. She was clearly a very lively, energetic and independent lady. During the interview, I said that people might be shy about going to places on their own. We agreed that some people might find it difficult to approach other people. However, she said that for her, communicating with people was part of her life, through her work as a midwife.

As she had visited the site on her own, I asked her whether the social aspects of visiting were important. She replied that these were very important:

I go to meet, I go to see. I go to be with other people. To see what their ideas are, to see what they are doing. Look at those lovely stalls they have, with the plants and the stonework and the crafts. I mean they've come long distances, those people have.

The interviewee said at the start of the interview that some of the memories that she had when she visited the site were both happy and sad, and I felt concerned that she might become upset, but she seemed relaxed and happy during the interview, although almost always, her responses returned to her childhood experiences. For example, when I asked her to explain how her job had helped her to communicate, she said:

Figure 10: Analysis of Interview B



Some people can, some people can't. I learned to communicate at a very early age. I learned to communicate when I was a child, because the only entertainment we had was a piano. The parties we had, and the parties we used to go to ...

She had lived in the area for over forty years, within one mile of the site. During the survey, she said that she was a regular visitor to the site, and had always known about its history. When asked what she liked the most about it, she said: "... it's an oasis in the middle of, not a busy city, but the outskirts. It's peaceful and you're not bothered." She said that this was more important to her than going to learn something. I asked her what she remembered about the visit. She replied: " the people, the things for sale, and just the general contents of the garden: And the attitude, and the welcome." I asked her whether she had ever followed up her interest in history, and whether visiting such places had made her want to study more about the places she had visited. She was quite adamant that it had not: "No. No. No, it hasn't, it hasn't." She did read books: "but not particularly ... It's just passing, it's just in passing."

Later in the interview, she said that she had always been interested in history. This interest, she said, probably came from her parents. They had been local people, and her father had talked about how the city was in the past. I asked her what had first prompted her interest in the site:

It was local, and it was a local society, and they were local people. There had been a lot of talk about it over the years, and

they had done a lot of research, and a lot of money had been put into that project. And it was on my doorstep.

She added:

... it does remind me of my past, and I suppose I go there to reminisce ... But I try not to dwell on it, because a lot happened in my childhood, and a lot happened to (the city). I think it was totally destroyed.

She remembered the site from her childhood, and felt that, unlike the surrounding city, the gardens had not changed a great deal since then. She had liked the old city, but did not like it now, as the structure had changed. However, she still felt that she was a part of the city, and was proud of it: "I feel people should belong to somewhere and people ... when they talk to you ... say: "Where do you come from?" People, she said, needed their roots. She expressed her concern that people today were more nomadic, and moved away from their homes and their countries to work.

As an eight-year-old child, she had been evacuated from the city with her sister, because of the war. She said that she had felt like a foreigner in the country places, particularly in Wales, where "... there was another class, and another culture. And they didn't accept us." However, she added that they had been very kind, and "took us on..."

Well, you wonder what's happening ... your life's taken from underneath you, isn't it? ... You learn afterwards that it was for the best. And I'm still angry that it all disappeared. I have nothing to show for it (afterwards).

At the age of thirteen, she had come back to the city after the war to find that:

... the houses I lived in had disappeared, the schools I went to had gone. So your childhood, and your memories and your beginning, they were very important to you, because those are what you hang on to, what you remember. ... I can't show you the house, or the houses I lived in. I can't show you a church I went to. I can't show you my grandma's house ... And my auntie's shop. And people need this, they need their beginning, they need their foundations. And it was just one of those things, wasn't it?

I asked her whether she had ever thought of becoming a volunteer at the site. She said she had thought about joining, "even working in the little restaurant". One of her neighbours was a volunteer. However, she felt that she was committed to her job at the moment:

And I don't want to commit myself to something that I can't fulfil, or I can't go to. When I retire, there's got to be another life, there's got to be something else ... the time is coming when I'm

going to have to finish work. I can't, I can't just sit here. I have to do something else. With people.

For this interviewee:

- The site offered an opportunity to meet other people. Because of this, she might become a volunteer in the future.
- Her interest in history had come from her parents, from books and from learning “in passing” during visits to the site.
- The site evoked memories of her past, particularly of her childhood
- In contrast to the surrounding city, she felt that the site had not changed a great deal over the years.

4. Analysis and Summary of the Case Study

Table 5 highlights the principle features of this case study. The organisation is distinguished by its constant struggle for revenue, particularly for the day-to-day running of the site. The number of visitors is almost at capacity level, and increased costs might represent a serious threat to its sustainability. The top-down management structure could cause problems, as those higher up the organisation can lose touch with those below, although measures have been put into place to avoid such problems. However, these involved the creation of a sub-committee, which creates a further hierarchical layer in the organisation.

Table 5: Analysis of the Garden Site

Strengths	Weaknesses
<p>Formal partnership between management and volunteers.</p> <p>Ethos of visitors and organisation are in accord (preservation).</p> <p>Wide range and high level of expertise available in the organisation, (mostly free of charge).</p> <p>Informal training for volunteers.</p> <p>Local support.</p>	<p>Inefficient, "top down" management structure.</p> <p>Lack of revenue.</p> <p>Narrow age range of volunteers.</p> <p>Ambiguous policy on archaeology.</p> <p>Lack of suitable visitor centre.</p>
Opportunities	Threats
<p>Scope for further development of the site.</p> <p>Funding for projects from HLF and others.</p>	<p>Sale of adjacent house to unsympathetic purchaser.</p> <p>Rapid or major changes might discourage regular visitors.</p> <p>Organisational structure.</p>

It is also problematic as within a Charitable Trust, the management team should carry out this function. The partnership arrangement with the volunteers is the great strength of the organisation, giving the staff and volunteers equal status, and clearly stating the expectations and benefits for both parties.

Fortunately, there is a high level of expertise available free of charge within the network of people in the organisation, which minimises consultancy fees. However, the trust lacks a volunteer lawyer, and a professional fundraiser. Also, it is surprising that the confusing policy on archaeology has not been altered,

particularly as there is scope to review the Trust's policy every five years, and that the NT acts as a consultant for the archaeological remains.

The NT does not contribute to the site financially, and it is possible that they were originally retained as partners, rather than EH, because of their experience with historic gardens. There seems little justification in asking for financial help from the NT, as it derives no tangible benefits from the arrangement. For the NT, it is possible that the "costs" of being involved already outweigh the "benefits".

During the interviews with the organisations, the key officials were asked what kind of visitors came to the site. Their responses were remarkably accurate. Most visitors were middle-aged or retired, British and white. However, different events do bring in different visitors, such as families. I found it surprising that there were so many elderly residents who visited regularly, or that many of them had lived in the area for such a long time. I had anticipated that there would be visitors from a wider area. Family ties with the site appear to be strong.

Preservation is one of the main concerns of both the organisation and the visitors. Nobody that I interviewed thought that education was more important. There seems to be little discord between the organisation and the visitors, despite some negative comments from the visitors. These criticisms highlight the problems of balancing conservation with public access. Paths and walkways are not always negotiable by visitors who are elderly and/or disabled when a site is restored. The entry fee, that discouraged two of the interviewees from coming back again, is necessary to generate revenue, in order to keep the site open to

the public. Clearly, compromises have to be made between financial imperatives, restoration, and public access.

The visitor survey hardly scratched the surface of the complex phenomenon of learning through visiting heritage sites. The taped interviews illustrate that learning can take place over a considerable period of time. Interview A also shows that the benefits of this incidental learning for the well-being of citizens and the community, are sometimes indirect and obscure. Also, Interview B illustrates the importance of the relationships that people can develop with places.

The garden site seems to be serving another function, beyond its role in investigating and preserving the archaeology and history of the site, recreating a garden, and educating visitors. It clearly has a social role in the community, particularly for older participants. Elderly people can become isolated, particularly in city suburbs, and visiting and volunteering allows those who are retired to continue to be a part of the community. The site is a place where people meet, or take friends and family for a day out, and a cup of tea. For some visitors, it presents not only a reconstruction of the historic environment, but a place and space for quiet reflection about the past.

In contrast to the rapid pace of change that continues to take place in the city, which disturbed so many of the visitors that I interviewed, the site is enduring, and changes appear to be made gradually and very carefully. The visitors seem to be very comfortable with this pace. The site may act as a symbol of stability,

particularly as it is situated on the outskirts of a city centre that has experienced several phases of rebuilding and redevelopment.

There is no evidence in the data to suggest that the site might be perceived, either by the organisation or the visitors, as a tourist attraction, or for economic regeneration of the area. It is, first and foremost, a local site and a local resource, produced for the local community, by the local community.

Chapter 5: The Small Museum

1. The Site

The site is within walking distance of the town centre, and is situated in a recreation park. There is a kiosk nearby where visitors can buy drinks and ice creams. The site is owned and managed by the district council, and is a scheduled Ancient Monument. The district council estimates that the site receives approximately one million visitors a year:

Most of the archaeology lies underground, and the site is physically accessible to the public at all times. The standing buildings are locked for security reasons.

A visitor centre, with a new exhibition, opened on Good Friday 2001 in one of the historic buildings on the site. At the time of the fieldwork, this was open to the public on alternate Sundays from 2.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m. during the summer, staffed on a voluntary basis by various members of the local history and archaeology society. Admission to the exhibition is free, but there is a box for voluntary donations to the society by the door.

1.1. The Interpretation Scheme

The building had been opened to the public intermittently before World War II. On a more regular basis, it opened as a small museum in the summer of 2000, to display the collection of the local history and archaeology society. With the aid of a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund, the building was refurbished and a new exhibition was produced on the ground floor. The society's exhibition was

moved to the first floor. Because of restrictions on the alteration of scheduled monuments, disabled access to the upper floor is not possible.

In the new exhibition on the ground floor, carved stonework is exhibited above eye level, and the history of the site is described through a series of themed storyboards, which include text, drawings and illustrations. Various artefacts, and a tray of sand, are incorporated into a central, multi-sided plinth.

The creation of the exhibition was part of a wider scheme, funded through a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund to interpret and conserve the archaeological remains. The funding proposal to the HLF included the refurbishment of the building and the creation of the new exhibition on the ground floor, with the first floor being used for temporary exhibitions, meetings and events. The proposal also included the provision of carved stone markers, information panels and plaques to identify the principal standing remains on the site, and less conspicuous features. Also, a temporary Research Assistant from the university would produce a computer-based catalogue of all artefacts from the site, and the history and archaeology society collection, to assess their importance and likely long-term future. A heritage trail would be produced, to link the site with the other historic sites and monuments in the town. The scheme also involved the small-scale enhancement of another area close to the site.

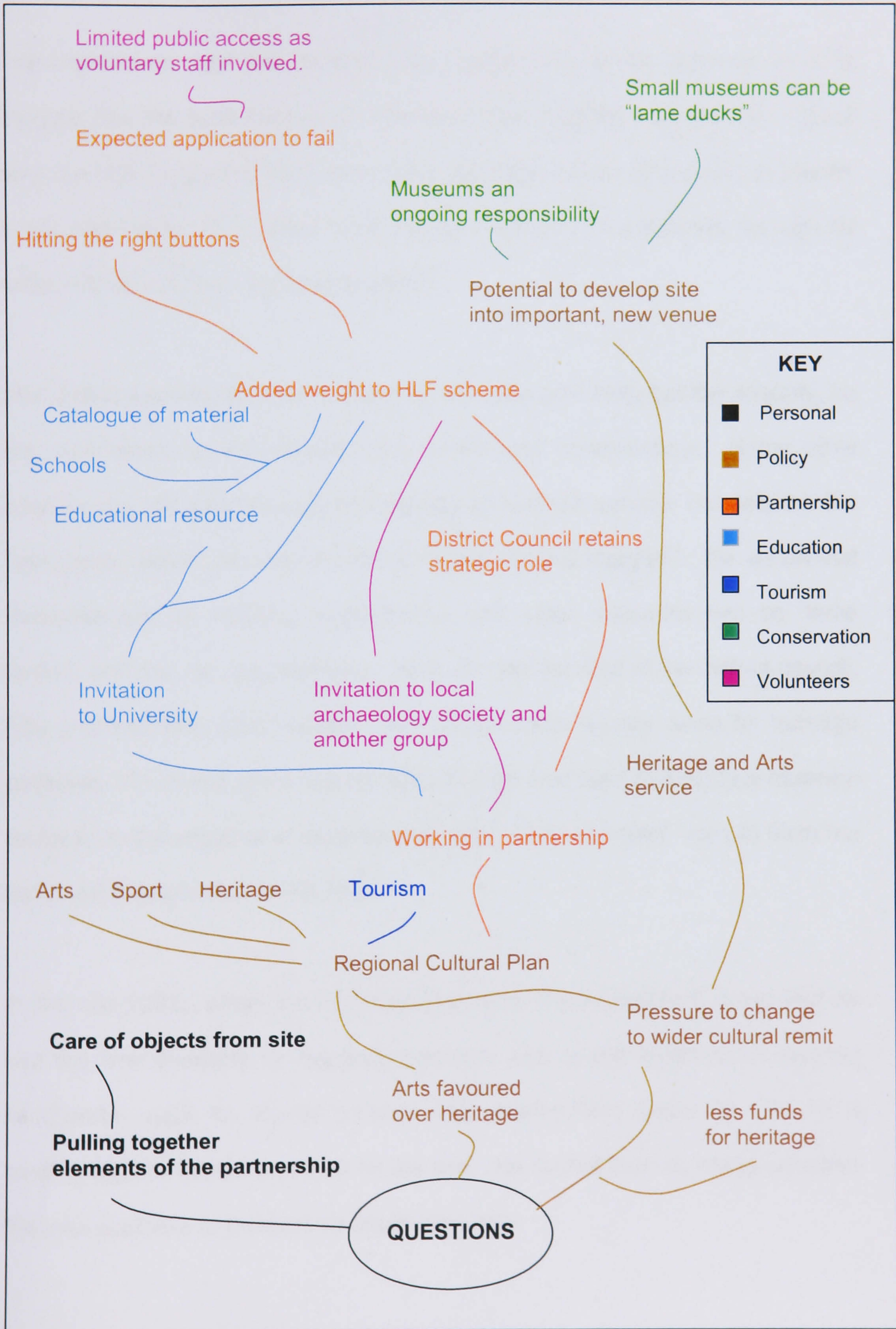
2. The Interview Data

2.1. Interview 2: The District Council

I had several meetings with the Arts and Heritage Manager of the district council. I did not know him prior to carrying out the research. The cognitive map of the interview (Figure 11) was produced from the approved transcript of my notes from our first meeting. The meetings that I had with this key contact were very pleasant and informal, and we met in the café at the Museum and Art Gallery.

We spent some time discussing the context in which the project had taken place. The interviewee felt that this included a potential lessening of funding for museums. Although the Regional Museums Council receives significant government funding, it was under pressure to change to a wider cultural remit, which would include working in partnership, or amalgamating with, regional archives and libraries support agencies. The interviewee said that each region was being exhorted to adopt a Regional Cultural Plan, although this was not at present a statutory requirement. This would involve joining up various fragmented activities, and creating a strategy that would draw together cultural provision, including museums, heritage, arts, sports and aspects of tourism.

Figure 11: Analysis of Interview 2



2.1.1. Personal Interests, Agenda and Concerns

The interviewee said that he had been invited to give his ideas on what he thought was the best thing to do with one of the buildings on the site. At the time, he had suggested that it should be closed and used as a store. However, in the mid-1990s, he became more directly involved in the scheme, through his wider role as Heritage and Arts Manager.

The district council allocated funding for Heritage and Arts, but the majority, he felt, was spent on the development of the Arts infrastructure. Some other councils did not take the option of having a museum service, but adopted the “arts route”, which, he said, could be “picked up and dropped”. He stated that museums are an ongoing responsibility, and small museums can be “lame ducks”, and can be unsustainable. Also, he had felt that in the district council, Arts predominated over Heritage, and he set some money aside for heritage purposes. From this small cultural fund, £3,000 was used to employ a museum designer to put together a development plan. This was later used to form the basis of the application to the HLF.

In the mid-1990s, when the HLF was launched, the interviewee found that he had the time available to negotiate partners, and to pull together the existing information, such as tourist surveys and development plans, to compile a funding application for a project at the site. He added that he would not have the time available to do such an application now.

2.1.2. Management Structure

There were a great many organisations and individuals involved in the site and in the new project. The interviewee carefully explained that within the district council, various individuals and departments are responsible for the care of the site:

Overview of care of objects	Arts and Heritage Manager
Art Gallery and Museum staff	Part of core responsibilities
Building work:	Property Services
Care of Ancient Monuments:	Parks Manager
Building fabric:	Conservation Planning
“Lesser interests”	Environmental Health

Two local voluntary groups were also closely involved. The first was the local history and archaeology society, which had been established in the 1970's. In addition, there was a local pressure group that ensures that the council cares for the site. This organisation initially led the initiative to raise funds for the site, which resulted in the installation of a floor in the building in 1994. To protect the anonymity of this organisation, I will refer to it as the local advisory committee.

2.1.3. Funding

The interviewee said that he had compiled the funding application to the HLF himself. In this, he had emphasised that the scheme would create educational resources with the university, and for local schools, which he felt strengthened

the application. However, he had expected it to fail, as there were no facilities on the first floor for people who were disabled. This was unavoidable, due to the planning restrictions on alterations to Ancient Monuments. Also, public access to the exhibition would be limited, as a result of only voluntary staff being involved.

He stressed that his role in the project was a strategic one. The application to the HLF states that the district council would implement and manage the scheme, in partnership with other groups:

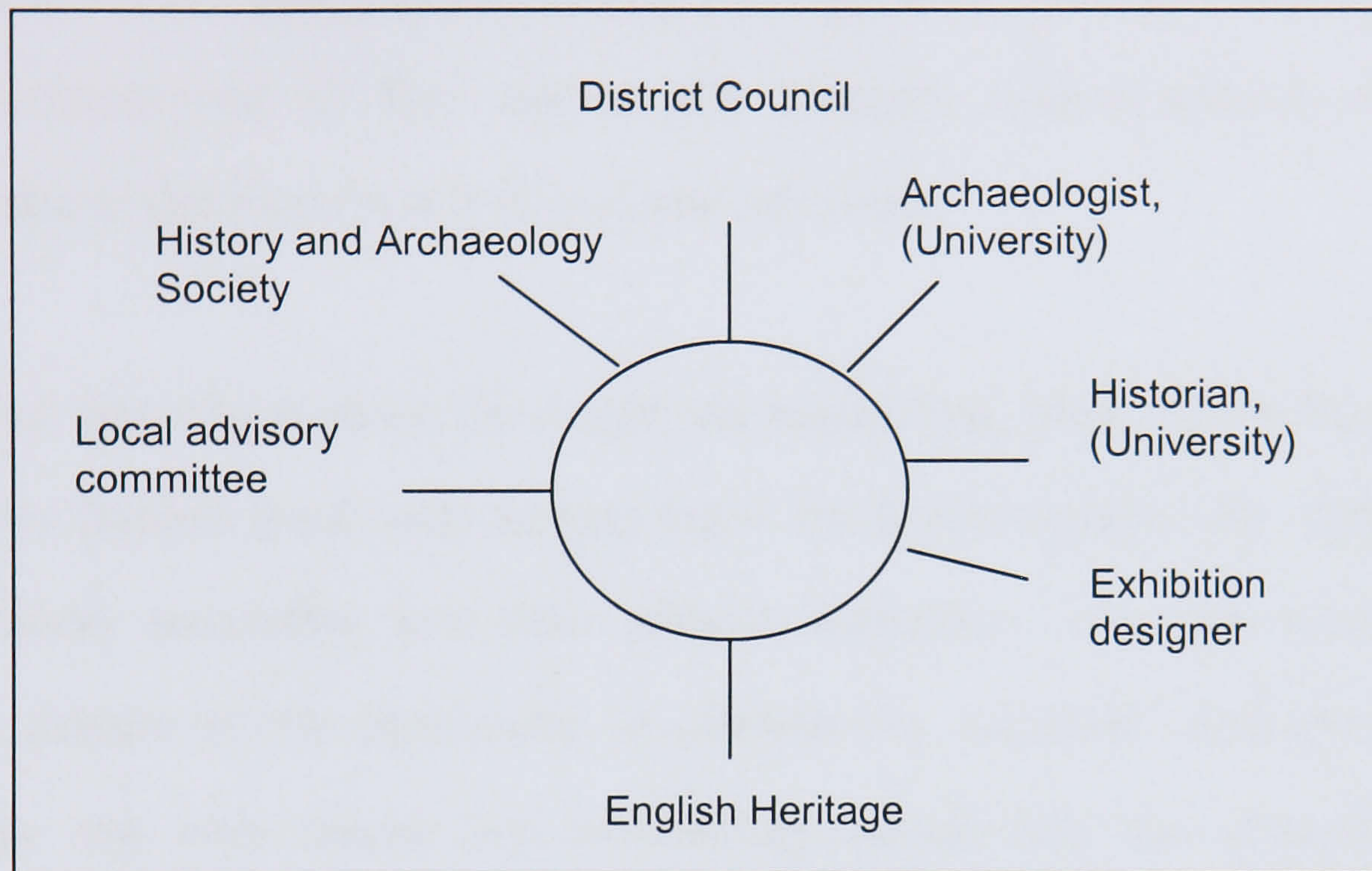
The scheme will be implemented and managed by (name) District Council, in partnership with the (name) History and Archaeology Society and the University of (name). A steering group will represent the key partners and the (name) Advisory Committee.

2.1.4. The Partnership

The district council held the funds and administered the budget. The steering group, or partnership, consisted of four organisations: the district council, the local history and archaeology society, the local advisory committee and the university. This steering group subsequently appointed a consultant designer to create the exhibition, and another temporary consultant to undertake the historical research. At the time, nobody in the district council had the time, and no dedicated workspace was available to undertake this work. The historical researcher was selected through competitive interview, as required by the HLF.

The primary stakeholders of the project are identified in Figure 12.

Figure 12: The Small Museum: Primary Stakeholders



The responsibilities for managing the project are clearly stated in the funding application:

- The council would continue to be responsible for the care and maintenance of the site, and maintain the new facilities created through the scheme.
- The local history and archaeology society would assist with the creation of the collections catalogues, the production of the new exhibition, and the publication of the promotional and educational literature. They would use the visitor centre for meetings and exhibitions, and make it available to other users.
- The university would provide a working area and supervision for the temporary Research Assistant, who would produce the catalogues of

collections, assist in the mounting of the new exhibition in the visitor centre, and help produce the promotional and educational resources.

- The university was also responsible for organising, managing and staffing the programme of field survey and research, and producing related academic publications and educational resources.

Guidance and advice would be sought, as appropriate, from EH, the Regional Museums Council, the County Archaeologist, the district Conservation Architect, the advisory committee, and other relevant authorities. To summarise, the central players in the partnership to produce the exhibition were the local authority, the local history and archaeology society and the university, in consultation with other government agents and agencies. The designer and the historical researcher were also closely involved with producing the exhibition.

2.1.5. Aims and Objectives of the Project

The aim of the project was:

To preserve and interpret the heritage and extend access to the arts for the benefit of the local community and of visitors to the district.

(HLF Application)

I have removed the name of the site, the buildings and the name of the town in the following summary of the objectives that were set out in the funding application:

1. To raise public awareness and appreciation of the history of the site and its surroundings.
2. Help preserve and improve public access to the site remains and collections.
3. Develop a new exhibition and meeting centre in the building for the use of local residents and visitors.
4. Utilise the educational potential of the site for the benefit of school children and older students.
5. Link the remains more closely to other historic attractions and to the town centre, to encourage tourism.

There is acknowledgement in the proposal that the initiative for the interpretation scheme and visitor centre grew out of the long involvement of local groups in the care and improvement of the site.

... it is anticipated that many of these people will derive pleasure and interest from the proposed new facilities. It is also expected that the facilities will help attract new visitors to the ... site,

including school children, students and tourists, and will provide improved access for people with disabilities.

(HLF Application)

2.1.6. Cost of the Project

The Interpretation scheme had a budget of approximately £100,000, plus £4,000 for contingencies. This would be raised as follows:

Table 6: Funding for the Project

Contributor	Amount (£)
HLF	78,000
District Council	20,000
Town Council	5,000
District Council (summer exhibition)	1,000
Total:	£104,000

The local history and archaeology society and the advisory committee would each contribute £50 each, as a mark of their commitment to the scheme.

2.1.7. Education

The educational role was shared between the local history and archaeology society and the university. The voluntary society would be responsible for opening the building to the public, producing educational literature and interpreting the site for visitors who came to the exhibition. Staff and students from the university and the local college would carry out further research on the site. This included the reassessment of existing archaeological data, the

collection of new evidence through topographical and geophysical surveys, and documentary research. Dissemination would be through promotional leaflets, education sheets, publication in popular academic journals and information technology, and the research work would be integrated into courses for higher education students.

2.1.8. Summary of the Organisation

- The aims and objectives of the scheme give high priority to public access, raising awareness and appreciation of the site, education, and conserving the site by record.
- The project was under the administrative and financial control of the local authority.
- Within the local authority, the organisation is hierarchical and highly organised. The responsibilities for the site are clearly defined.
- Specialist knowledge on archaeology is available through the partnership with the university, which will undertake further research on the site. The benefit for the university is that the site can be used as a teaching resource.
- Two local voluntary groups were closely involved in the scheme from the outset. One of these groups has responsibility for the education of the visitors who come to the new visitor centre.

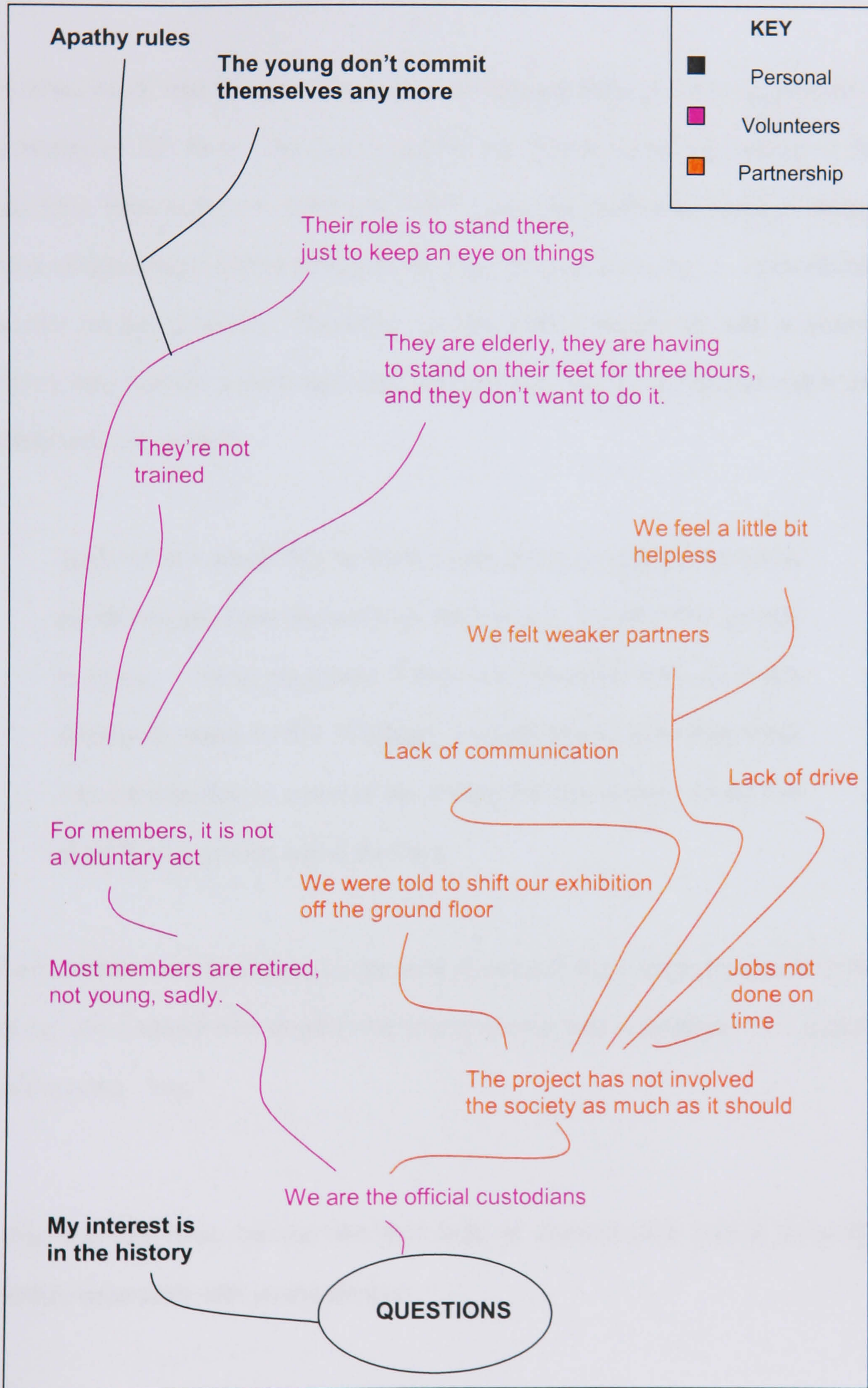
- The role of the local history and archaeology society was central to achieving the aims and objectives of the site, as its members would be responsible for opening the building and showing visitors around the exhibitions.
- The district council perceives the site as a potential tourist attraction.

2.2. Interview 3: The Voluntary Society

The cognitive map of the interview is shown in Figure 13. I met the Chairman of the local history and archaeology society late one Sunday afternoon, after the building had closed to visitors. The interviewee had become Chairman during that year, and therefore he had not been directly involved in the partnership himself. Prior to this he had been the Secretary of the society. We had met once before, at the small ceremony that took place just before the exhibition opened. On this occasion, I had also met the previous Chairman, and some of the other officials and volunteers. The taped interview took place outside the building, and we sat at one of the benches in the recreation ground.

The interviewee was clearly in awe of the President, who had founded the organisation. I quickly realised that the relationship between the society and some of the others who were involved in the interpretation scheme had not been a happy one, and that the interviewee was reluctant to discuss some aspects of the partnership.

Figure 13: Analysis of Interview 3



2.2.1. Personal Interests, Agenda and Concerns

The interviewee had become involved in the project through his long interest in the history of the town. He had published two books about the history of the town for a local author in 1969 and 1971. He was more interested in history than in archaeology, but he said that he was still fascinated by "... what we can discover on the ground." Recently, he had been "caught up" with a ground radar survey that the society had been carrying out. As far as his own role in the society was concerned:

Well, what I would like to think I was doing is stimulating some people to get more interested in the society – or what the society is doing. I mean obviously, if they are interested enough in the society to come to the meetings, I would like to stimulate them into participating in some of the things that the society would like to do if only people would do them.

He was clearly very frustrated by the lack of interest from some members of the society, and I asked him whether he found apathy was a problem. He replied: "Apathy rules. Yes."

During the interview, he claimed that lack of commitment was a particular problem, especially with young people:

... young people tend, well I don't know, are they really only just involved in going out and enjoying themselves? Do they do anything else? I don't think they do. We have very few young people in church, and saying that they were involved. This morning I celebrated Mass at the parish church, the vicar was away, and I was on my own, and one server turned up out of four. This is the way it seems to be. They don't commit themselves any more.

He felt that he had considerable shortcomings in his role as Chairman of the society:

Well, some people think I cover it, but I think I don't. What I feel is that an awful lot of people put a trust in me, which I feel they are not justified in doing. What I lack is (a) time, (b) the drive, because I get tired and (c) the continuous organisational energy. And I don't honestly see anyone else picking that one up. That's the problem. I mean, I'm doing too much really, and I feel I don't do any of the things I do as well as I should.

2.2.2. The Role of the History and Archaeology Society

The interviewee said that the role of the voluntary society was like any other town society: with a constitution, an Annual General Meeting, and General Meetings. These general meetings were usually talks or lectures. The society

also worked to some extent with the district council as it also had a role in looking after the building on the site and the new exhibition:

We are the official custodians, working under the aegis of the district council. They tell us where they are going to put things, we tell them when they've done things, or are likely to do things. We have actually worked with the district council for a number of years quite closely. More so than the average town society.

The society had, he thought, between fifty and sixty members. (Subsequently, he informed me that there were 81 members in 2001). He said that these members were:

Mostly retired, not young, sadly. There are a few younger people, but there is no youth, which is a shame. I don't know how one can overcome something like that.

The society was largely made up of people who had been members for many years:

They are the stalwarts. We try to bring in new blood, where possibly we can. (Name) today, for example, is new blood, but not exactly young blood. He is in the process of leaving London and moving up to here, but in fact, oddly enough, I knew him in London before I moved down. Our Treasurer is a relatively new

member, but not getting any younger, otherwise, yes, they are all old hands.

The building was, at the time of the interview, open for thirteen afternoons in the year. The society allocated one committee member upstairs in the building and one downstairs, plus one other member. The interviewee added that theoretically, a member of the committee was involved more than once in each of the thirteen weeks in the year that the exhibition was open, usually three or four times:

Members are difficult to pin down. Sometimes we are short, very often it is the same members over and again. So for members, it is not a voluntary act: they love to come to the talks, and are happy to confess that that is basically about all.

I said that it is very difficult, when an activity is voluntary, to ask people to give up their Sunday afternoons. He agreed: "Yes, they are elderly, they are having to stand on their feet for three hours, and they don't want to do it." He felt that the role of the volunteers was "... just to stand here, really, just to keep an eye on things." I asked him whether he felt that they were there for security purposes and he agreed:

Security, basically. We would like to think that they were concerned about the history of the place. Most of them don't know enough about history to talk about it correctly, not come out with a load of cobblers. *(laughter)*

2.2.3. The Partnership

I asked him about whether the project was underway when he became Chairman, or Secretary, and whether he had any input into the interpretation scheme. He replied that the only input that he had was in his role as the Secretary "... and the fact that (the President) tends to use me quite a lot for help and to confirm his own feelings about things, and for his support." He added:

I should have liked more involvement. As it happens, so would the President, and so would the former Chairman have liked more involvement. And in fact, one of the sore points is that the project has not involved the society as much as it should. Hence we have that awful representation of the (name) as it was in (date), which we say that it was not like that in (date). That is not what it was like. We were not able to stop that. So we feel a little bit helpless in some respects.

Later in the interview, I suggested that the society might have felt the weaker partner. He said that he was sure that the President of the society and the designer would say that they felt the weaker ones. Furthermore:

... the man who designed the exhibition was very, very frustrated and has actually, quite likely since it's his business, probably lost a lot of money over it, or lost some money over it, and he put a lot of his own time into it. He's been very, very good. But there has

been just a lack of drive in the people who, in theory, should have been closely involved, which is a shame. But we're getting there. We haven't given up, we have gone on. We haven't turned our backs on it.

He had also been frustrated by the delays in the opening time of the new exhibition:. He said: "This has taken so long. This was supposed to be up and running last Easter twelvemonth – it opened this Easter." I asked him what had caused the delay:

Ah, Marion, if I could answer that question, I think I could be the government's principal advisor on everything! It was people, bluntly. There was no physical reason, there was no question of things not being available or anything like that. It was simply people did not get the jobs done on time, a lot of it. And some of it's still not done.

He said that most of the problems in the partnership lay not so much in overall vision or in scope. Indeed, his responses to questions about the aims and objectives of the project showed that he shared the vision to raise public awareness of the site. He felt that the problem lay in the actual implementation of details, or "making it happen". The society had also worried about what the money was going to produce, with so many changes occurring.

During interviews with the other partners, I discovered that there was at least one "physical reason" that had caused these delays. He may not have been

aware of the details, as he was not the Chairman at the time. There were two particular problems with the floor of the building. Firstly, it was unstable, and had a hole at one edge. Secondly, the surface was uneven, making public access difficult, or even dangerous. Resolving these problems with the floor was crucial, in order to gain funding from the HLF.

Unfortunately, there was only one Conservation Architect in the district council, who had little knowledge about access issues or buried remains. The Steering Committee proposed rush matting, believing that this would solve the problem. However, the Building Regulations Department proposed that a new concrete floor should be laid. EH would not allow this, and suggested wooden planks on sand. The Building Regulations Department refused to allow this, and proposed a raised timber floor, plus a ramp, and raising the lintel of the door. EH absolutely refused to allow this. Eventually, the district council paid for an external consultant, who said that the floor would be acceptable with rush matting on the top.

The interviewee said that the society had worried about whether they would actually get what they set out to get. However, he added:

I think, in the end, we have. We are actually pleased with the exhibition as it is now, bar one or two things. On the whole, we are happy with it. Many members in the society would say that yes, we have a splendid exhibition.

However, the society was less pleased at losing the exhibition space on the ground floor of the building, and having to move upstairs. Later in the interview, in response to a question about the educational material, the interviewee said:

Everything went to pot when the (new) exhibition came in. Part of our stuff was downstairs, part of it upstairs, and we were told: "Shift it off the ground floor!" And we did, and it all went upstairs.

2.2.4. Education

The interviewee felt that basically, the visitors were families with children. This was what the society had anticipated, having held exhibitions in the building before. The building is very close to the swings and roundabouts in the recreation park, and it seems logical to expect children to come. However, any planning of their own exhibition upstairs, he said, would be for the general public, rather than for children.

We don't pitch it at children, largely because, in the end, the children are not intensely interested. They are temporarily interested. It's the parents who are going to look at something and say. "Oh, I found something like that in the garden last summer", and then they've got a connection. And that could go on. The children generally who come are too young, that's what we find.

He said that the children who came, were "... kiddies who drift around and don't understand what it's all about." He added:

And I don't honestly think, being a teacher myself, I don't honestly think that we would spend what little money we have well in trying to interpret it to small children. I think it would be wasted. I would rather have the stuff there for older people, who have a better idea of what it's all about.

The interviewee said that he had taught the age group 11-18 at a Grammar School. He said that many of the volunteers "... are actually teachers or something of the sort, so they have done this kind of thing before." However, they were not trained in adult education, as far as he knew, although he had Part I of the City and Guilds course himself. The interviewee said that he had produced "some little crib sheets" for the volunteers, with salient dates, to help them to learn about the site.

The volunteers did not have any specialised training in archaeology, but they had been "...trained as they went along ..." during previous excavation work. Now, however, they hoped that the link with the university would enable them to train people in the use of resistivity equipment. Shortly, the university representative on the partnership was coming to a society meeting, and bringing the equipment with him.

The interviewee regarded the former President as the expert in the whole project: he had been elected as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, as a

result of his archaeological work. He said that nobody knew more about the archaeology of the town: “There’s no-one with the knowledge and expertise of (name).”

2.3. Interview 4: The University Consultant

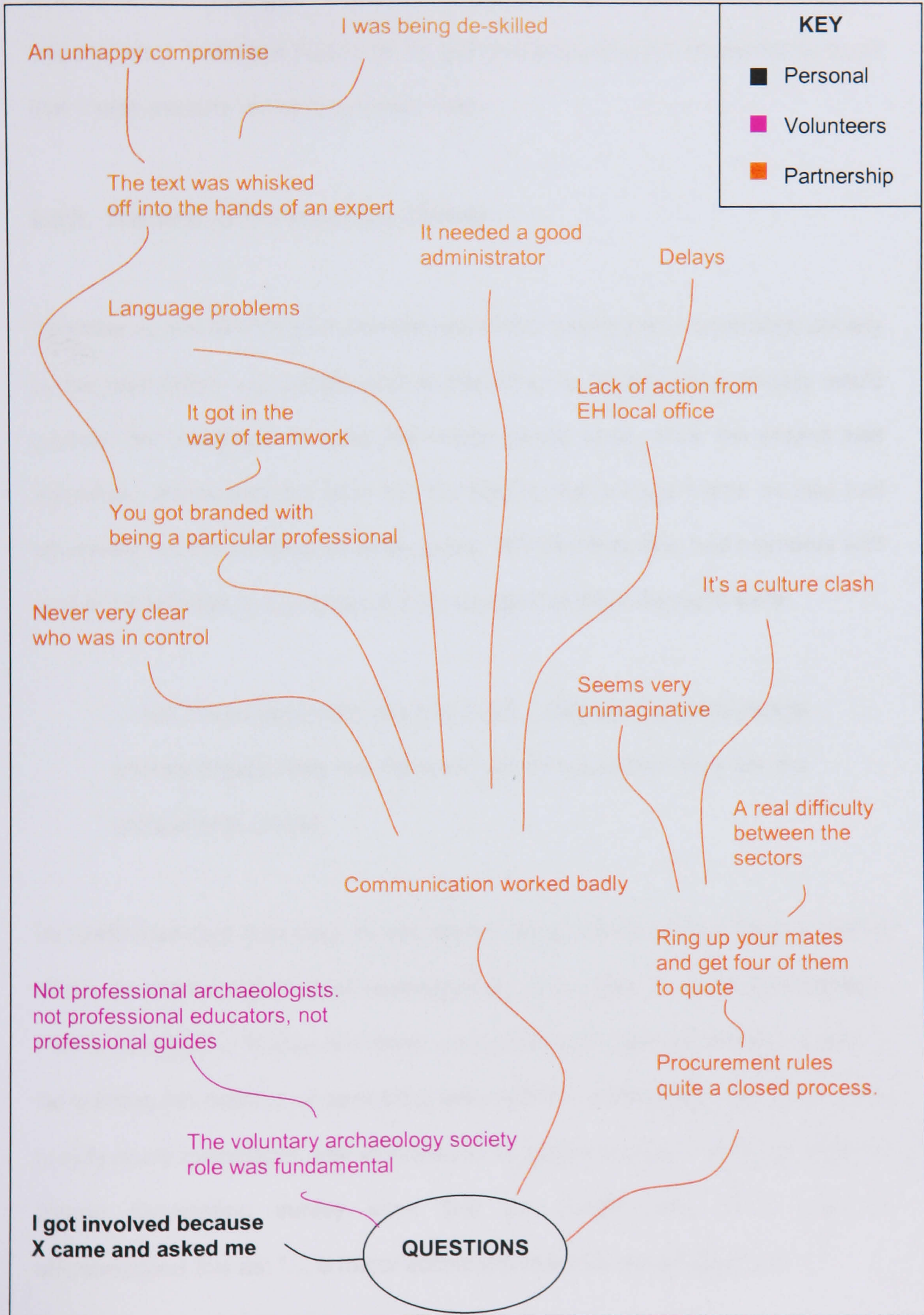
2.3.1. Personal Interests, Agenda and Concerns

The interviewee’s office at the university was a familiar place. I had known him for several years, since I was an undergraduate. I had gained access to this case study because of his involvement in the scheme. Despite our prior association, the taped interview was conducted in exactly the same way as the other interviews. I arranged an appointment with him, saying that he would be anonymous in the research. I prepared questions for the interview, and sent a letter of thanks with the transcript, asking him for approval. From the approved transcript, I produced a cognitive map of the interview (see Figure 14).

The University consultant had become involved in the project because the district council official asked him to join the Steering Committee:

They needed an educational dimension with links into the local community ... and I have known about (the site) for years and occasionally lectured to the (history and archaeology) society – but this was the first time that I had been asked to have a kind of engagement with it any other way than as a user.

Figure 14: Analysis of Interview 4



I was surprised to find that he had become involved as an educationalist, rather than as an archaeologist. However, he said that as the project progressed, it became clear that there had to be an archaeologist, and his involvement meant that it was possible to combine these roles.

2.3.2. The Role of the Voluntary Society

The interviewee said that he saw the role of the history and archaeology society in the partnership as fundamental to the scheme, because the society would provide the manpower to keep the visitor centre open, once the project was delivered. It was also the case that the society had a huge stake, as they had effectively run the building for many years. He said that they had members with a lot of knowledge, but qualified this by saying that the volunteers were:

... not necessarily what you might call – they are not professional archaeologists, they are not professional educators, they are not professional guides.

He confirmed that members of the society were not formally trained in either history or archaeology, but acknowledged that there was: "...a lot of willingness, a lot of contribution in time and effort, and patently a huge commitment to seeing the building maintained, or something done with it." It emerged later that: "... the society has a hydrologist, who is interested in water courses." We discussed the ground penetrating survey work that the society had done, and he acknowledged this as: "... a major accomplishment for an amateur society".

However, the interviewee expressed his concern at the limited public opening times:

It always seemed to me from the start that we were going to end up investing a lot of money in something which was then not going to have much public access at the end of it... In the end, at this stage, in 2001, it is open once a fortnight in the summer, and the society is trying to get its act together to have it open every Sunday. But even if they achieve that, it is still very, very limited.

2.3.3. Control of the Partnership

I asked him how the steering group had operated. He replied that typically, this group had met in the offices of the designer. “That always struck me as a slightly odd, and slightly awkward arrangement.” I asked him why he found this odd:

I thought it odd because the designer was, ‘in effect’ an employee – but the district council man tended to be deferential rather than collegial with him.

He added that the district council signed the cheques, so there was financial control, but it was more than that:

... the district council tended to take the view that there were professionals for this, and professionals for that. You somehow

got branded with being one or other of them. And there was a kind of assumption that unless you were a designer earning money as a designer, you didn't know about design.

The interviewee said that he had found this frustrating, as through his work in archaeology, he had been involved in producing several major exhibitions in the past.

I found it a real problem, because it got in the way of teamwork. Because, in reality, there was a situation with a designer who didn't know anything about archaeology, and had strong views on what something would look like, although occasionally these ran counter to other issues.

For example, simple things, such as securing something to a wall, involved asking the district council to ask the conservation architect, who was "quite concerned" about the damage that this would cause to an ancient monument. However, there had been a tendency for the officials of the district council to say: "The designer knows best", even though there were things that the designer did not know about. The interviewee had found this "a damned nuisance".

Later, he returned to the issue of expertise:

... the moment I was most irritated by the process was when I perceived that I was being kind of de-skilled, because I didn't have a certain label for the purposes of this project. And I know

that others thought like that: that the district council man was poor at recognising that people were multi-talented and multi-skilled. I thought that was something that came out so strongly with the district council, who assigned roles. And I wonder if that is how the district council works.

I asked him whether it was just the district council that behaved in this way, or whether the other people in the project perceived each other in such separated roles. The interviewee replied that the society, the designer, and the university partners all, at different times, felt that:

The district council was running a kind of blinkered vision, which actually got in the way of people behaving sensibly or, indeed, working with each other.

He said that there was an expectation of an understanding of district council procedure. But there were no guidelines about the ground rules for the project:

We had no induction paper that said this is the way that the district council works, and you felt kind of criticised because you didn't know that is how it was done. This very clear assumption that you are an expert in X, and therefore your professional judgement counts over everything else, including what the steering committee would like to do, was pretty hard for the rest of us to cope with. And led to friction.

This had led to some heated arguments, as well as “enormous difficulty with little things like the French drain”. He explained that the water came off the north-east corner of the building. This was the most illogical corner for water to drain from, as if it came off on any of the other three corners, the water would drain away. “But on the north-east corner, everything just drains through the wall, there is nowhere else for it to go.” The district council had rejected the solution suggested by the partnership.

Very simple-minded members of the committee, including myself, thought that the answer to this is very simple. Just let the water run off a different corner. But no, the district council have this very expensive scheme called a French drain. Which meant digging through graves and involving the Parish Council, getting English Heritage’s permission to perform an excavation on it, rather than refurbishment.

They had needed to conduct an excavation, with all the recording work this involved, to put in something that, the interviewee felt, still causes the water to drain into an illogical position.

.And it was utterly impossible through the whole thing to get sense, because somebody years ago said: the answer is a French drain. And an “expert” had said the answer is a French drain.

He said that he had been “quite irritated” by this at the time:

When you can see something is stupid, and the society thinks it's stupid, the designer thinks it's stupid, the archaeologist thinks it's stupid, but the "expert", the "expert" we've never met ... English Heritage says, well, it's stupid. But the district council still gets the system in with the French drain.

He added that the partners never knew who this "expert" was, because the solution had been pronounced "... probably twenty years ago. But: It was still there, in the district council records. The answer. No other answer would do."

2.3.4. Co-ordination of the Project

The interviewee felt that lack of co-ordination on the part of the district council had caused delays. I asked him whether anyone was in overall charge, to co-ordinate the project.

No... at the point where the exhibition finally had to get together, it resulted in (name), the designer, and me just deciding that we had got to do something.

Later in the interview, he said that he was deeply suspicious of the term "expert". He felt that the "expert" concept was "a bit of a nuisance on this project".

I think, perhaps, in the way of people contributing, and people working together. I just found that I was assumed to be an expert in archaeology, and allowed to be an expert in education, until it

came to the text of the exhibition. And suddenly, that wasn't part of my expertise, because it related to exhibition, rather than education. And it didn't seem to matter how often I said, well, that's how I've organised dozens of major exhibitions. Because that isn't my job title, I wasn't an expert.

However, the interviewee and the designer had been happy to discuss issues of design between them, "... but we tended to have to do it outside the steering committee." He added:

Well, it seemed to me that the university and the designer wanted it to be teamwork, whereas the society and the district council saw it in a very compartmentalised way. I think it was modes of operation.

There had also been "very substantial problems" with the scheduled monument process. EH became involved, and this "...had to go through the district council." He agreed that this problem could not have been avoided, but he thought it could have been foreseen. He said that before he became involved, completion dates had been put on the project that took no account of these problems. There were also problems with individuals being ill, "...the usual things that can cause delay in any project."

There had been a problem with the drainage of the building. These had been exacerbated by changes of staff at EH, which had caused further delays:

English Heritage was going through, as you know, a reorganisation, creation or dismemberment of the (town) office ... We went through about four inspectors in no time at all. All of them said different things.

The first representative was “quite laid back” and told them to “...get on with the job, then disappeared just after the bid went in”:

He was replaced by one who was incredibly inert and inactive, and impossible to get hold of. Never answered phone calls, never answered letters, never answered e-mails.

It had been necessary to complain to the head office about the lack of action:

And their grumpy Area Officer came out. And he was replaced by someone who was much better. But there was a gap between those two, and we were dealing with an acting person, who had no authority. So it was only when we got to the fourth person that it started moving forward.

I asked him what he thought of the new exhibition, and whether he liked it. He did not like the central plinth, and thought it was a “claustrophobic space”. Overall he did not like the design, and the text was not as he had wanted it. The interviewee and the historical researcher had produced the text between them, as a set of headings. He had then created the story line with the designer. The

text had been agreed with the steering committee, but this had taken a lot of effort and negotiation.

Then, just at the point when the story line was established, and too much text was lying around, it was whisked off into the hands of an “expert”, who supposedly knew about text and display.

This “expert” had been from the district council.

And suddenly, the idea, which had been to have captions to the images, which would have been no more than twelve words for each image ... and then a deeper text for those that wanted to read it, got lost somewhere, and what I consider an unhappy compromise is in there.

With the opening date looming, he had felt that there was nothing to do but “run with what came out of that”. He still felt that his more truncated text with captions, which told a little story, would have been better. This, together with supplementary text, would interpret the site for what he called the “utterly incompatible constituencies” of junior school children and people at the “informed adult level”. He added that the material that had ultimately been used was “... always meant by me to be kind of deeper material for those that wanted access to it at that level”. Now, material for schools, that reproduced the images as well, would have to be produced.

Even the management of press releases was fragmented, and done by various individuals: "I think they came from all the partners at different times." It had been the same with fundraising, and the involvement of the volunteers. At various stages, there were volunteers processing databases, or answering the telephone. These had been uncoordinated activities, carried out on what he called an "ad hoc" basis. The interviewee said that nobody could assume the role of co-ordinator in the partnership, because nobody had the authority to do so.

2.3.5. Working Practices

The archaeologist stated that if he had to work on another partnership project, he would be very much more careful in terms of reference, and would want more ground rules:

I would actually want to know simple things, like what the arrangements for procurement are, because clearly, the universities have different systems from district councils.

He felt that the district council's system of tendering seemed to be quite counter-productive:

Something officially goes out to tender, but it is out to tender by people you invite. The university approach would be much more to use relevant literature. I mean, on this occasion, it might be Museum Journal, and advertise for tender and see what comes

in. The district councils seem so used to these procurement rules, instead of it being an open process, it is quite a closed process. Ring up your mates and get four of them to quote. I'm not terribly convinced by the effectiveness of the process.

He felt that the district council's practices occasionally lead to odd situations, where the complex process of bidding is gone through, and then something has to be added on afterwards, with dire consequences:

Whereas the university approach would be much more to say: here's an idea, what are you going to give us, and what would it cost? Whereas with the district council, you actually lay down a very, very, very precise brief yourself, and ask them to meet it. And that seems very unimaginative ...

He felt that this was a real difficulty between the sectors, and a very important one. He described it as a "culture clash".

Further evidence of cultural difference is evident in the transcript. The interviewee had said that the use of different language had been a problem between the partners, and caused communication difficulties. He said: that the word "conservation" was "utterly problematic". As an archaeologist, what he had meant by conservation had been quite different to what the district council or the voluntary society meant. Each partner had a different way of referring to these terms:

Landscape is a difficult word. Access. And I could go on with a great long list of words. Actually, you needed to unpick them every time you used them... Design, certainly, was a very awkward term. Design in terms of the architecture and display, rather than the panels.

For a long time, there had been confusion over the word “design”. The designer and the interviewee were talking about what went on the panels, and the district council was talking about the substructure which held the panels up.

2.3.6. Sustainability of the Project

The interviewee stated that the life of the exhibition material was approximately ten years, which he thought was not very long. However, the scheme had succeeded in halting the decay of the fabric of the building. He also felt that the society had created a “rather fascinating environment”, where there was a “professional” exhibition downstairs and the “amateur” exhibition upstairs. He added: “In a funny sort of way, I think that works.” Also, the building had been refurbished, and therefore the archaeology had been conserved:

In terms of posterity, well, the building will now survive. And it’s pretty amazing to go in there. You used to go into that building and the walls were covered in fungus, the sandstone was eroding before your eyes. Well, you can’t reverse that, but at least it has halted it.

The environmental conditions were now stable. However, if the building were to be opened in the winter, the building would have to be heated for visitors and volunteers. This would dry out the atmosphere, and the stone would crumble.

I asked him whether he used the site as a resource for the students at the university:

Well, we do. We used it before. I am quite reluctant to open the can of worms of excavation in a very, very, very public space. And I think that the kind of research excavation where you have unlimited times, and then left until next year or something, is utterly inappropriate.

The only excavation work that he thought might be practical was to raise the money to have a secure excavation. Excavation in a children's playground would raise safety issues. For the interviewee: "Non-invasive techniques have got a lot going for them."

3. Summary of the Partnership

- The strongest partner, the district council, was also the fundholder.
- Although their role was acknowledged as fundamental to the project, the history and archaeology society was the weakest partner.

- The district council assigned inflexible roles to the other partners. This led to illogical solutions to conservation problems, and the de-skilling of individuals in the partnership.
- There was lack of co-ordination between the partners.
- Delays were also caused through multiple staff changes at EH.
- There were major institutional differences between the partners, particularly evident in different tendering procedures and the lack of a common language.
- Concerning education, there will be limited public access to the visitor centre, due to the reliance on voluntary staff. The central partners in the scheme were not happy with the final version of the text.
- Apathy is a problem in the voluntary society. The Chairman claims that for many members, volunteering at the site during the summer is not a voluntary act. However, they are anxious to gain skills in the use of archaeological equipment.
- Although the scheme had conserved the building, year-round public access to the visitor centre would threaten its sustainability.

4. The Visitor Survey

I agreed a date for the visitor survey with the contact at the district council and the voluntary society. As opening times were limited, to interview 25 visitors, the survey was carried out over two afternoons, 1st and 15th July 2001. The weather was fine and sunny on both days, and I approached visitors just outside the building, as they were leaving.

4.1. Gender, Age, Ethnicity and Occupation

Of the 25 visitors interviewed, 17 were women, and 8 were men. Concerning ethnicity, one was Australian and one was Spanish. However, they were not “tourists”, coming to “see the sights”. The Spanish girl worked as an au pair in the town, and had brought the children to the recreation park. The Australian visitor was staying with her sister in the town and they had come for a walk in the recreation park.

11 of the visitors (44%) were over 50 years of age. The age distribution of the visitors I interviewed is shown in Figure 15.

Figure 16 shows that the visitors that I interviewed were mostly in employment. Their occupations are shown in Figure 17.

Figure 15: Age Distribution (years)



Figure 16: Occupational Class

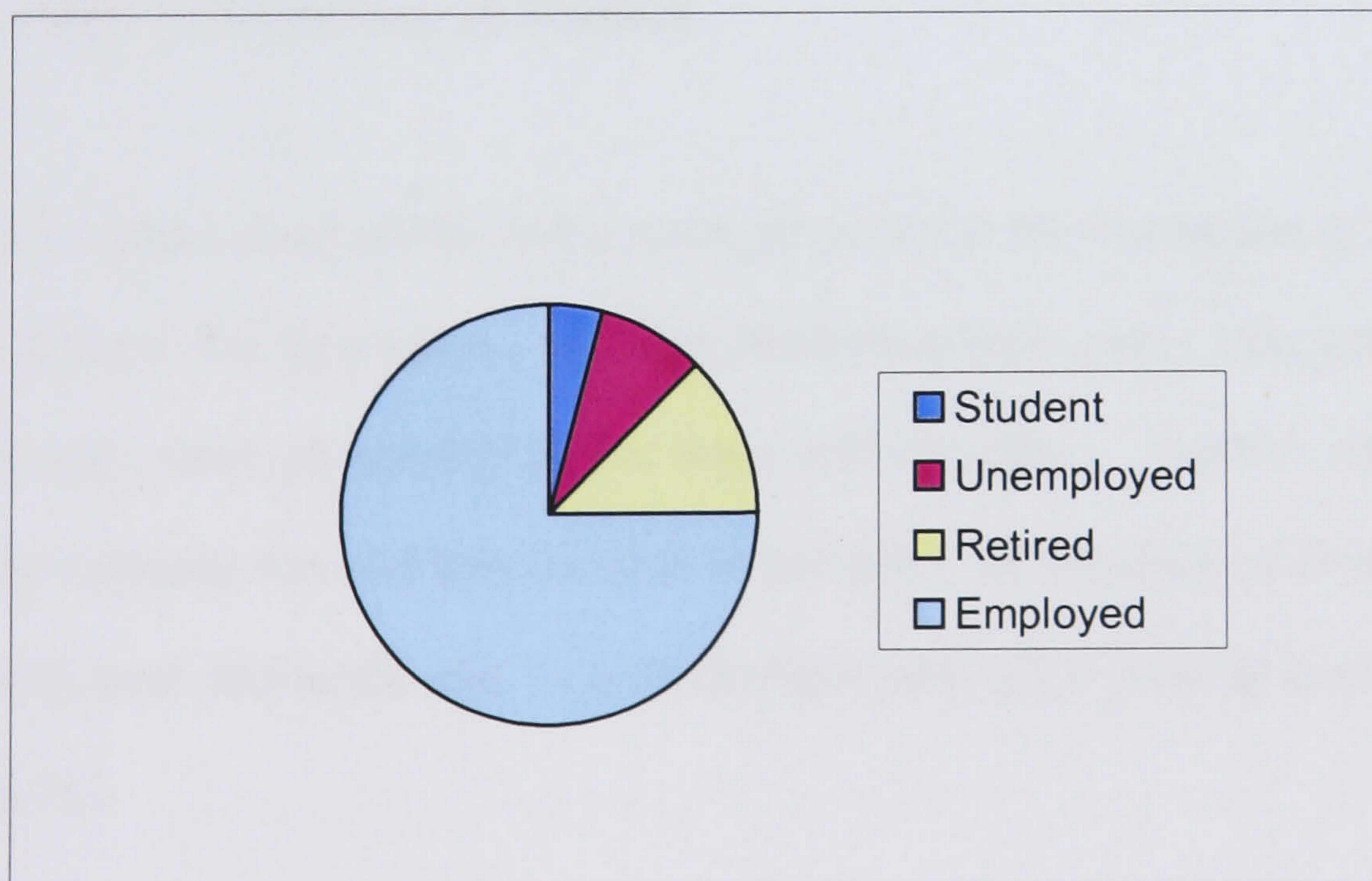
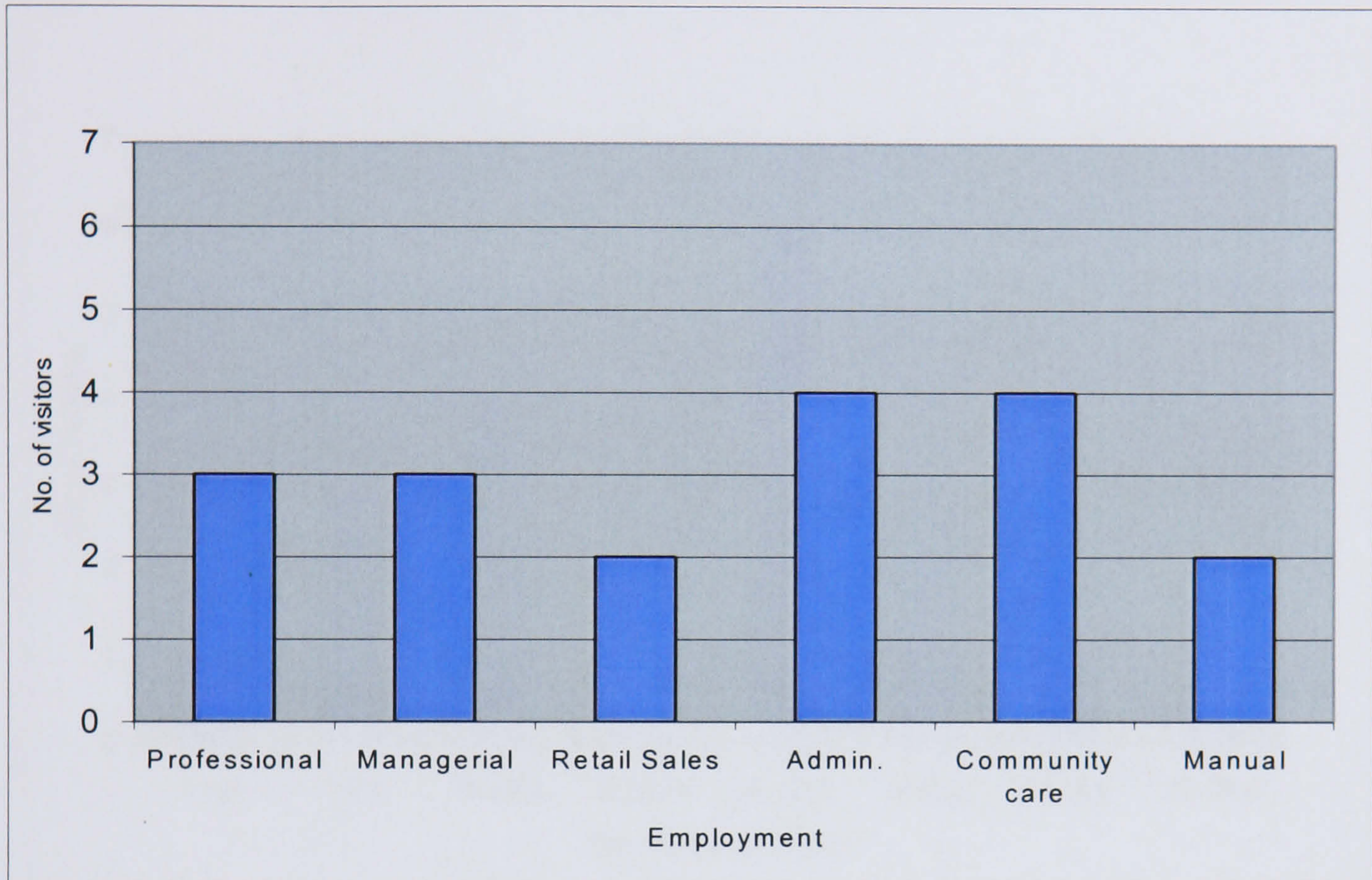
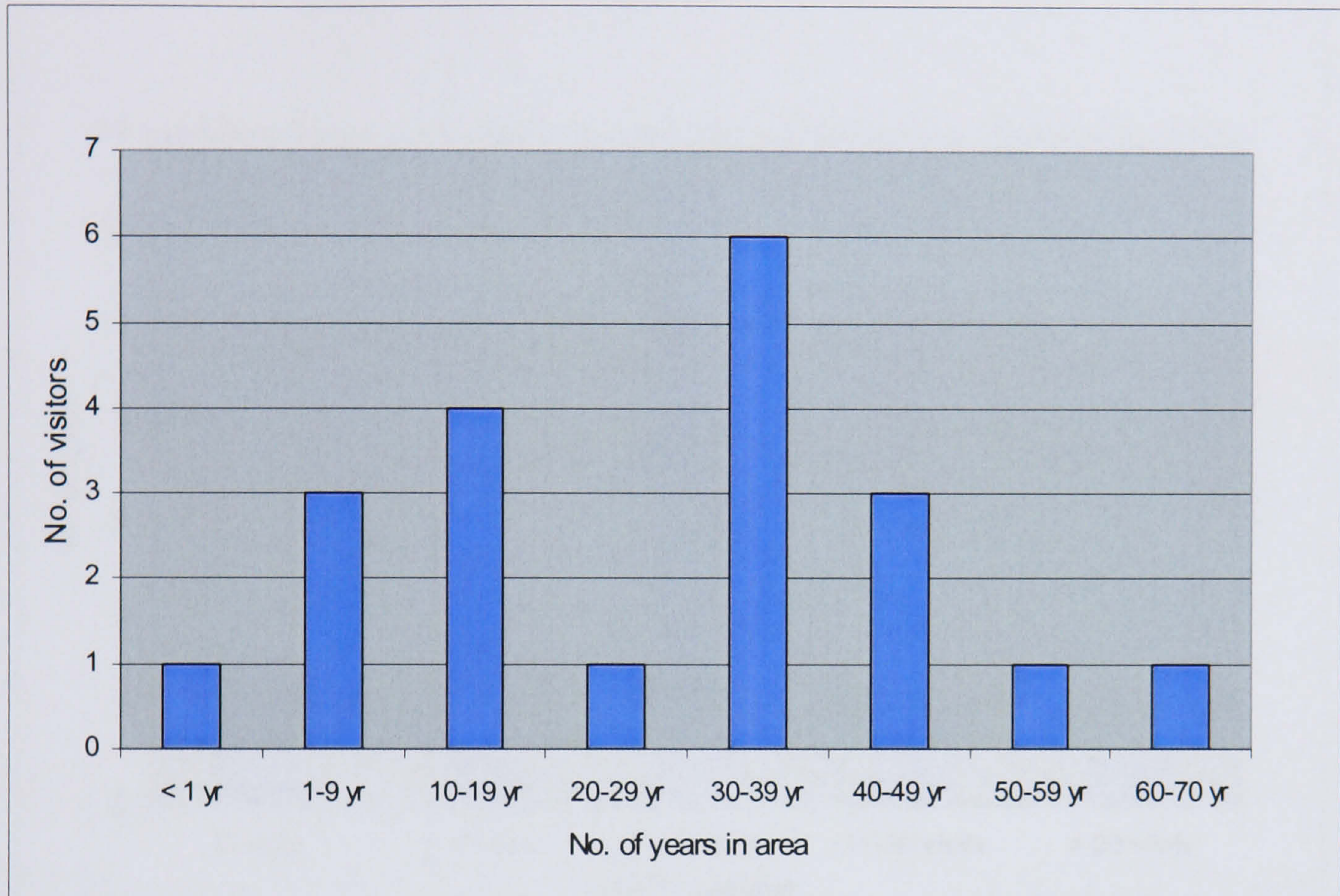


Figure 17: Occupational Groups

4.2. Length of Residency of Visitors

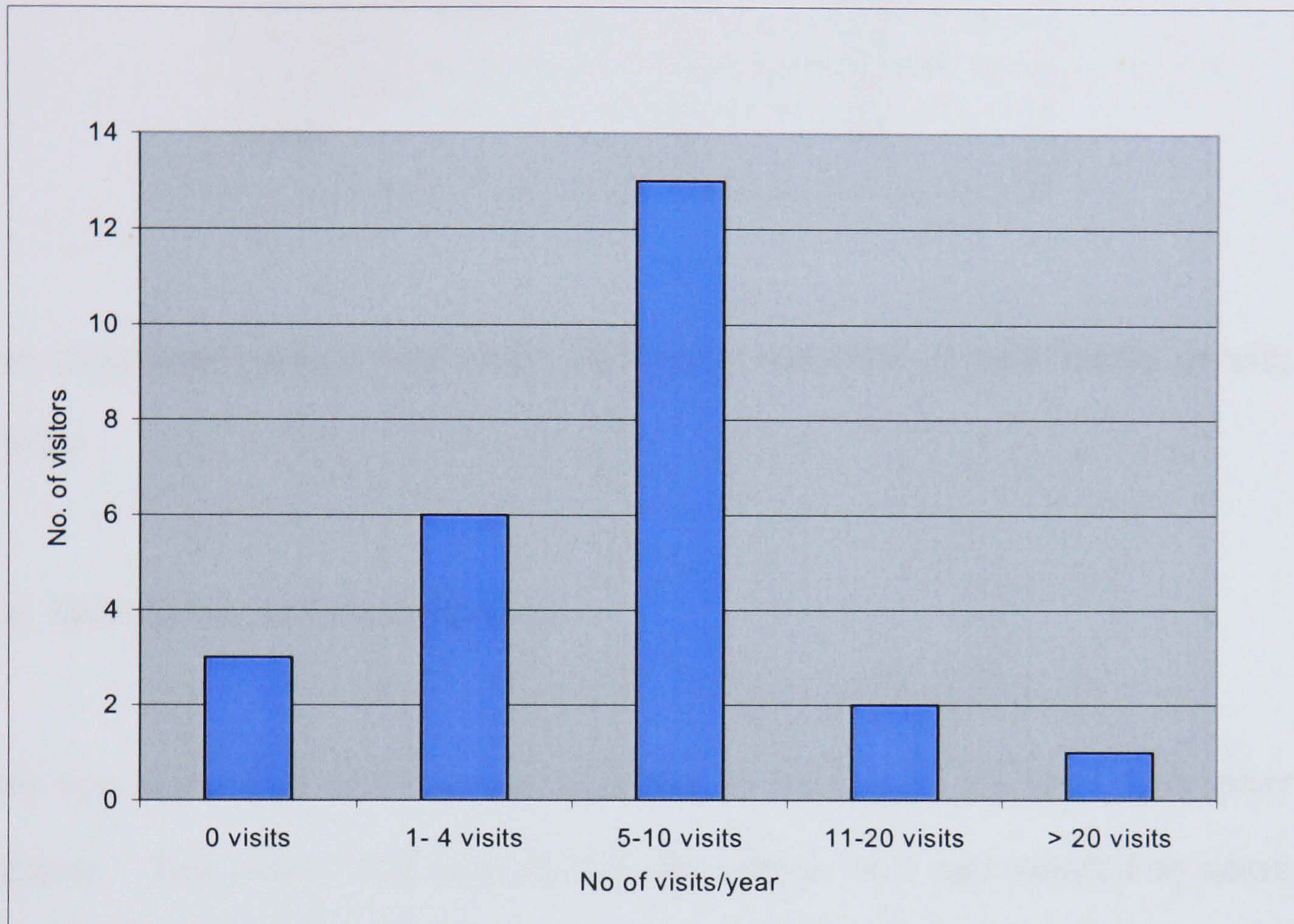
20 of the visitors lived either in the town, or within a 10-mile radius of the town. Of the other 5, the Spanish au pair, the Australian lady, and a lady from Market Harborough, were all staying in the town with families. 2 other visitors had travelled between ten and twenty miles to the site. Of the 20 local visitors, most were long-term residents, and 12 of these had lived in the area for over 20 years (Figure 18).

Figure 18: Length of Residency

4.3. Visiting Patterns

Many of the visitors had walked through the site before, when they had come to the recreation park. For the majority, it was the first time that they had come to an exhibition in the building. Six people had been to one of the previous exhibitions that the voluntary society had produced.

For three people, this was the first visit to a heritage site in the last year, but one of them said that she visited one or two when she was on holiday abroad. Most people visited other heritage sites between five and ten times a year (Figure 19).

Figure 19: Frequency of Visits to other Sites

Seven of the interviewees had visited other places in the town during their visit. Four had been to a nearby heritage attraction, three had visited pubs, restaurants or a café, and two had been to the shops.

Only one interviewee had come to the exhibition alone. She said that the rest of the family was in the park. Table 7 shows the ages of the children who accompanied fifteen of the interviewees. Most of them were under the age of 11.

Table 7: Age of Interviewees' Children

Age of Children	No. of children
5 years and under	11
6-10 years	12
11-15 years	6
Total:	29

The other interviewees had come with other members of their family or with friends.

4.4. Motivation and Perceptions

Only one visitor had come to the exhibition as the result of a conscious, prior decision. This visitor had been to the site before, and had decided to come again when the new exhibition was open. All of the others said that they came by chance, and were "just passing".

All of the visitors that I interviewed stated that they had enjoyed their visit. Only one would not come again, and would not recommend others to come. He was in the age range 50-65, and had lived locally for thirty years. He did not like the musty, damp smell, and thought that the pottery was uninteresting. However, he had liked the pictures of the old town in the exhibition upstairs.

When I asked the visitors what they liked least, a lady in the age range 50-56 said she did not like coming in out of the sunshine to a darkened room. One lady (30-39) said that she would have liked more background information in the exhibition upstairs, another (30-39) thought that there was too much text

downstairs. Although she thought that the text was well written, she said she would prefer to see an exhibit that related to the written material at each storyboard. Another lady felt that the exhibition “could have done with a bit less written material.” One felt that it was “... a bit sparse and clinical downstairs”.

4.5. Learning through Visiting

I asked the interviewees which part of the exhibition they had found the most interesting: the local history display upstairs, or the new exhibition downstairs. I found the results surprising, as I had expected the professionally produced exhibition on the ground floor to be more popular, particularly in view of the amount of money, time and historical and archaeological research that had been involved. Three people said that they found it all interesting, and expressed no preference. Twelve people said that they found the downstairs exhibition more interesting. Thirteen interviewees preferred the exhibition on the first floor.

However, it emerged during the interviews that five people did not go upstairs in the building, and therefore did not see the other exhibition. Of those who had seen both exhibitions, eight people found the new exhibition more interesting, and thirteen preferred the local history exhibition upstairs. The reasons that the visitors gave for their choice include specific objects, photographs, and the information on family trees. Those who preferred the downstairs exhibition mentioned the visual approach for presenting information, the history of the site and the carved stonework. The two exhibitions at this case study are compared and discussed further in Chapter 7.

When I asked the interviewees what they liked most about the exhibition, seven made general comments, such as “Seeing old things”, “The age of everything”, or “Finding out about the past”. I have categorised the other answers as follows:

Specific objects/artefacts	7
Information	5
Photographs	4
The local history aspect	3
Knowledge/enthusiasm of the voluntary staff	2
Plans/drawings	2

I also asked them to comment on the illustrations and the text. Five interviewees had no comment. Fourteen made positive comments and six comments were negative:

Positive Comments

“Fine, aimed at quite general levels”.

“Good to follow. Good illustrations.”

“Very well set out.”

“Well set out. Good eye level for short people.”

“Just enough. The illustrations and text were well done. “

“Well written.”

“Very good, I felt”.

“I thought they were interesting.”

“Clearly illustrated.”

“A reasonable amount of information.”

“Not difficult to understand. I read most of it.”

“I just enjoyed looking at it.”

“Uncluttered, the large print was easy to follow.”

“Very good, colourful boards.”

Negative Comments

“I needed to crane my neck to read the display in the middle.”

“Not meant for children ...”

“A few more models for the children downstairs would be helpful.”

“A bit more information upstairs is needed.”

“I didn’t have time to read everything.”

“A lot of reading. It takes time to read it all. I couldn’t read all of it.”

Twelve people said that they had been surprised by some aspect of the exhibition. Their replies are categorised as follows:

Age of site/length or the richness of its history	4
The size of the site (How large it was)	5
“That it was here”.	1
“That there were thirteen-sided coins”	1

Another visitor said:

It has made me very interested in it: I didn't know how all the fields were placed until I saw the map. It made me think.

11 of the interviewees said that nothing had surprised them about the exhibition. They added that either they knew about such sites already, or they did not have time to read all the material. In all, 6 people did not read the text. 5 of these visitors were women, and were accompanied by children.

Finally, although I did not ask questions about the role of the volunteers, several people commented on their helpfulness and enthusiasm:

... X, who explained the history and heritage: the enthusiasm in her voice comes across.

The gentleman upstairs being so knowledgeable made it very interesting.

The lady upstairs looked up our name. She is going to send me a copy of a family tree.

Three people said that they did not want to learn more about the history of the area. One said: "... not at this stage". The others all said that they wanted to learn more. One added: "... as a family".

4.6. Summary of the Interview Survey

- The visitors are predominantly local people, of all age groups. Most were in employment, and there were more visitors from the professional and managerial occupational classes than any other group.
- Because of its position in a recreation park, many visitors brought their children to the exhibition. However, there is a lack of suitable learning material for children and families.
- The new exhibition relies heavily on text, yet 20% of visitors that I interviewed did not read it. Most of these people were accompanied by children. Because of their demands, these visitors may have been unable to commit enough time to reading and understanding the material.
- Although many visitors were familiar with the site, very few were aware that the visitor centre was open.
- Most interviewees who had visited both floors in the building preferred the amateur exhibition on the first floor to the new exhibition on the ground floor.
- Some of the responses to the questions indicate the valuable contribution of the volunteers to the visitors' learning experience. Although these volunteers are amateurs, some of them are, or have been, teachers and they may be more knowledgeable about the history and archaeology of the area than has been recognised.

5. Analysis and Summary of the Case Study

Table 8: Analysis of the Small Museum

<p style="text-align: center;">Strengths</p> <p>Sustainable, as site and building maintained by district council.</p> <p>Fabric of building stabilised.</p> <p>Exhibition on two floors provides variety of learning materials.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Weaknesses</p> <p>Fragmented activities (e.g. publicity).</p> <p>Lack of suitable learning material for children and families.</p> <p>Ageing volunteers.</p> <p>Lack of training for volunteers.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Opportunities</p> <p>Closer links with partners, through research and publication activities.</p> <p>Recruitment of more volunteers (through visitors to exhibitions, local university, colleges and schools).</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Threats</p> <p>Vandalism, due to location in a recreation park.</p> <p>Lack of interest in the project from volunteers.</p> <p>Institutional differences between the partners.</p> <p>Lack of co-ordination of future activities.</p>

The reluctance of some of the interviewees to discuss some issues suggests that this research only scratched the surface of the problems that were encountered in this particular partnership. Although the number of individuals who were involved was relatively small, and they all shared the aims and objectives of the project, some working practices caused difficulties:

- Control of the project by the strongest partner, the fundholder, caused frustration amongst the other members. Decisions were taken away from the partnership, and made on the basis of historical precedents in the district council. Therefore, the working culture of one organisation was forced on the other partners, without discussion or mutual consent. For example, important decisions concerning procurement, and the text for the exhibition, were not agreed within the partnership. Also, the issue of the French drain suggests that such “external” decisions were not always based on what the other partners felt was “common sense”.
- Institutional differences were also evident in one partner’s questioning of the tendering procedure, and different uses of language, which resulted in communication problems in the partnership.
- The district council assigned inflexible roles within the partnership. These did not take into account the needs of the partnership, or the transferable skills of the partners.
- Despite the “strategic” role of the district council, they failed to co-ordinate the project, or assign this role to anyone else. Resistance to the dominant way of working, and frustration at the delays, prompted the formation of a small sub-group that discussed the project outside the partnership.
- Although the fragmented activities of the partnership have resulted in some widening of local knowledge about the site, this could be broadened through

an effective and co-ordinated publicity campaign. Most visitors that I interviewed came by chance.

Concerning education, the university has a role in formal education and research at the site. Responsibility for the informal education of visitors lies with the local voluntary society. Although their role in the project is understood and acknowledged by all the interviewees, they lacked credibility and strength in the partnership, possibly through their amateur status, and receive very little support for their voluntary activities.

According to the Chairman of the society, many of the members have received no formal or informal training, and most have little knowledge of the site. Nevertheless, some visitors feel that the volunteers who were “on duty” during the surveys were enthusiastic and knowledgeable. Clearly, the society needs to recruit more volunteers, preferably from a younger age group.

Here, I had a direct influence on this case study. Sometimes, students approach me in my role as a tutor at the university, and ask about a future career in museum work. Knowing that the society needed younger members in their organisation, and that some students need work experience in the sector, I have suggested to some students that they might like to join the history and archaeology society, and volunteer as guides. The society needs the students, and the students need the work experience. Some new, younger members have now joined the society.

I cannot therefore state that I have not had an influence on the subject of my own research. In this, social research is no different from the field of archaeology. After an excavation, we try to put the site back in exactly the same condition as it was before we arrived. This can be very difficult, as when we remove the soil, air is introduced, and it never all fits back into the trench, no matter how hard we stamp the ground, and grass turf shrinks and leaves gaps when we try to fit it all back again. In archaeology as well as in social science, however hard we try to “leave the field clean”, we cannot help but leave our footprints. However, if we leave the site in a more healthy and sustainable state than before we came, I feel we should not agonise for too long.

Turning to the interpretation of the site, there were many discussions about how the text, photographs and maps should represent the story. However, there was no agreement concerning the audience for whom the narratives should be written. The history and archaeology society dismissed the idea of interpreting the site for children. The university would use the site for the education of their students. The tendency was for the interpretation to be directed towards the interests and activities of the partners, rather than to meet the needs of the local community and the environment of the site. Yet, all of the partners were aware that the site is in a recreation park and therefore, a large number of children were likely to attend. Despite this, the only exhibit that was designed either specifically for children, or for families, was a small area at the rear of the central plinth, which incorporated a tray of sand, into which small artefacts could be placed for children to find.

On the afternoons when I carried out the survey, no artefacts had been buried for children to find. According to the volunteers at the museum, these “get lost”. Small children certainly had their fingers in the sand, although through this activity, they would learn very little, if anything, about the history or archaeology of the site. This exhibit was a particular source of irritation to the volunteers, who stated that most of the sand found its way to the floor, and had to be swept up regularly and placed back in the display. Following my report to the organisation, this exhibit has been removed. Yet again, as a researcher, I have influenced the research. Unfortunately, the exhibit has not been replaced by more suitable learning material for children. The learning of children, or families with children, appears to have received scant attention in the interpretation scheme.

Despite these difficulties, the result has been a sustainable scheme. The project has conserved the fabric of the building, and the new exhibition is robust, and is designed to stand out of doors to withstand its damp environment. The district council will continue to maintain the site, and the voluntary society will open the site to the public during the summer. Threats still exist: apathy, ageing volunteers, and the disturbing words that the members of the archaeology society feel that their attendance at the site is “not a voluntary act”.

Chapter 6: The Redevelopment Project

1. The Site

The third case study site is also owned and managed by a local authority, but is located in a city centre. The visitor centre and the surrounding gardens were constructed recently, as part of a scheme to redevelop the city centre, funded by a major grant from the MC. During this, extensive archaeological remains were found, and rescue excavations were carried out. Some of the finds from the excavations are displayed in a new visitor centre, which opened in August 2001. Part of the standing archaeological remains is incorporated into one wall of the building.

The exhibition is situated on the ground floor of the visitor centre. The first floor area is used as a multi-faith meeting centre. A small area of the exhibition operates as a shop, and sells small items, and books about the history of the city. There is also a free brochure about the exhibition for visitors. The building has toilets for visitors, including toilets for disabled people. There is no café in the immediate area, although there are several in the city centre, and new restaurants and bars will be constructed nearby as the redevelopment scheme progresses. There is no entrance fee to the exhibition, and it is open every day except Sundays and bank holidays. The exhibition staff has been drawn from the city's museum and art gallery.

1.1. The Interpretation Scheme

The visitor centre exhibits stonework and other finds from the site. Some artefacts are displayed within multi-sided island units that are positioned around the exhibition space. Several of these incorporate touch-screen monitors, where visitors can view short video descriptions of the excavations and the history of the city. Angled from the displays and at low level, these are accessible to wheelchair users. A large, wall-mounted screen is sited at the far wall of the exhibition, which projects a digital reconstruction of the site. Some of the exhibits are in the form of puzzles that are designed for children.

1.2. Aims and Objectives of the Project

The budget for the interpretation scheme in the new visitor centre was £100,000. A condition of the granting of funds from the MC was that the archaeological work should be carried out prior to the redevelopment. The aims of the project were to reflect the history of the town and the archaeology that was underground, and "... to improve an area that was fairly dilapidated, a very run-down area" (Interview 5). The city council's design brief for the interpretation scheme states that there are two key objectives:

- To create a unique centre which tells the story of the site and people associated with it in the context of an emerging interpretation strategy for the city centre's historic buildings and the City Museum and its collections.

- The exhibition must be a popular, accessible (in the widest sense) and quality experience which will both entertain and inform local people as well as national and international visitors.

This is the only case study of the three studied that included the words “popular” and “entertain” in the aims and objectives.

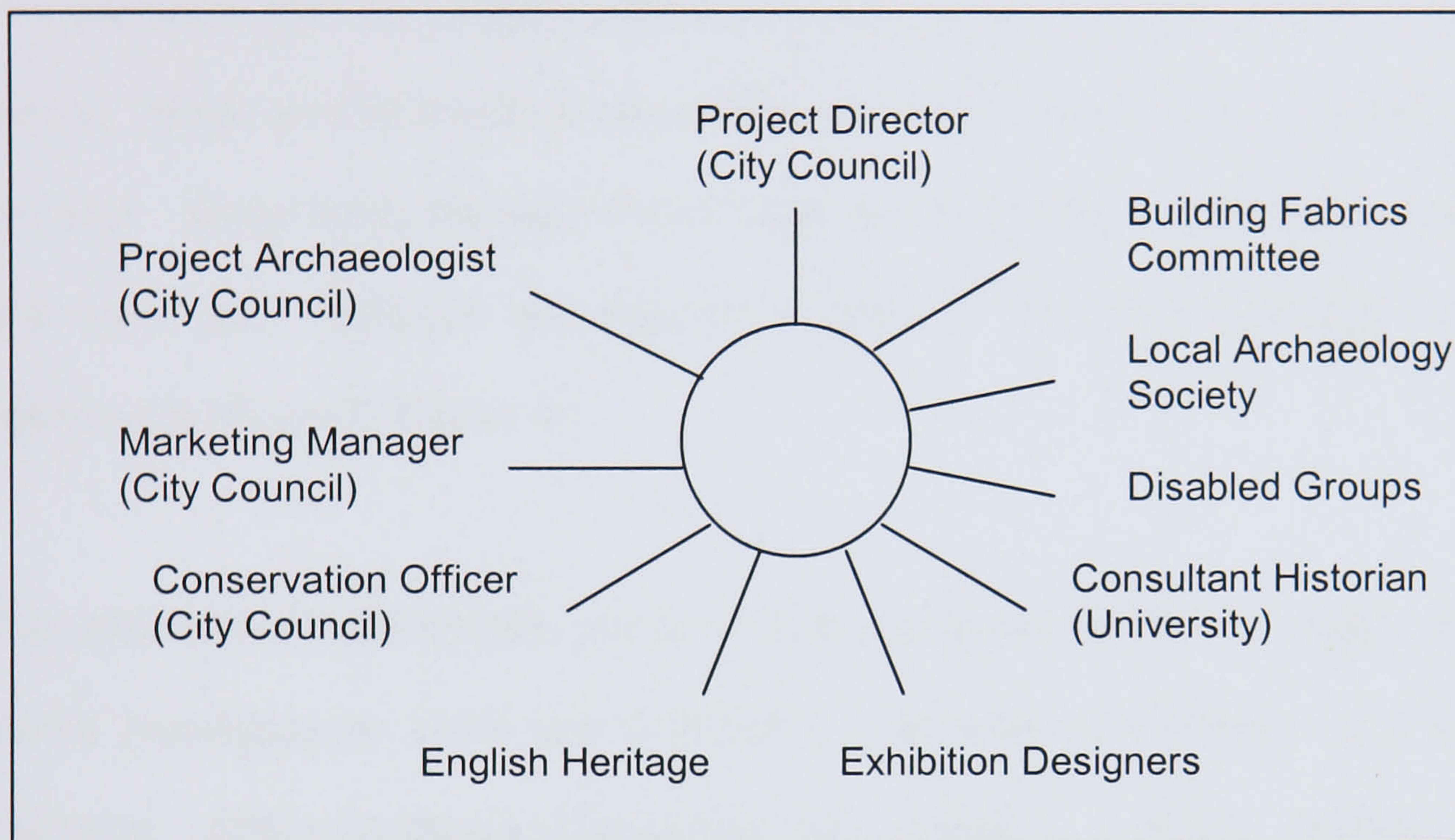
1.3. The Partnership

Management of the entire redevelopment project was the responsibility of the city council. Interviewee 5, the project archaeologist, felt that there was a “double partnership” operating during the scheme, with one partnership at the development level, involving architects, builders and other contractors in the redevelopment scheme, and another that dealt with the archaeology and the interpretation scheme.

The team dedicated to the interpretation scheme included the Project Director, the Project Archaeologist, and the Marketing Manager, who was responsible for all publicity. The local authority Conservation Officer was also involved. A university art historian was retained as a consultant to record the architectural material. The design consultants who were retained had worked with the city council on a previous occasion. Other partners who were involved at various stages of the scheme included the organisation that was responsible for the fabric of an important local building, which I will call the Building Fabrics Association. Volunteers from the local archaeology society took part in the

excavations, and groups for the disabled were consulted at the design and planning stage. These stakeholders are shown in Figure 20.

Figure 20: The Redevelopment Project: Primary Stakeholders



I interviewed the Project Director, the Project Archaeologist and the consultant historian.

2. The interview data

2.1. Interview 5: The Project Archaeologist

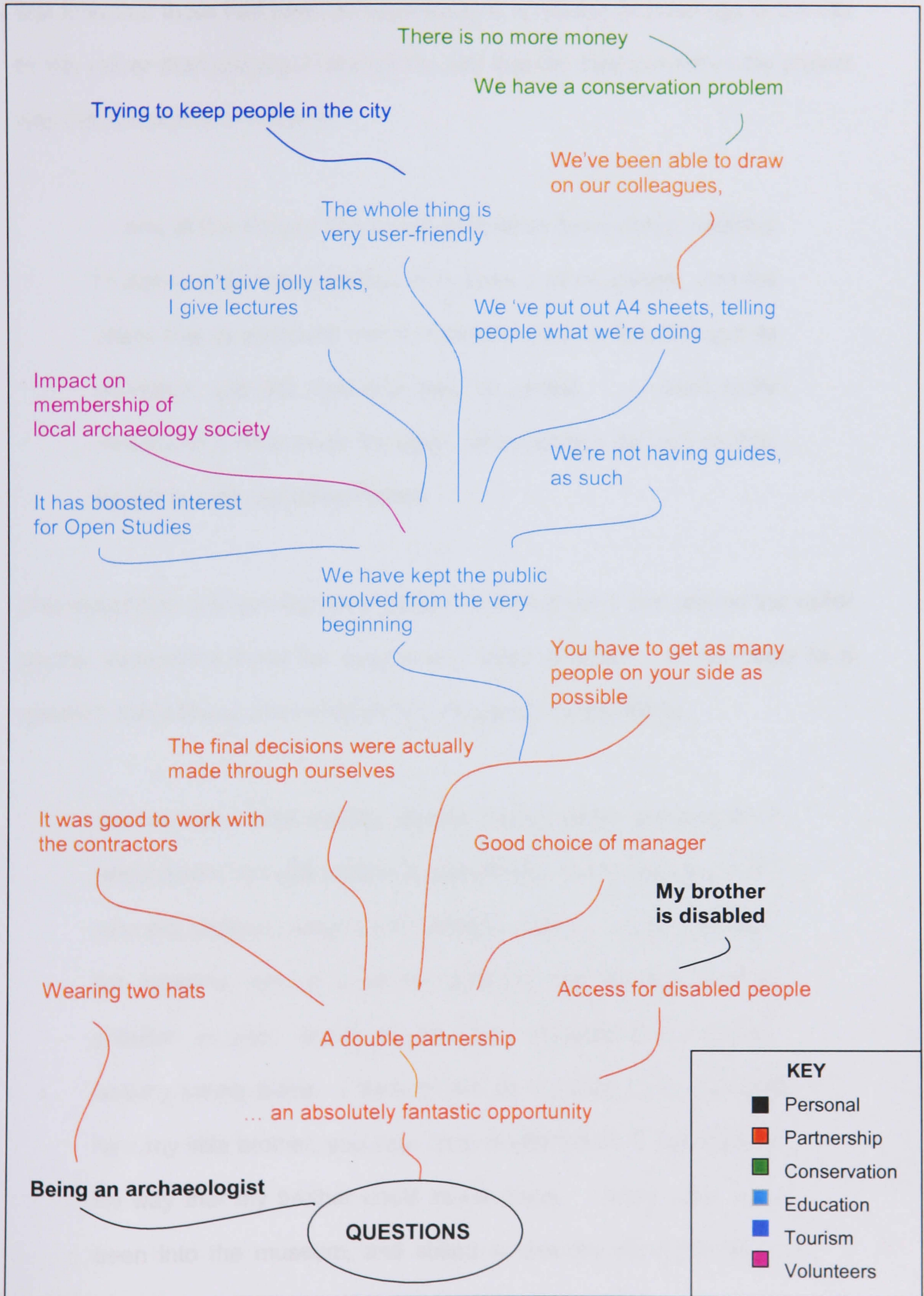
The interview with the project archaeologist took place in her office in the city centre. At the time of the interview, although we had met before, I did not know her well. Since then, we have been tutors on the same archaeology courses, and have lead research excavations together. The cognitive map of the interview is shown in Figure 21.

This interviewee had already given several interviews about the project to the media (newspapers, radio and television), and was no stranger to a taped interview. She sometimes disregarded the questions I asked. Instead, she would discuss aspects of the scheme that she felt were important. If there was a power balance between us during the interview, she had the upper hand.

2.1.1. Personal Interests, Agenda and Concerns

The interviewee had lived in the city all her life, and had worked for the local authority for nearly thirty years, at the local museum and art gallery. She had left this post to join the redevelopment project as an archaeologist. Her first words in the taped interview were: "Being an archaeologist...." Knowing her as I do now, I think she would agree that being an archaeologist has always been, and still is, a large part of her life. She has an infectious enthusiasm for archaeology, which is clearly evident from the taped interview, although impossible to transcribe or to describe.

Figure 21: Analysis of interview 5



I asked her about her own interest in the site. She replied that it was the very first time that there had been an opportunity to bring the archaeology of the city to life, rather than burying it afterwards, and that her real interest in the project was the interpretation scheme:

... one of the things I like about what we've been doing, certainly in terms of the interpretation, is to base it all on people, and the effect that (a particular event in history) had on the city and its economy, and the individual lives of people ... I can't really remember a time when it's been done perhaps as well as this. Boasting a bit, but nevertheless!

She stated that she was also very proud of the facilities in and around the visitor centre, particularly those for people who were disabled. In her reply to a question about these, she revealed her own personal concerns:

So, we have blind people coming round, we've got people in wheelchairs, not just people in wheelchairs, but there are people who are disabled, when it isn't always obvious. I have a brother, for instance, who is a severe epileptic, and he has a heart problem as well. But if you saw him, he looks like a normal, healthy young bloke. I think of him as a young man, because he's my little brother, you see. You wouldn't think it, but there is no way that my brother could tackle steps. I know when he's been into the museum, and asked to use the lift, he heard a

comment: "Lazy sod!" And he isn't, he is disabled. But he doesn't carry a banner.

She added that great attention had been paid in this project to ensure that all the elements and activities were accessible for disabled people.

2.1.2. The Archaeology Society

The interviewee mentioned that she had been "wearing two hats" during the scheme. She was on the Buildings Fabrics Association committee, and felt that this had helped, because she knew the people there. She actually had another role as well, as she was the Chairman of the local district archaeology society. Although the local authority archaeology unit had been involved in the initial excavations, the nature of some of the work meant that this had to be subcontracted to a professional archaeological company. However, volunteers from the local archaeology society had been involved in the later excavations. She said that when some of the volunteers came on site, they had done some very heavy work.

And of course, when I need trowellers in, I ring them up and say: "I need trowellers." So they have been very involved with the excavations, right from the very outset ... And there's a large membership, we have got over two hundred members.

She stated that it had always been a strong, active society, and membership numbers had been boosted by the interest in the project. She felt that the

project had increased participation in the courses that she taught at the university, adding that almost every member in her extra-mural groups had joined the archaeology society. Through her involvement in the scheme, she had been able to give the students some practical experience in archaeology during their studies.

2.1.3. Conservation

During the interview, it became apparent that there were insufficient financial resources to conserve the archaeology:¹

(name of Project Director), one of his main jobs at the moment, is to try and get even more money, because unfortunately, even though we costed the excavation, what has happened is that we found that the remains are far greater than even we could have anticipated. Because of how wonderful the survival is, it has been agreed by all concerned ... that they will be left open to the public... Now, you obviously cannot leave them open, as they are, because they'd all fall down. We've taken away their support, their environment, from the buried environment to the open air, and the support of all the soil around them.

She said that in a way, the archaeology had caused "a tremendous amount of financial problems" for this project. The interviewee added that this could not have been anticipated. The costs were running into "... tens of thousands", and the city council was now trying to obtain more funding for the project:

So we've had to go to English Heritage, we've had to go to the Lottery Funding people. (The Project Director) has gone for European funding. Any grant/aiding body has actually had to be contacted, to say look, we've found this, we need more money. At the moment, I think that some of it has come in. I have to say now that if I say to (The Project Director): "Guess what we've found", he'll probably say: "Please don't tell me any more."

2.1.4. Education

The interviewee stated that this had been an ongoing process during the project, particularly so far as the public was concerned:

And of course, the other thing is, the more archaeology which we found, which has been incredible, and this really is where the educational side of it comes in as far as I'm concerned. Because having established to what extent the archaeology had survived, the educational aspect automatically kicks in.

She felt that education starts when the first person came and asked: "What have you got here, then?"

During the excavations, the city council had decided to open the site to the public and take visitors around the site. Prior to this, the site had been fenced off, as part of the project had involved excavating a graveyard.

And the uptake on these tours was unbelievable. People were writing to the (local newspaper) saying they couldn't get on to these tours. They were ringing the radio station. And there was a limit to how much we could do. And we couldn't take young children. That created a big fuss, because the site was dangerous at that time. And the people who came on the tours realised why we couldn't. And as much as I quite like children, I could only eat half a one, but mums with pushchairs on a dig like this, is useless. You couldn't do it.

However, they had arranged that for a short time, children could visit the site with their parents:

And then, we didn't let them down, they had to stand on the side and we talked about it. And talk about voice-losing! There were only three of us, that could take the tours, and we just did them time and time and time and time again, for two whole weeks.

As time had gone on, they had continued with this process of public education on-site:

We have ensured that our staff on the dig were really trained to talk to people who were standing on the outside. What isn't good is to have your diggers saying: "Oh, I don't know, I'm just doing this bit. Know what I mean? So everybody had to have a certain amount of training, so that they could answer the public's

questions as truthfully as they could. And then, of course, we also have put out these A4 sheets telling people what we're doing. And this is why, as you know, the one we've got for (part of the site) says: "What's this all about, then?" That's because that is what people say.

Clearly, the educational activities had extended before and after the exhibition opened. The archaeologist, and members of the team, had also lectured to groups, both within and beyond the city. This had brought more visitors to the site:

Now, we've done hundreds. We bring groups around: if we go out to a group and talk to them about what we're doing, it always ends up with them wanting to have a look. As an example of that just this week, I went a few months ago now to (place) to talk to their history group. I am taking them round the site on Saturday. So you've got that spin-off as well. I don't give jolly talks, I give lectures on what we are doing here. Now, the groups that I have spoken to range from retired union members to professional women's' groups, to historical associations, to other archaeological societies...

She added that she had been involved with the publication of various archaeological reports. A "popular version of the excavations" was being produced to have for sale in the visitor centre. She felt that this was necessary

because "... archaeological reports are, in the main, very stodgy, they are only of interest to archaeologists".

2.1.5. The Interpretation Scheme

Concerning the material for the visitor centre, I suggested that it was quite a difficult task to interpret the site for everybody:

Well, it is. You can fill these displays, these visitor centres, with jargon. What we've done is to make sure we're not using jargon, so that everybody understands. From big people to little people, to people whose first language isn't English. I'm not sure how much of the information will be done in other languages.

Producing the text had not been straightforward. When this was sent to the designers:

... they read it through and say: "We're not sure what that word means", "This is jargon", or "Can we say this another way?" But I am very good at that, myself. (Name), who is a historian, bungs his text to me and I think, nobody will understand this, (name), you've got to use it in a simple way.

Although the responsibility for producing the text had been shared with the design company, the interviewee had written most of the text herself:

I am writing a lot of it. Or (name) and I have sat and written it together or whatever. But occasionally, somebody will do just one section of it. But originally, of course, the ideas came from (name of design company). And then, we looked at it, and we said, "Oh, no, wait a minute, you can't say that. You don't know about this." So I've ended up writing most of it myself. And the other thing is, of course, small people. We want everybody to be able to understand it.

Attention had been paid to the height of the text, as well as to the amount of text that would be included on the panels. This had to be 100-130 words on each panel:

So that's pitched at a level where people can take away some information. Many years ago, there was a tremendous amount of research done on museum exhibitions, and how much information people actually can take away. And it is surprisingly low. Low because there was too much information, and they became swamped, so that they actually wiped it all out of their minds. Whereas, if you can throw in short, understandable sentences – and it is a tremendous challenge to somebody like me, who suffers from verbal diarrhoea – you can't shut me up once I start – to be able to say something or two or three sentences.

2.1.6. Tourism

The issue of tourism arose while the interviewee was discussing education:

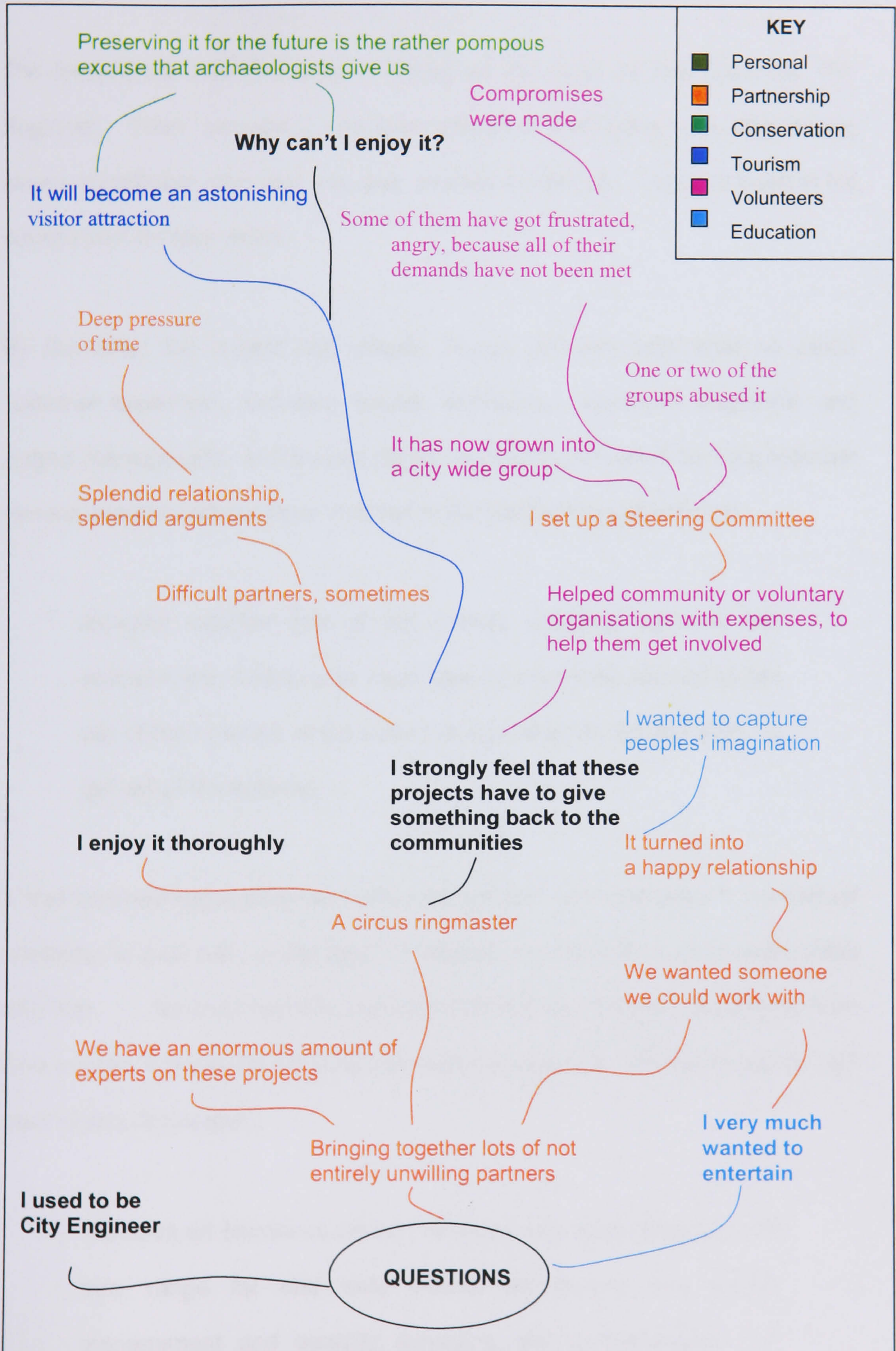
The other thing from the outset was, who are you going to attract? We also have an ulterior motive. We have known for years – twenty-five years – that people visit this city, they stay for an hour and visit (another attraction) and then they shove off to (name of nearby town). We have been trying for twenty-odd years to try and keep people in the city. Now, we know that the visitor figures for (name of tourist attraction in city) are huge. We want to grab those visitors, because that would improve, feed through, into the city and its economy, and so on. So we've been doing quite a lot to encourage that. What we are doing here is working with the (city tourist attraction). Their visitors are now wandering off here, and coming into here.

The interviewee stated that a promotional company was working closely with the city council to produce a new audio-taped guide of the city, for tourists to hire. This would incorporate a tour of the site and link the new visitor centre with the other tourist attractions of the city.

2.2. Interview 6: The Project Director

This interview took place in the office of the Project Director. I had not met him before. The analysis of the interview is shown in Figure 22.

Figure 22: Analysis of Interview 6



2.2.1. Personal Interests, Agenda and Concerns

The interviewee said that prior to taking up this post, he had been the City Engineer. Then, he said, "...as ever with local authorities, you stop having clearly-identifiable roles and you give yourself a new job..." He had been in his current post for four years.

By this time, the project had already begun, primarily with what he called "external expertise", including private architects, consultant engineers and project management. In the early stages, his role had involved bringing together various experts who would be involved in the redevelopment scheme:

Bringing together lots of not entirely unwilling partners, but partners who had a quite clear idea of what they wanted to get out of the scheme, which wasn't always what we wanted them to get out of the scheme.

It had involved negotiating land with one partner, who had been "... a difficult character to deal with, at the best." However, he had built a good relationship with him: "... he and I had this splendid relationship. Splendid arguments from time to time, but with no personal animosity between us." He perceived his role as a "circus ringmaster":

We have an enormous amount of experts on these projects, and they range far and wide across architecture and project management and quantity surveying and archaeologists and

historians and software writers and others – I am sure I have forgotten some – and landscape architects and so on. And they are all far more expert in what they do than I am, in any of those things. And bringing all of those skills and all of that expertise, and all of those experts together, to create a cohesive whole – a good show – which is what the ringmaster does, how he links them together, I think is one of the ways I quite enjoy describing my job.

I asked him whether he enjoyed his job. He replied:

I enjoy it thoroughly, and I can't help but let it show. People say, when I do presentations and so on, it is clear that you enjoy this. And I do, and I love it. There have been times of enormous heartache and grief, and times of enormous joy and pleasure. And I think it's great, I love it.

He acknowledged that this role had been difficult at times: "All of the experts I have had, and many of them were very precious about what they do, and many of them don't like criticism." I asked whether there had been any difficulties, for instance in working with voluntary people and professional people together:

Voluntary help, community help, community involvement, by all means, let it come. Because I strongly feel that these projects have to give something back to the communities. And the communities are funding it, when all is said and done, it is whom

they are for. And it's not just a question of us doing it as professionals, and finishing it, presenting them the keys, and saying: "There you are, isn't it wonderful." Getting them involved in the process of creating it is part of what creates the pride in it when it's finished.

Sometimes, he had helped community or voluntary organisations with expenses to help them become involved in the scheme. He had written to all the disabled groups in the city, saying that he wanted to set up a steering group to cover the range of disabilities that they had in the city, and asking them to nominate one person to come to the group. He felt that this had been very successful, although "...one or two groups have abused it, by sneaking the odd extra person on, and so on..." He had warned them that from the beginning, they would argue and would not always agree. He had said to them:

I won't always be able to do what you want me to do. I am here to listen, to try and understand what your needs are and how we can accommodate them, bearing in mind that I am on an important archaeological site. I am under the control of English Heritage, the Buildings Fabric Committee, on the other side, so there are external influences bringing to bear here, so that I might not be able to do what you want. And we will have to make compromises

Indeed, compromises were made. The interviewee said, for example, that he would not have: "Marshalls red pink paving, in front of all my wonderful York

stone. I would not have this horrible, red garish paving.” He said that these were the sort of things that were discussed with the group, using samples of materials. Also, some of the less important pieces of stonework were available in the visitor centre for blind people to touch and to stroke. More important pieces had to be protected.

One of the blind representatives of the group had asked him whether he had ever thought about having tactile maps:

I had never before in my experience seen or heard of a tactile map. My ignorance, my problem, my fault. So they explained to me, they put me in touch with a company, called Dogrose Trust, and we recruited them to do tactile maps for the whole of the scheme. And I've been fascinated by that process, and I've learned an awful lot. I didn't know about that.

The interviewee added that the city council had taken the groups to other cities, to show the steering group what had been achieved elsewhere, learning from other successes and mistakes. Frequently, this group had been to the site and the visitor centre before it had been opened to the public. It had now grown into a city-wide organisation, examining and testing facilities for the disabled elsewhere in the town.

2.2.2. The interpretation Scheme

The interviewee had been closely involved in the design of the exhibition, and clearly had a personal interest in interpretation:

And I have this absolute passion for (*laughter*) going back to my childhood, when I was frequently taken as a schoolboy on a school trip to look at piles of stone. And none out of skilled teachers or experts could translate these piles of old stones into buildings for me, which I could understand and feel that they were living buildings, the people who lived and worked in them. And I was very keen to try and bring the archaeology, the history of the buildings, to life.

He had written the design brief himself for the visitor centre, the IT software, the writing of the book, and the virtual recreation of the archaeology:

Because I very much wanted – and I had some arguments with the experts, as you might imagine – I very much wanted to entertain. And if in entertaining, I educated, then that was my prime objective.

I asked him why he wanted to entertain:

Because I've strongly held this view for years, that if people aren't enthused – enthused may be the wrong word – but aren't captured by what you are trying to do, they won't listen. If a teacher in front of a classroom can't capture the child's imagination, the child's imagination will wander. I used to be a squash coach, and when I coached kids on a Saturday morning, people said to be: "What do you try to do?" And I used to say: "I

want them to come back next week”. Because unless you make them want to come back next week, you can’t teach them anything about the techniques of the game. If they are not there, they won’t learn anything. So I really wanted to try and capture peoples’ imagination, and to entertain them, but at the same time they would be educated. So they would see the building, they would understand about the life and times of the people who lived in the building, in a fairly modest way, clearly.

He did not want the visitor centre to repeat the more traditional themes of similar types of ruins. He said that they wanted to try and achieve something different.

2.2.3. Tendering

This case study shows a different approach to tendering from the case study at the small museum. At the redevelopment project, the interviewee said that from writing the brief, the project had progressed to inviting people to make proposals to them, within a budget.

So, it wasn’t a price-based proposal, we said this is how much money we are going to spend, it is cash-limited, what can you do for me within that range.

He added that although the terms were set out in the project brief: “... we wanted someone we could work with.” He felt that the design consultants that were chosen were “...head and shoulders above the rest...”

In terms of the detail of the content, the historical accuracy and the other aspects, he said they had worked very hard with the designers:

And that was essential, absolutely essential. We had knowledge that if we'd have left them to acquire that knowledge, it would simply have taken up too much of their time. Why, when we've got it? Why not just share it with them? That was the way to do it, so that's what we did.

He said that the working relationship with them had been "wonderful":

It was exhausting, it was tiring, it was sometimes under a deep pressure of time, and we argued and we fell out. But I do that with my wife, and I've been married a long time.

The funding organisation had not initially supported their choice of designers. According to the interviewee, the MC had experienced problems with this company on previous projects, "... and they were not desperately keen for us to have them here." Although the MC had been reluctant to divulge details, the interviewee had obtained information about schemes where there had been problems. He had discussed these directly with the design consultants:

And they were honest with me. It was interesting to hear two sides of the story, as it frequently is. And they actually were quite candid about where they felt it was hands up and it was their fault, and their problem, and where they thought they had been

rather messed about by the client. And their client's expectation of how much messing about with them you could do and stay within the budget was rather too great.

However, he had been so convinced that they could work together, he had "put his head on the line" and retained these designers:

And I am delighted to say that even the Millennium Commission have praised the visitor centre as one of the best that they have got in any of their projects. And (name) said to the then Director of the Millennium Commission when we opened it, that we were the best clients that they had ever worked with. So it turned into a happy relationship.

He said that the success of this particular partnership was probably because he understood the problems of contractual work, through his own background, in civil engineering and contracting. "I am as good as anybody as a client at messing people about, but I understand that if I mess them about, I have to pay for it."

2.2.4. Conservation and Public Access

During the interview, I suggested that there was always going to be some element of damage and destruction involved in displaying remains to the public.

He replied:

Yes, you will probably find that archaeologists will say that all you lot want to do is dig it up, photograph it, enjoy it and bury it again. For another archaeologist to dig up again in a hundred years time. Why can't I enjoy it?

At this point, in order to present this interviewee's views on conservation clearly, and in context, I will include my own comments and questions. I suggested that archaeology should be preserved for the future:

PD – Project Director

MS – Researcher

PD I would argue with that. I think that's the rather pompous excuse that archaeologists give us. *(laughter)*

MS Really, that's interesting.

PD The idea of preserving it for the future. For what?

MS Well, because you only get one chance, to excavate. Once you have lost the context, you have lost it forever.

PD Let me take you right back to my original premise, that I wanted to entertain, and to educate, and to help people understand, via entertainment, what this was all about.

He then described what the visitors would be able to see when they came into the visitor centre, and how the ruins would “begin to rise out of the ground” in the digital reconstruction. He felt that to be able to see all the old walls and the other features is what helps the public to understand the history of their city.

PD Now if you don't do it invasively, you don't understand it. It is preserved to a select few people who have the knowledge and ability to understand. Like me, going back to my: “Not everybody can understand a plan.” Their knowledge, their understanding of this, is so much greater because they can see it, than it ever would be if we draw it.

I asked him how much, in retrospect, he felt had actually been learned through the excavations at the site.

I have always tried to see this much broader than an archaeological exercise. There is no doubt about it, that what we have here in the gardens, in the visitor centre, and what we will show to people ... the wonderful remains there, they are more than just an archaeological exercise. They will become an astonishing visitor attraction. People love to see this. They have been denied that in the past, because you can't trust the ordinary public with this important archaeology. I think that's outrageous.
(laughter)

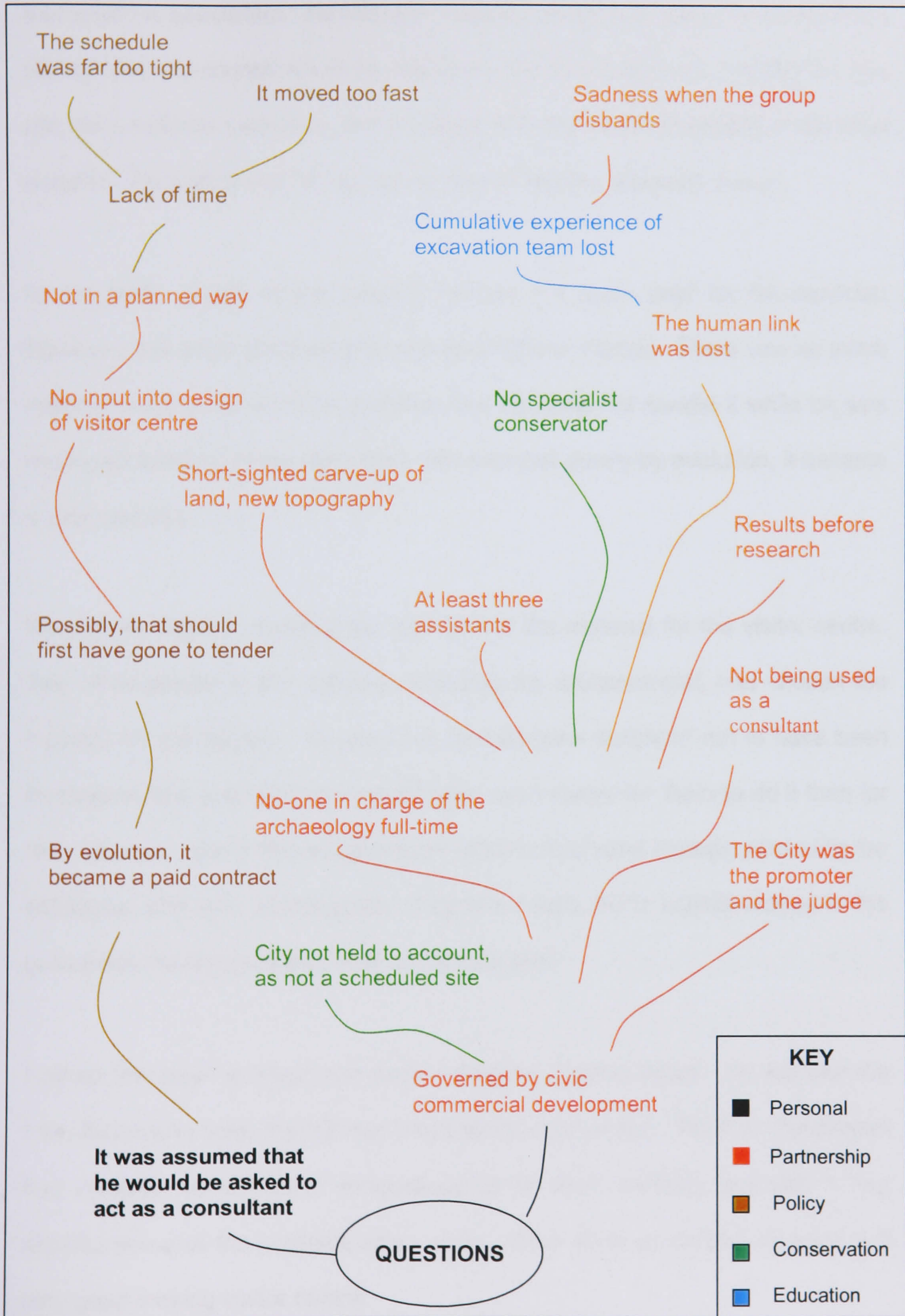
2.3. Interview 7: The Consultant Historian

I met this interviewee in the front room of his home. We had not met before, but I knew that he had been a lecturer at the university, specialising in the study of a particular type of artefact. He had left this post to join the redevelopment project as a consultant. In the letter returning the transcript of the interview, he specified that a condition of using the transcript in the thesis was that: "The informal wording of the transcript will be put into formal prose, using your own words". Therefore, there are no direct citations in this section. The cognitive map is shown in Figure 23.

2.3.1. Personal Interests, Agenda and Concerns

I asked him about his own interest in the site, and how he had become involved. He said that did not actually know, and could not remember whether anything official ever came along. He suspected that there was never a formal letter of invitation, stating the terms of the contract between him and the City Council.

Figure 23: Analysis of Interview 7



He said it was assumed that he would be their person to assess the artefacts that were his specialism. He thought it was assumed that when the excavations started, the city council would be calling on him to act as the consultant on that site, as a national specialist, and a person with the most knowledge of the local material. He stated that he had no input at all into the research design.

At the early stages of the project, he had not been paid for his services. However, this soon changed after the excavations started. There was so much material coming out of the excavation that he could not handle it while he was employed full-time in his other post. He said that purely by evolution, it became a paid contract.

He had not been involved in the selection of the material for the visitor centre. Two other people in the scheme, including the archaeologist, had chosen the material for the display. He said that he had been delighted not to have been involved in this, and felt that it would have been easier for them to do it than for him. His main role in the interpretation scheme had been through producing the catalogue, and also advising the designers. Also, he is acknowledged in the guidebook, having provided most of the research.

I asked him how he would see such a scheme working better. He felt that the main factor was time. He felt that it was all moving too fast. For him, this project had involved development archaeology at its most exciting, but also it had showed some of the potential down sides, which were concealed by what is a very good-looking visitor centre.

He felt that two issues were particularly important. One was the flexibility of the contracts. Also, what had governed the scheme from the beginning was that it was a civic, commercial development.

2.3.2. The Partnership

The project, he felt, had been driven by the city's contract, particularly with the developers, which had deadlines and penalty clauses, and tenants who were waiting to move in to newly-renovated premises. On the other hand, he felt that this was probably the most important archaeological excavation started in the country, probably for thirty to forty years.

Another problem, he said, was that there was nobody in the city council in charge of the archaeology as a full-time job. Although the archaeologist was there, she could not be full-time on the project, because she had to manage other activities concerned with the project. Therefore, she had to rely heavily on her assistants. There was no one person delegated, and the Project Director, although he was in charge of the project, had no experience in the archaeological field. He felt, with the wisdom of hindsight, and given the nature and scale of the excavations, that there should have been a full-time person permanently in charge on a contract. Ideally, he added, this contract should have been for at least five years, to include the post-assessment exercise. This key role was missing, although he acknowledged that there were some extremely well motivated people putting in far more time than should be expected.

This, together with the commercial development pushing the schedule along, meant that there was insufficient time to think. Various people were producing research reports, post excavation assessments, and he was producing the catalogue, but the results, in the form of the exhibition, had been produced before the research had been dealt with.

Furthermore, people were getting older, were leaving and going to other jobs, and the human link with the research had largely been lost. He thought there had been at least three archaeology assistants. After about a year of excavation, the team had been disbanded. Their knowledge of what they saw on the ground, and their individual experience of doing most of the measured drawings, had largely gone. He pointed out that no archaeological record is ideal, without the person being there to explain the exact context. The longer the project carried on, the more the human factor was going to be diluted. He thought that because of this, the reports were not going to be of the quality they could be.

He could see how to overcome this problem: it was a question of more money, for a contract that was worth having, for a period of several years, to ensure continuity. If that had been done, and that person had been full-time, the problems he saw with continuity at the slightly lower levels would probably be overcome, as this person would be collating everything at the time, and would be debriefing people, ideally before they left. As this had not happened, he felt that there was a fragmented record of the archaeology, which typically reflected his own perspective. He had a feeling that because of several different initiatives in the project, the co-ordination would not be perfect.

I said that the partnership seemed to have been a happy one. He agreed, adding that this did not mean that they had always agreed with each other. He had been particularly sorry when the archaeological contractors left. They were not going to move on to something else. That seemed to be the sadness, as not only had he lost people that he knew, and may not see again, as archaeologists are typically nomadic, but also because their cumulative group experience was not going to be used somewhere else.

2.3.3. The Exhibition Design

I asked the interviewee whether he liked the new exhibition. He said that he definitely did, but he also felt that it could be improved. The building had flexibility, and as time progressed, it was possible to change the displays. However, he was disappointed, given the high-tech approach, that there was not a big screen in there, and thought that the computer images were too small. He was also critical of the material chosen for part of the garden, but it had all been done at great speed.

2.3.4. Education, Conservation and Public Access

I also asked whether he thought it was more important to conserve the site or to educate people. He thought that the two went together. He said that long-term preservation could only be achieved if people remain interested.

The interviewee expressed his concern about the artificial topography of the new site. This had happened because of the land agreements between the city and

other landowners, before and during the redevelopment scheme. There was now a new, artificial wall, which was cutting the area of the site in the wrong way. This seemed to him to be most unfortunate, as it had occurred for no good planning reason, only a financial reason, and had resulted in part of the site being artificial in its boundaries. He felt that this had been a short-sighted option. He accepted that the landowners had been difficult negotiators, but would have thought, given that the aim was to provide more meaningful links through the city's historic cultural heritage, and that the landowner's site was part of that, the site should be displayed to the best advantage to the city. He felt that this was because of the landowner wishing to maintain a reasonably good-sized piece of land. Although he could understand this, he said that in the long-term, it would be seen to be a negative aspect of the project. Later in the interview, he claimed that in this civic, commercial development, the city was the promoter and the judge, as it was not a scheduled site. He stated that the city was not held to account, and could not be held to account, as much as it might have been had the site been scheduled.

I asked him whether he felt that any particular specialist skills had been lacking in the partnership. The one skill that was lacking, he felt, and possibly this could have been anticipated, was that there was no one with any skill in conserving the specialised artefacts that he had been retained to record. He had already pointed out to the city that some of the material that was in store needed conservation, and that a specialist conservator would be required. With hindsight, he found it surprising that there had been nobody on hand during the excavation if such artefacts were found, particularly as they tend to deteriorate very fast, when they get into the air and dry out. He felt that this could be a

criticism that he should aim at himself, as a specialist in that area, and admitted that he probably should have given this more consideration. I commented that it is always easy to be wise after the event. During the short discussion that followed, he stated that he would always carry this experience with him.

2.3.5. Tourism

Towards the end of the interview, we discussed other sites, and similar exhibitions. He felt that this was not a major national or international project. He regarded it as a worthy job, but no more, and did not believe that the interpretation scheme would put the city into the major league of tourist venues.

2.4. Summary of the Project

- The project benefited from the experience and enthusiasm of the Project Director and the Project Archaeologist, but the consultant historian claimed that co-ordination of the archaeology and the exhibition was limited by part-time and short-term contracts. He felt that ultimately, these factors would influence the quality of the research reports. He also claimed that, because of time constraints, the results, in the form of the exhibition, were produced before the research had been completed.
- Links and networks within the partnership, and between the partnership and the community, were strengthened by the involvement of the Project Archaeologist in other partner organisations and groups, such as the

Building Fabrics Association, the local archaeology society, and her role as a tutor at the university.

- Both of the local government executives that were interviewed perceived the site as a potential visitor attraction and a source of economic regeneration for the city.
- At the planning stage of the exhibition, there was heavy emphasis on entertainment, intellectual and physical access, and various public education initiatives.
- Previous relationships were crucial in the appointment of the exhibition designers and the historian.
- I feel that insufficient use was made of the specialised knowledge of the consultant historian, for example in the selection of the specialist material for the exhibition and its surroundings. His involvement earlier in the process of producing the exhibition, together with regular evaluation of the materials that were coming from the excavation, might have influenced the design of the visitor centre.
- The exhibition has a relatively short life span of three to five years.
- According to the Project Archaeologist, this project is probably the most important excavation in the country for thirty years. However, in terms of rarity of the type of site, the quality and rarity value of the artefacts that were

discovered, and the contribution of the excavation to archaeological knowledge, I feel that this claim is questionable.

- The Project Director strongly favoured interpretation through entertainment. Although he was seeking additional funds for conservation, he dismissed the idea of preserving archaeology for the future. The Archaeologist was also strongly committed to education and effective interpretation. The historian identified the link between public interest and conservation, and was particularly concerned about the conservation of the remains.
- There is evidence of lack of foresight in predicting possible finds, and inattention to the conservation of the archaeology. Lack of finance for conservation threatened the survival of the archaeology.
- Land agreements for the redevelopment scheme resulted in a new, artificial topography at the site.
- The project was driven by the redevelopment scheme, rather than by the archaeology that was discovered. Redevelopment archaeology is discussed further in Chapter 8.

3. The Visitor Survey

At the suggestion of the Project Archaeologist, I carried out a pilot survey in the gardens surrounding the site, to test the questionnaires prior to the opening of

the visitor centre. Following this, I sent a report to the organisation, and the final questions for the survey were agreed.

According to the Project Archaeologist, during the first four weeks that the exhibition was open to the public, approximately 10,000 people came to the visitor centre. The exhibition staff reported that 500 people came on the day that I carried out the survey. This was carried out on Saturday 22nd September 2001, four weeks after the exhibition opened.

3.1. Gender, Ethnicity, Age and Occupation

Of the 25 visitors that I interviewed, 15 were women and 10 were men. All defined their ethnicity as English or British. All of them were white.

The age distribution of the visitors is shown in Figure 24, and shows that 60% were over the age of 50. Their occupational class and groups are shown in Figures 25 and 26. Almost half of the respondents were retired.

Figure 24: Age Distribution (years)

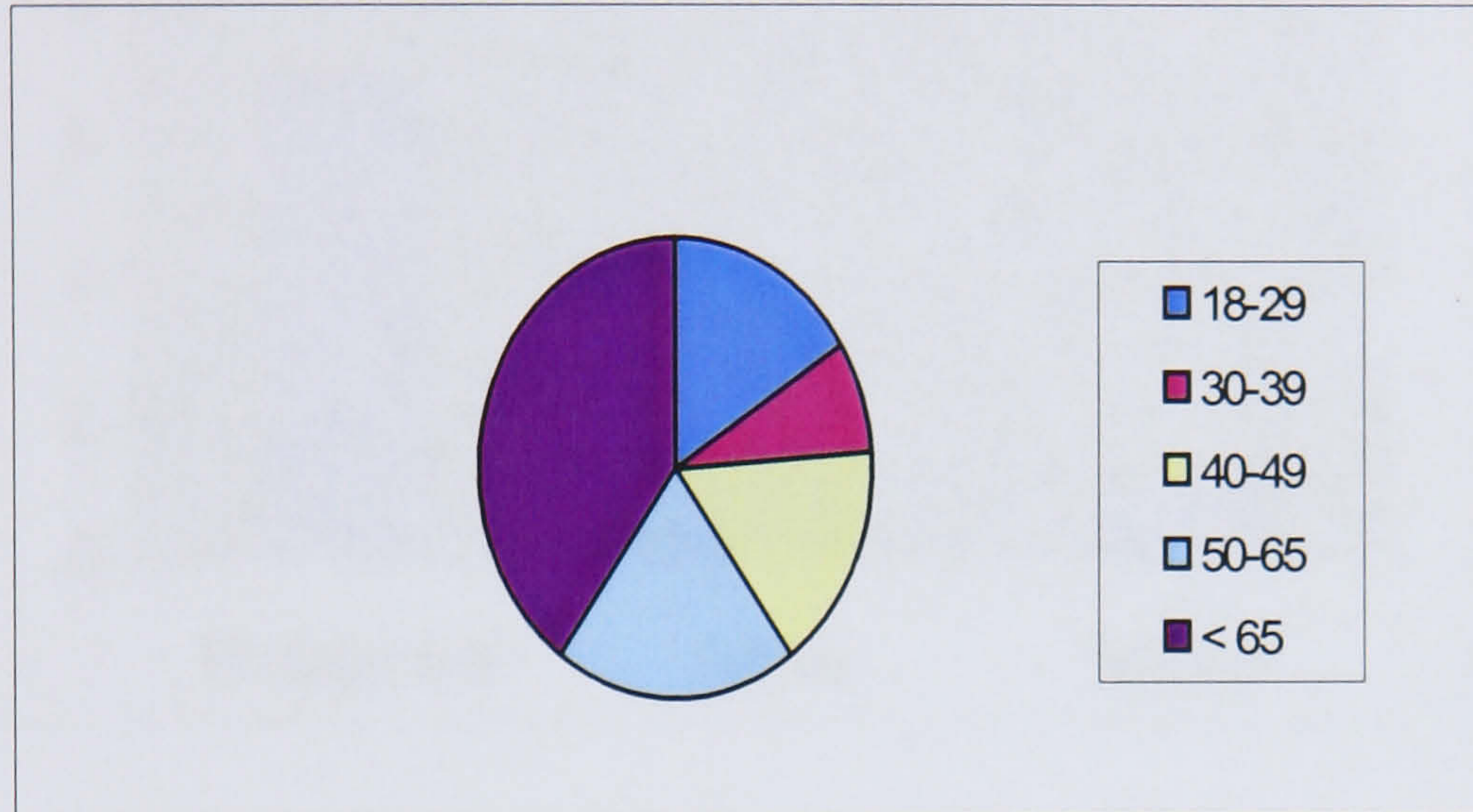


Figure 25: Occupational Class

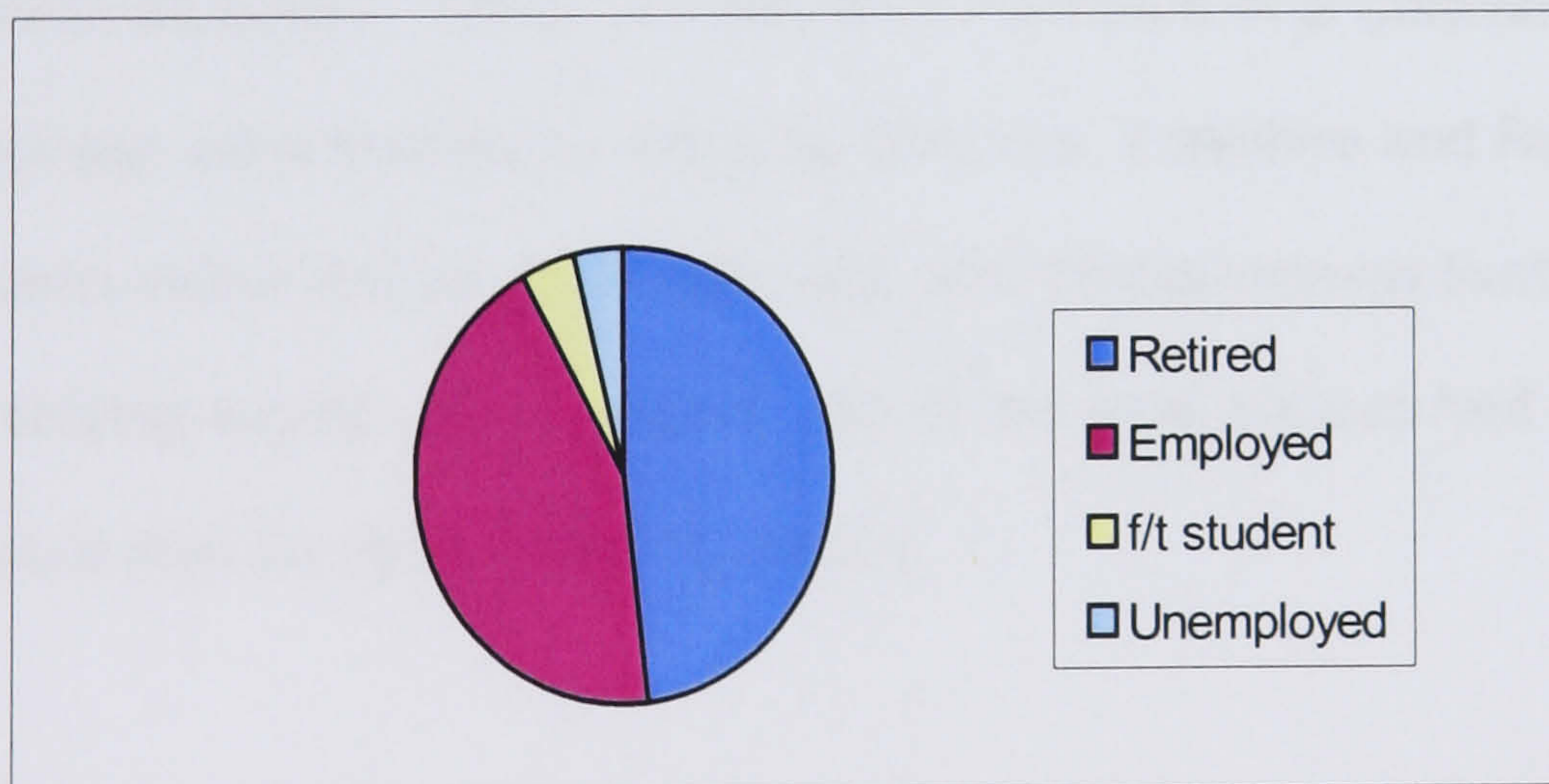
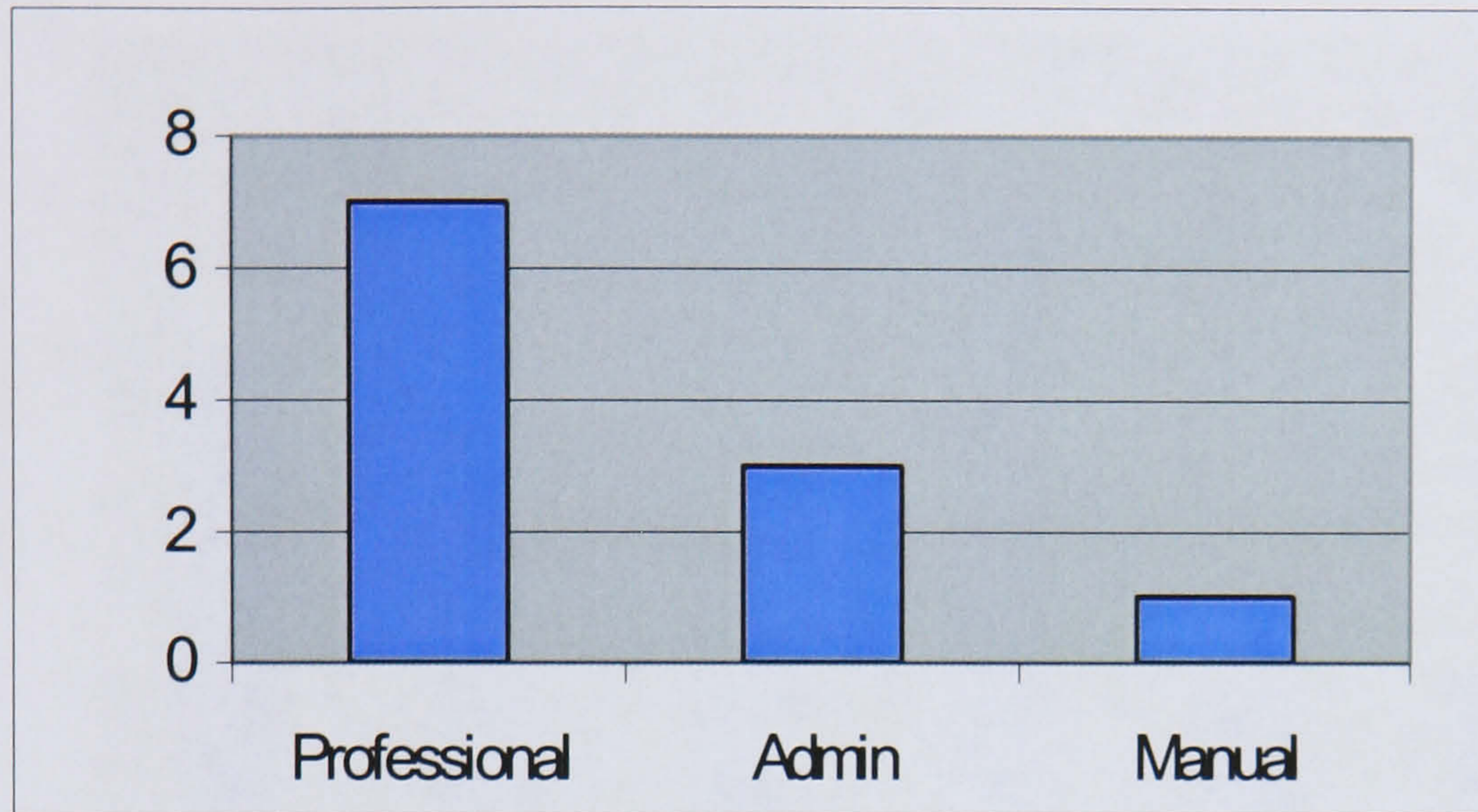
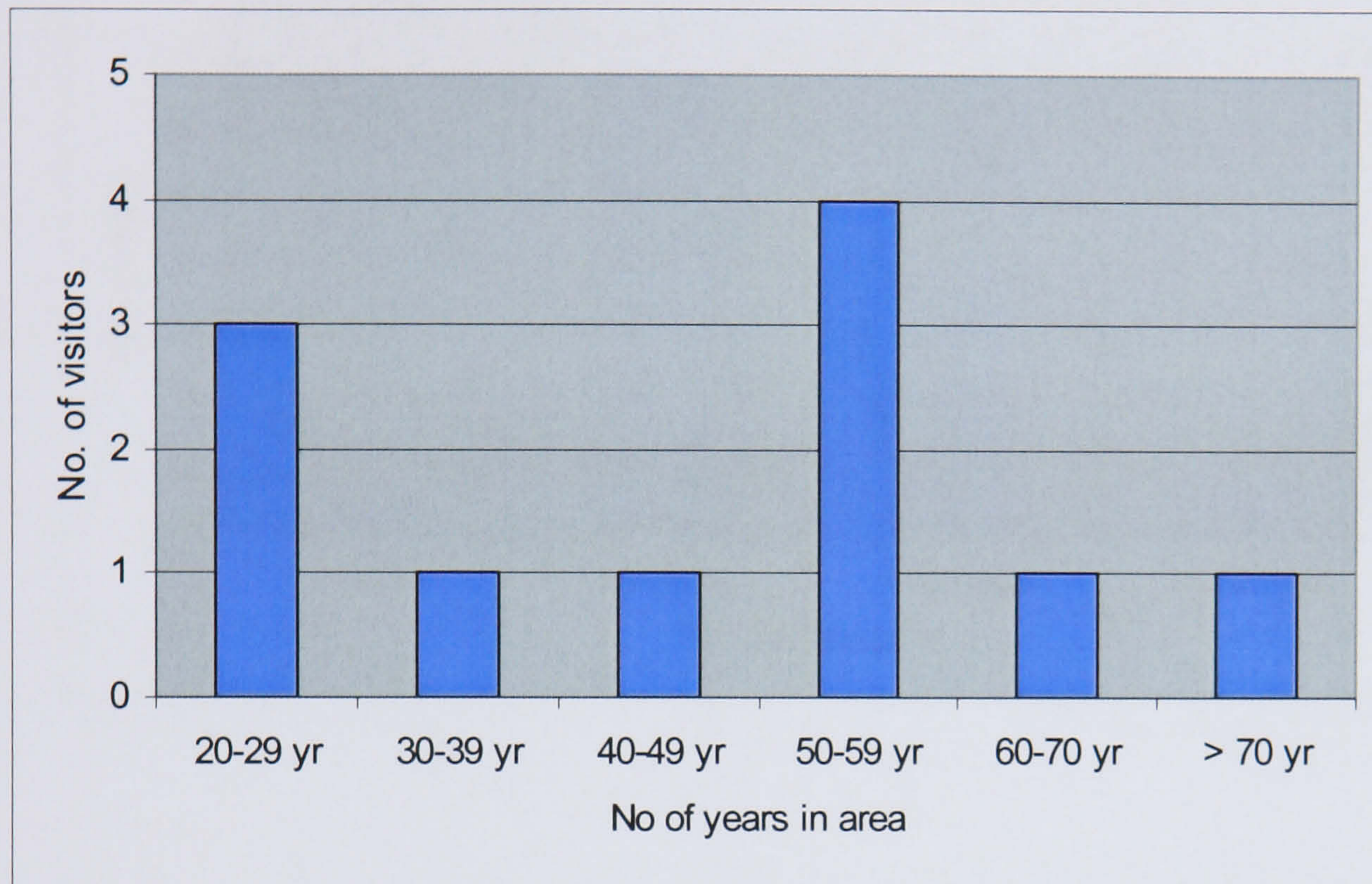


Figure 26: Occupational Groups

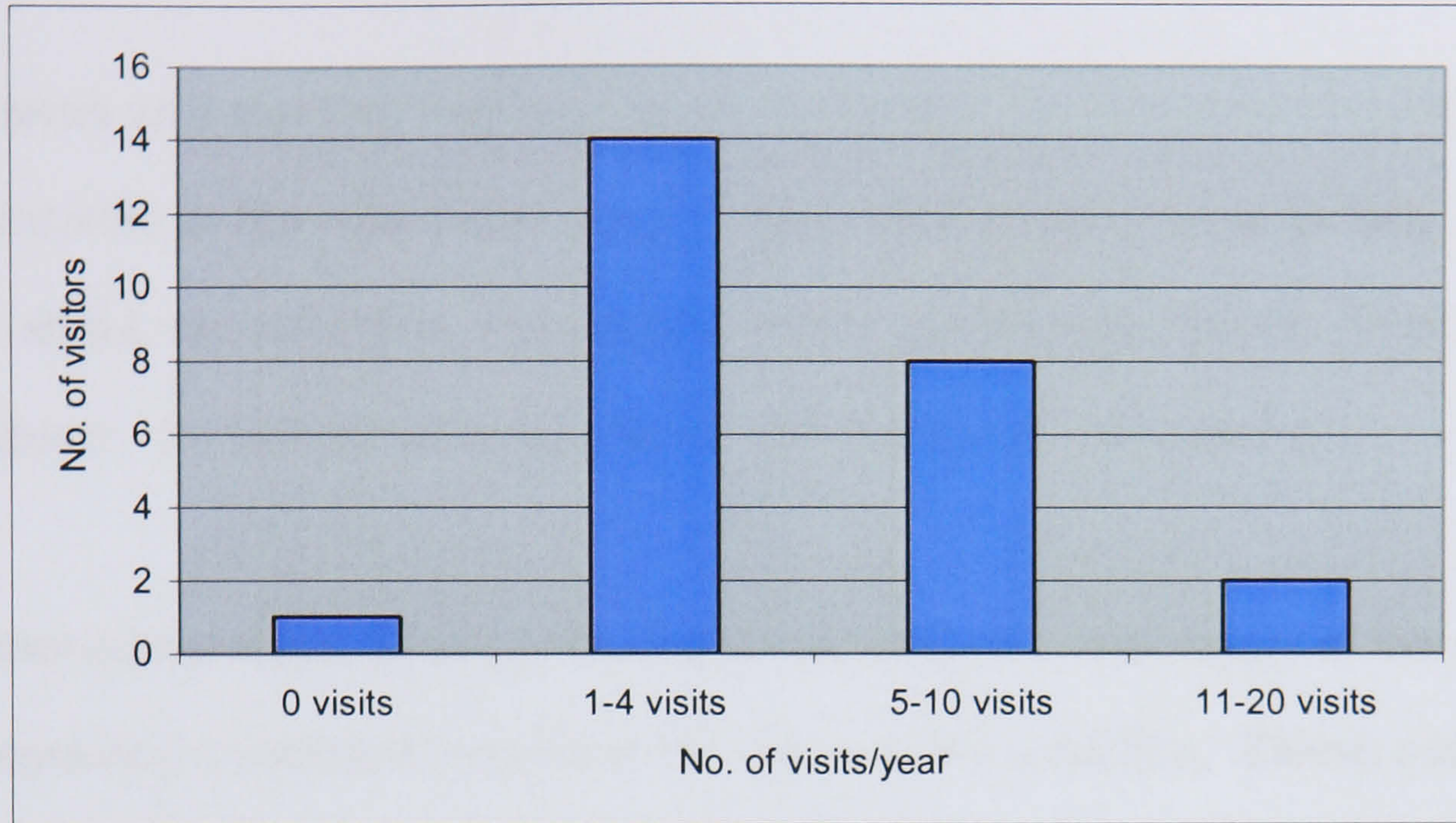
3.2. Length of Residency of Visitors

14 of the 25 visitors lived at least ten miles from the city, and had visited a nearby tourist attraction. Three of them were members of a Caravan Club, and not surprisingly, were from as far afield as Cumbria, Yorkshire and Reading. The only overseas visitor was an Australian lady, who had previously lived in the city, and was staying locally with a relative. All of the local visitors had lived in the area for more than 20 years (see Figure 27).

Figure 27: Length of Residency

3.3. Visiting Patterns

Twenty of the interviewees had not visited the exhibition before. Five local people had been before and one had already been to the exhibition six times. For one person, it was the first visit to a heritage site or museum in the past twelve months. Figure 28 shows that the others visited more regularly.

Figure 28: Frequency of Visits to other Sites

One visitor had come to the exhibition alone. All the others came with their families, friends or a partner. Six of the people I interviewed brought a total of nine children with them (Table 9).

Table 9: Age of Interviewees' children

Age of children	No. of children
5 years and under	2
6-10 years	5
11-15 years	2
Total:	9

Six interviewees planned to visit, or had already visited another heritage attraction in the town. The others would either visit a public house, restaurant and/or the shops as part of their visit.

3.4. Motivation and Perceptions

Ten visitors said that they had been to the site before, and therefore knew about the exhibition in the new visitor centre. Nine others came because they had heard about the exhibition through the media, or through friends, family or colleagues. Six visitors came by chance, and had been “just passing”.

One interviewee came because of a particular interest in the history of the city. Two more had a particular interest in the theme of the exhibition. Eleven people said that they had come for a day out, and five of these said that they had come to bring the children for a day out.

All of the interviewees said that they had enjoyed the exhibition, would come again, and would recommend other people to come.

Concerning what the interviewees liked most about the exhibition, the following comments were made:

The environment of the site:

The openness of it – clean and quiet.	1
Room to move around.	1
Nicely laid out ...	1
The garden outside, I remember how it was.	1
Well presented	1

The touch-screen computers	4
Mentioned specific artefacts	15
General comments	6

Seeing all the old stuff...

Good for children. Hands-on for teaching them history.

It was all absolutely fascinating.

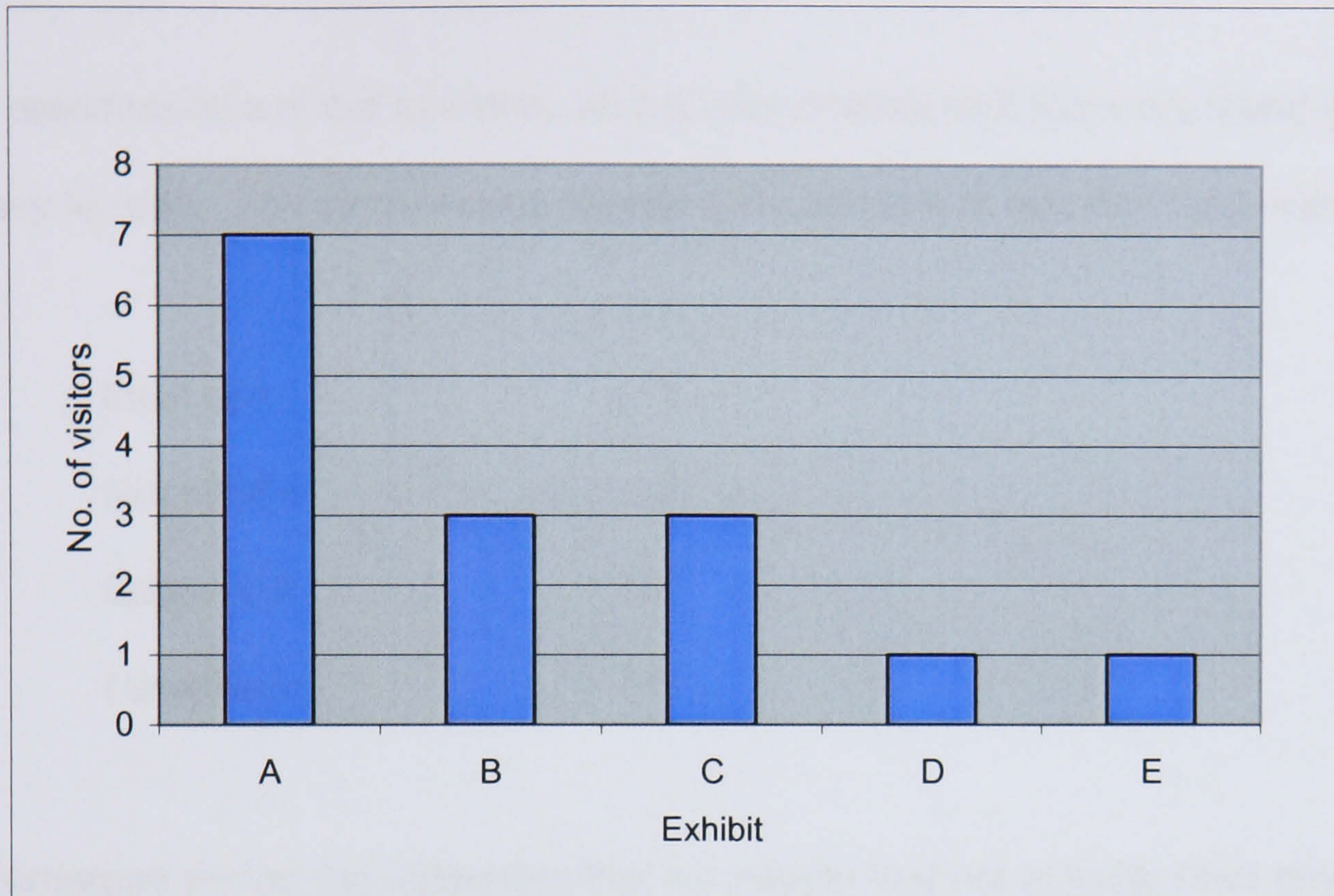
It's just very interesting.

The fascinating archaeology. "It is too much for me to put into words."

Mentioned certain archaeological discoveries

Only three people could name something that they did not like. One interviewee said that it was a shame that a particular artefact was not complete. Another thought that an exhibit was in the wrong place, and was very difficult to see. The third said that one aspect of the architecture of the site was not explained very well.

Figure 29 shows that exhibit A was the most popular with the interviewees, and this was confirmed by my observations.

Figure 29: Most Popular Exhibits

This is a display of nine tiles, reproductions of those found during the excavations, arranged in the form of a puzzle. It is similar to a game of solitaire: visitors can slide the tiles up, down and across to form the pattern. On the day of the survey, there was often a crowd of adults, as well as children, around this display. However, the most expensive exhibit to display and conserve was E, which is regarded as one of the most important finds from the excavations. The rarest archaeological exhibits, and arguably the most valuable archaeologically, are C and E.

3.5. Learning through Visiting

In response to a direct question, all the interviewees said that they found the text easy to read. Ten interviewees revealed the amount of text that they read:

Most of it	3
Not all of it	2
Some of it	4
I scanned it.	1

It emerged during the interviews that six people had not actually read any of the text. They gave the following reasons:

Lack of time	4
Just browsing	1
Listened to the guide	1

Concerning the maps, I asked the interviewees whether they had found these easy to understand. Eleven people said they did not read them, or had not really looked at them. Fourteen people said they were easy to understand. One person, the full-time student (age group 18-25) said that he had found the maps difficult to understand. He said that the plan of the site seemed to be upside down. He was quite right. I subsequently discovered that this map had originally been drawn on the understanding that it would be hung on another wall. He was the only interviewee to notice this.

I asked the visitors whether anything had surprised them about the history or archaeology of the city. Eight people said that nothing had surprised them, or they knew about it already. The others made the following comments:

General comments (16):

The state of repair of the archaeology	1
That it has been out of sight.	1
The finds	1
That they have only just found some of it.	1
That there is so much of it.	1
The detail from so far back.	1
That it could be hidden for all this time	1
An eye-opener	1
The size of it.	2
I did not know it was here	1
The craftsmanship	1
That it is so old	1
The origin of (name of the city).	1
I learned more about (name of historical person)	1
How small everything was in (date)	1
(The city's) coat of arms	1

Twenty people said that they would like to know more about the history and archaeology of the city: one visitor added: "possibly", another said: "not

immediately". Three people said they would not like to learn more: one said he was only here for a short time, and two visitors said they had looked at it before.

3.6. Observations

Several times during the day, I noticed that the guides were showing people around the exhibition. However, few visitors actually approached them, to ask to be shown around the exhibition. Some visitors may have perceived the staff as shop assistants. Often, these tours of the exhibition evolved in response to specific questions that these visitors had asked the staff. I noted that a small crowd tended to gather around the group, as other visitors "eavesdropped". I also noted that some of the guides are particularly skilled at interpreting the exhibition for children

After carrying out the survey, I sampled one of the guided tours of the exhibition, with two members of my family. The guide was enthusiastic, and brought the displays to life in an understandable and interesting way. Although I have some knowledge of the archaeology of the site, I learned far more from the guide than I did from walking around the exhibition.

I have visited the site several times since carrying out the survey. On each occasion, the number of visitors to the exhibition has been fewer, although some reduction in the number of visitors might be anticipated during the winter. The sustainability of the exhibition is discussed in the conclusion.

3.7. Summary of the Interview Survey

- Approximately half of the interviewees were local residents, and half were visitors to the city. All of the local visitors were long-term residents.
- Visitors from outside the city, as well as local visitors, tended to be over 50 years of age, in professional occupations, or retired. They were all British and white.
- 24% of the interviewees did not read the text. However, there is other learning material for visitors, including guided tours, maps and plans, digital images, artefacts, and puzzles to solve.
- The tile exhibit was very popular, but raises some questions about whether some of the other artefacts are worth the very high cost that was involved in presenting them for public display.
- Staff at the visitor centre reported that they had experienced problems with the software for the computer monitors. Although these were popular with visitors, they are no use if they do not work.

4. Analysis and Summary of the Case Study

Table 10: Analysis of the Redevelopment Project

Strengths	Weaknesses
<p>Enthusiasm of key players in project</p> <p>Exhibition sustainable in short-term</p> <p>Visitor centre and all exhibits accessible to disabled visitors</p> <p>Variety of learning materials for all age groups</p> <p>Trained exhibition guides</p>	<p>Driven by redevelopment scheme</p> <p>Artificial topography of site</p> <p>Results produced before research completed</p> <p>Short-term contracts threaten quality of archaeological record</p> <p>Mismatch between what visitors thought was most interesting exhibit, and what was given financial priority in the exhibition</p> <p>Lack of in-depth material for visitors with knowledge of the site</p> <p>Lack of material for visitors who do not speak or read English</p> <p>Exhibition is not well signposted in the city</p>
Opportunities	Threats
<p>Targeted marketing to include other groups</p> <p>Inclusion in city tourist trail</p> <p>Closer links with partners, through research and educational activities</p>	<p>Sustainability of archaeological remains</p> <p>Lack of finance for conservation</p> <p>Further financial investment in exhibition will be necessary in 3-5 years</p> <p>Exhibition software failure</p>

This case study is, in many respects, a typical “rescue archaeology” project.

The interpretation scheme had two major driving forces:

1. It was a redevelopment scheme, driven by contracts with builders and contractors. The archaeologists had very little time to excavate the site and the artefacts, to carry out conservation work, and produce an exhibition.
2. The project reflects the interests and agenda of two of the key players in the partnership: the Project Director and the Archaeologist.

However, the latter point should not necessarily be perceived as a negative aspect of the project. The Project Director was a skilled negotiator, who understood the practice of contractual work, and the need to share knowledge within the partnership. Both the Project Director and the Archaeologist wanted to bring the remains to life through the interpretation scheme. The Project Director also felt that the design consultants that were chosen could fulfil their role. It is refreshing to note his critical and proactive approach to what almost amounted to “blacklisting” of a particular design company by a funding organisation. We should not forget that in doing this, he was willing to take risks, whereas others might have taken a safer option.

However, the extent to which the key executives are accountable for their actions raises another issue. Beyond the opening of the exhibition, there is no mechanism for monitoring and evaluating whether such schemes meet the aims

of the MC, particularly so far as their five core themes are concerned: These are:

- Encouraging environmental sustainability
- Promoting science and technology
- Revitalising our cities
- Investing in education
- Supporting communities.

The exhibition certainly promotes digital technology, and there is evidence that groups of disabled people were supported in order to participate in the project. Also, education was high on the agenda. However, because of inattention to the conservation of the archaeology, the scheme does not encourage environmental sustainability. Whether the project will regenerate the city through keeping tourists in the area is discussed in the conclusion.

As with the project at the small museum, the skills of some of the partners were not recognised or used. Interview 7 shows that the consultant historian had little input in the planning of the exhibition, or the design of the visitor centre. Also, conflict was evident between the aesthetics of the site, its conservation, and the needs of disabled visitors, and this is discussed further in Chapter 8.

Turning to the exhibition itself, this includes what I feel is a manageable amount of text, at a suitable intellectual level for most visitors. The visitor survey confirmed that many visitors did not read even a limited amount of text, and very few of them studied the maps. However, a free brochure is available, and books

can be purchased in the exhibition shop, so visitors can study aspects of the site in more detail after their visit. There were some problems with the exhibition material, such as the position of the map, but generally, people enjoyed the exhibition and I feel that most of them learned about the archaeology of the site, and the history of the town. Also, the ongoing educational initiatives that were undertaken during the excavations broadened public access to archaeology.

Sadly, I found the new environment of the site, and the interior of the visitor centre, very disappointing. The redevelopment has replaced one concrete and glass 1960s city centre area with another that is equally stark. The gardens are not imaginatively or creatively planted. The visitor centre is equally functional, with empty spaces between the exhibits, to allow large numbers of tourists and visitors to move in and out of the exhibition quickly. There are no chairs for elderly people, or for tired visitors to rest. It is light and airy, but it lacks that most elusive and important quality: atmosphere. Furthermore, some elements of the exhibition are not built robustly, and may not stand the test of even three years of use. The exhibition was never designed to be sustainable, and this shows.

The sustainability of the archaeology itself raises some uncomfortable questions about this project. The archaeologist stated in her interview that the archaeology had caused tremendous problems. I feel that the project has caused even more problems for the archaeology, as conservation has received less emphasis than providing a visitor attraction and regenerating the city. Although some of the surrounding historic buildings will be restored, the option of leaving some of the remains *in situ* – and at least protected for the future –

was dismissed during the interview with the Project Director as “outrageous”, and “the rather pompous excuse that archaeologists give us” . Had this case study involved a scheduled site, the approach would have had to be different. In Chapter 8, I will theorise the role of local authorities as both guardians and developers of the archaeological heritage.

Chapter 7: Learning at Museums and Heritage Sites

In this chapter, I will draw together the data from the three visitor surveys, and discuss the implications for informal learning at museums and heritage sites. Particular attention is paid to physical, intellectual, social and cultural access to the local heritage. I will compare the two exhibitions at the small museum, and discuss how the visitors make meaning of the exhibits. Finally, I will theorise the relationship of place to human identity, and question the power of community museums.

1. Secondary Analysis of Visitor Surveys

1.1. Social Class: Gender, Age, Ethnicity, Occupation

Table 11 indicates that more women than men were interviewed during the surveys. However, I often interviewed male/female couples, and frequently, a woman, often prompted by a male partner, answered the questions. Although the number of visitors interviewed was too small to draw any generalisable conclusions about gender and visiting, the results imply an area for further research at museums and heritage sites.

Table 11: Comparison of Empirical Data from Visitor Surveys

Category	Garden Site	Small Museum	Redevelopment Project
No. of respondents	25	25	25
Day of survey	Saturday	Sunday	Saturday
Gender of visitors:			
Female	16	17	15
Male	9	8	10
Ethnicity:			
British, white	24	23	25
Other groups	1	2	0
Age:			
Under 50	9	12	10
50-65	9	10	5
Over 65	7	3	10
Occupation:			
Students (f/t)	1	1	1
Unemployed	1	2	1
Paid employ.	14	18	11
Retired	9	4	12
Type:			
Prof/Managerial	Not asked	8	7
Service*		9	3
Manual		1	1
Distance travelled:			
Less than 5m	21	12	12
5-10 m	0	8	2
10-20m	4	0	2
More than 20m	0	5	9
Tourists**	0	2	14
Length of residency in area:			
0-10 years	4	10	0
20-40 yrs	14	8	6
40 yrs +	7	5	5
Groups:			
Family/friends	23	23	24
Alone	1	2	1
With children	not asked	15	6
Reasons:			
Chance	0	25	6
Planned visits	25	0	19
No. of visits/annum:			
0	6	3	1
1-4	9	6	14
5+	10	16	10

*e.g. sales/administrative staff and care workers

** travelled more than 30 miles to the case study sites or temporarily staying in area

Concerning ethnicity, I only interviewed one visitor from a minority ethnic group: a British/Afro-Caribbean man, interviewed at the garden site. However, the garden site and the redevelopment project are situated in cities with a significant number of people from minority ethnic groups (Table 12).

Table 12: Comparison of Ethnicity of Interviewees with town/city population

Area of Case Study	% of people in minority ethnic groups in town/city*
The Garden Site	29.7%
The Small Museum	7.1%
The Redevelopment Project	16.0%

* Figure for England for comparison purposes = 9.1%

(Office for National Statistics, 2003)

There was a significant number of visitors aged over 65 at the garden site, and also at the redevelopment project (Table 13). Age range categories were used in the surveys, as this was thought to be a diplomatic and sensitive way to establish the age of visitors, but this clearly has disadvantages for comparison with other data. For example, the 2001 Census includes women over the age of 60, and men over the age of 65 in one category (retired), making close comparison with the results of the surveys problematic.

Table 13: Comparison of Age of Interviewees with town/city population

Case Study	% of interviewees over 65	% retired in town/city
The Garden Site	28%	12.3%
The Small Museum	12%	12.9%
The Redevelopment Site	40%	12.6%

*Women age 60 and over, men age 65 and over
 Figure for England and Wales for comparison purposes = 13.6 %

(Office for National Statistics, 2003)

Despite this, Table 13 shows that the garden site and the redevelopment project attracted a significant proportion of visitors over the age of 65, but fewer at the small museum. Although 65% of visitors to the small museum were over the age of 50, its location in a recreation area may encourage younger people and families to visit.

As in Merriman's survey (1991:58), the age of the visitors was highly significant: 57.34% of all the visitors that I interviewed were over the age of fifty. Also, the results confirm McCrone *et al's* 1995 survey of members of the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), as the majority of visitors were either in paid employment or were retired.

People who had travelled more than 30 miles to come to the exhibition, or those who were staying in the town (for example, on holiday), were classed as visitors. Apart from 14 tourists who came to the exhibition at the redevelopment project, and two who came to the small museum, most of the visitors were long-term, local residents.

The length of residency of local visitors was highly significant. At each site, at least half of the visitors had lived in the area of the respective sites for at least twenty years. However, national or local data concerning length of residency is not available for comparison purposes.

87% of the interviewees in the three surveys had been to another heritage site in the past twelve months. 93% of all interviewees came to the sites with a partner, with family, or with friends. This confirms that heritage visiting is a social and leisure activity for many visitors.

1.2. Concerns of the Visitors

At the garden site, negative comments were of a relatively minor nature, and concerned lack of seating, the rough paths, a prickly bush, the cost of the entry fee, and access to the adjacent historic house. At the redevelopment project the siting and incompleteness of two exhibits were mentioned. Another visitor felt that one aspect of the architecture was not explained well.

At the small museum, some visitors were critical of the amount of text, and the damp, dark atmosphere of the downstairs exhibition. Some of them did not appreciate the rather chaotic arrangement of the local history exhibition upstairs. On the other hand, more than half of the visitors to the small museum preferred this first-floor exhibition to the new, Lottery-funded exhibition downstairs. This most unexpected result is discussed in Section 2 of this chapter.

1.3. Physical Access

So far as their statutory obligations are concerned, all of the key officials who produced the exhibitions were aware of current legislation on physical access for disabled people. However, although toilet facilities were available for disabled people at all three sites, physical access for disabled people often conflicted with legislation on the conservation of Ancient Monuments, or, as was the case with the garden site, with the aims and objectives of the organisation. Therefore, complete access was not possible for people who were disabled at any of the sites:

- Major alterations to the fabric of the small museum, to incorporate a lift to the first floor exhibition, are not permitted under the current legislation on Ancient Monuments.
- For the same reason, at the redevelopment project, EH would not allow a handrail for blind people on the remains of the monument.
- At the garden site, the key executives were well aware how difficult it was for visitors to negotiate wheelchairs along the paths, but to put concrete or tarmac paths in an historic garden would detract from the authenticity and aesthetics of the site. To fully accommodate the needs of disabled visitors would contravene the Trust's aim, to restore the garden in its original form.
- At the small museum, opening the building to the public throughout the winter would threaten the conservation of the building. Heating the building

would dry the atmosphere, and this would cause the stonework in the displays, and the building itself, to crumble and disintegrate. Therefore, for all visitors, physical access to the exhibition is restricted to the summer months.

To summarise, at each of the case studies, there are some parts of each site that are either difficult to negotiate, or completely inaccessible to people who are physically disabled. Sometimes, whatever legislation and funding opportunities are in place, physical access for everyone is not possible.

1.4. Social Access

McCrone *et al* found in their survey of life members of the NTS that members were drawn from highly educated, professional backgrounds, both in terms of their own occupational patterns and those of their spouses, as well as the families of origin of both respondents and their partners. The research was based on 97 individuals, representing a 72% response rate (1995:212). These visitors were overwhelmingly middle class, with a mere 3% coming from the manual working class. McCrone *et al* claim that: "Plainly, heritage visiting is by and large a middle-class pastime" (1995:138). Teachers were the most common occupational group: 35% of members in the survey were, or had been, teachers. Taking into account the background of the families of origin, over half (52%) of the respondents were either teachers themselves, had parents who were teachers, or were married to teachers. The authors note that this is a remarkable preponderance from one occupational group (1995:143). Given the age structure of the group – the mean age was 59 – it is unsurprising that only 43% were currently in employment. The rest were retired (1995:144).

Other large-scale studies have been concerned with social barriers to participation in heritage activities. Merriman (1991) found that the most significant demographic influence on museum visiting was age. People over the age of 65 visited less than any other group (1991:57). Also, the study showed that people from the lower socio-economic groups were less likely to visit (1991:51). Yet, paradoxically, these people have the most amount of free time to spend visiting heritage sites and museums. Although over a third of those who were over the age of sixty had visited a museum or site in the last year. Merriman claimed that it was unlikely that the others were all frail or housebound, and physically unable to participate. He suggested that it was more likely that with old age and retirement, some had withdrawn from many previously practised social activities (1991:57). He felt that the influence of location could have some effect:

It may be hypothesised that the availability of local museums would have an important effect on those without private transport or with reduced mobility.

(Merriman, 1991:58)

At the three case study sites, 59% of visitors who were interviewed were over the age of fifty, and 27% were over the age of 65. However, it is not possible to confirm Merriman's hypothesis (1980) that the availability of local sites may broaden access for older visitors. As Merriman notes, it is difficult to gauge the effect of location. Several variables are involved, for example the health and mobility of the individual, his or her access to public and/or private transport, and travelling and entry costs. Also people now retire earlier, and museums and

heritage sites are becoming more customer-focused. These factors may have combined to create a culture of heritage visiting amongst those who are retired, whereby they actively pursue personal interests and cultural activities, and participate in lifelong learning activities during retirement and later life.

Merriman found that cultural barriers to visiting were more important than structural ones. He suggested that those who do not visit museums found the personal sense of the past most appealing (1991:8). He claimed that: "The most powerful images of the past are those which fit in with personal experiences" (1991:26). Chadwick found that 55% of non-visitors, and 38% of rare visitors felt that museums had nothing to do with their daily lives (1980:64). His postal survey of 1,500 people in Derby, Leicester and Nottingham indicated that visitors to the National Railway Museum were closer to the profile of the general population (1981:43). People of all ages, and from all groups in society, may find it easier to understand steam trains than, say, medieval ruins, as trains are more easy to place within personal experience. As Bourdieu states, popular taste tends to reduce "things of art to the things of life" (1977:5). Bourdieu echoes Tilden's assertion that:

The visitor's chief interest is in whatever touches his personality, his experience and his ideals... The visitor is unlikely to respond unless what you have to tell, or to show, touches his personal experience, thoughts, hopes, way of life, social position, or whatever else.

(Tilden, 1957:11)

This suggests that unless exhibitions can be situated within the habitus of the visitor, the interpretation is unlikely to meet with a positive response.

Efforts to open education programmes to visitors from the UK's Asian communities have encouraged these groups to participate in heritage activities. For example, inspired by artefacts in the Victoria and Albert museum and elsewhere, groups of women created over fifty richly decorated, hand-made textile panels modelled on the form of Mughal tent panels. I saw some of this exquisite needlework, at an exhibition at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery in 2001, and it was encouraging to note that visitors to this exhibition formed a rich diversity of ethnic groups of all ages (May, 2001). However, I was unable to move beyond my admiration of the quality of the work, and I left the exhibition with an "outsider's" superficial understanding of the meanings of these cultural symbols. For others, they held deeper meanings. As Bourdieu notes, consumption is a stage in a process of communication that involves deciphering and decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher or code:

A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is the code, into which it is encoded ... a beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colours and lines, without rhyme or reason.

(Bourdieu, 1977:2)

This implies that interpretation needs not only to be at a suitable intellectual level for the visitors, but that the exhibits should also reflect their cultural interests and

experiences. Furthermore, visitors should be helped to understand other cultural contexts that may be outside their experience.

Undoubtedly, the representations of the NTS reflect the interests and experiences of those who are retired teachers. Other heritage sites capitalise on different aspects of culture. For example, at the garden site in this research, focused events, such as craft fairs and plant sales, draw local people to the site. In planning the guided tours, efforts are made to match the interests of the visitors with the experience and skills of the volunteers:

We do try to select our Guides according to the groups. If we have a historical group, or a horticultural group, we will select someone who has more of an interest in gardening.

(Interview1)

Also, leaflets had been produced for the visitors on topics such as pruning fruit trees, and on the history of the site, to satisfy and sustain the interest of the visitors after they leave the site.

A recent major study of UK heritage audiences, commissioned by the Heritage Lottery Fund (PLB Consulting, April 2001) found that social inclusion remains a problem, although there are few answers. Although it was far larger in scale than this study, multi-methods were also used.

The study concluded that:

- Many heritage organisations are not aware of, or not actively aiming to meet their statutory obligations as regards access for under-represented and excluded audiences.
- There is no clear strategic infrastructure within the heritage sector to advise and assist organisations with the implementation of these statutory obligations (for example, appropriate training schemes).
- There is no clear benchmarking within the organisations, or within the sector as a whole, that forms a context for their implementation and subsequent evaluation.

(PLB Consulting, 2001:1)

However, the application of business management techniques to such studies prompts questions about the suitability of the methods. The report relied on data from consultations with industry professionals and practitioners, and a number of case studies of audience development initiatives, rather than primary data from excluded groups. There are references to “benchmarking”, meeting “statutory obligations” (2001:1) and “product development” (2001:7). None of these can inform us why it is that some social groups are missing from museums and heritage sites.

However, the report raises one important issue. Currently, some heritage managers, concerned with bringing in more visitors, and more revenue, are more likely to target traditional audiences than expend time and valuable finance

in attracting under-represented groups, unless it is a way of attracting project funding (2001:2). It is possible that linking funding to the development of new audiences for heritage could make a difference to social access

Yet, it is not simply a matter of “throwing money” at sites to attract other groups. Firstly, we need to understand why non-participants do not come. The results from the garden site indicate a higher proportion of visitors who had not visited another site in the past twelve months (24%). This compares with 12% of rare visitors at the small museum, and only 4% at the redevelopment project. Of the three case studies, the garden site attracted a higher proportion of rare visitors, possibly because of the popularity of gardening as a leisure activity.

1.5. Motivation for the Visits

At the garden site, all the interviewees had come for a particular reason and had planned their visit. Most of them were interested in gardening, or in the garden itself, and some had come for the craft fair and plant sale. On the other hand, all but one of the visitors to the small museum had arrived by chance. The fragmented publicity activities of this partnership meant that the local community was not aware that the exhibition was open. It is fortunate that the site is located in a busy public recreation park, where people can see that the exhibition is open on a Sunday afternoon, as they either walk through the park, or bring their children to play in the recreation area. It thus benefits from this “passing trade”.

At the redevelopment project, the tourists who were interviewed said that they came by chance, but the local visitors all knew about the exhibition, or had visited the exhibition before. This is undoubtedly the result of the media attention given to the excavations at the site, and the educational and marketing activities of the local authority prior to the exhibition.

The visitor surveys raise several issues. Why are middle-aged or elderly, white British people interested in their local history, when others do not appear to be interested? Why did so many long-term residents come to the exhibitions? Why did so many visitors to the small museum prefer the rather chaotic local history society display upstairs, to the new Lottery-funded exhibition downstairs? These questions will now be explored through deconstructing the two exhibitions at the small museum.

2. Two Representations of the Past: Community Places

EXTRACT FROM RESULTS

13 interviewees initially stated that they found the downstairs exhibition the more interesting of the two displays. It emerged through further questioning that that 7 of these respondents did not visit the upper floor. Some did not realise that there was an exhibition upstairs. The following data are extracted from the responses of the 18 interviewees *who had visited both floors*:

Q: Which part of the exhibition did you find most interesting?

Downstairs	5
Upstairs	10
Both the same	3

As discussed earlier, visitors can experience two different representations of the past when they come to the small museum. The ground floor display was produced with the aid of an award from the HLF, by a team of professional archaeologists, historians and designers. By contrast, a local community group, without the benefit of external funding, or the input of professional expertise, assembled the exhibition on the first floor.

When asked which part of the exhibition they found most interesting (upstairs/downstairs/both the same), only three people said “both the same”. Seven people did not visit the exhibition on the upper floor, but ten people said that they found the exhibition produced by the local history and archaeology society more interesting. This was surprising, bearing in mind the cost and effort that had been involved in producing the new exhibition on the ground floor.

In the following section, I will theorise the different ways in which individuals engage with the educational material at these exhibitions. Also, issues arise concerning their different status, legitimacy and authority, and these are discussed. Finally, questions are raised about the powerful role of community museums to promote cultural values and identity.

2.1. Downstairs

The narratives of the new exhibition on the ground floor are collective, authorised and legitimised. They describe the history of a ruined site, through text, drawings and maps that are reproduced on storyboards. These stand against the stone walls of the buildings, like the open pages of a textbook. The

narratives promote knowledge about the ruling kings, queens and clergy from the past, and were produced by a dominant group in the present: an officially authorised partnership consisting of local government officials, a professional designer, a professional archaeologist and a consultant historian. The knowledge in this exhibition is thus privileged through the authority, finance, and social legitimacy of its creators.

The exhibition is, to some extent, restricted to those who are privileged by status, and possess the cultural capital to interpret the material, and to behave in an appropriate way. It is like walking into a church: there is almost a religious atmosphere. It is very quiet, as people are reading silently, and many parents hushed their children as they walked through the door.

The exhibition relies heavily on a textual narrative. It is for those who are able to read, and have the time to spend in understanding the material. Nevertheless, some visitors were prepared to spend time reading the text. The 2001 Census shows that 29% of people living in the town have a level 4/5 qualification, well above the national average of 19.76% (Office for National Statistics, 2003). It may be more than a coincidence that one third of the visitors found this exhibition more interesting.

It took me about twenty minutes to read all the text downstairs. An interviewee commented that there was "... too much written material downstairs". I think that he was right. Textual interpretation assumes that the visitors have the skills to make meaning from text, and that they learn best through reading words, maps and drawings, rather than learning through other media. However,

reading is not synonymous with understanding, or engaging with the material that is presented. Furthermore, committing time to concentrated reading and understanding may not be possible for those who bring small children to exhibitions. A high proportion of textual material can exclude children who cannot yet read, the people who accompany those children, people who are unfamiliar with learning through reading, and those for whom English is not their first language. By its nature, text excludes visitors with sight disabilities. I would argue that textual displays are, by their nature, exclusive displays.

Strong reliance on the written word means that the visitors receive information, rather than actively engage with the material in a two-way communication process. It is impossible to ask questions of a storyboard, or to engage in critical debate. Although, as Tilden reminds us, all interpretation includes information, information, as such, is not interpretation: "Interpretation is revelation based upon information" (1957:9). Visitors may gaze at the maps and illustrations and read the text. They may understand the narrative that is presented. However, the learning experience needs to relate to the knowledge and experience of the visitor, and to motivate further interest and curiosity, if it is to prompt anything more than a superficial, passing interest. Tilden warns that:

Any interpretation that does not somehow relate to what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.

(Tilden, 1957:9)

That is not to say that all visitors will reject a textual interpretation, or that it does not provide an effective learning medium for some visitors. Many visitors commented that the text was easy to read, and at a level that they could understand. However, it is notable that only one third of the people who visited both floors preferred the exhibition downstairs. Why was the exhibition upstairs so popular with the interviewees? In seeking answers, we need to shift the emphasis towards understanding why and how visitors make meaning of the exhibits.

2.2. Upstairs

The members of the local history and archaeology society, all amateurs, have given up both their artefacts and their time to produce the exhibition upstairs. This exhibition had no team of professionals involved in its production: the exhibition is without status or authority, and it did not have the benefit of external funding. It is a rather chaotic exhibition. One interviewee remarked that the exhibition is: "... a bit bitty, disjointed". A collection of coins of various historical periods is situated next to what is thought to be a Victorian agricultural tool. Signs are displayed above photographs, saying: "Where is this?" Another notice, over an odd-looking gate asks, "Do you know what this is?" The volunteers do not know, although they can offer some suggestions.

The interpretation of these objects is open, subjective, dynamic and challenging for the children and adults who visit. Unlike the closed, academic text of the exhibition downstairs, the upstairs exhibition invites participation and critical debate about the past. The exhibition relies on small artefacts and photographs,

and the oral narratives of the volunteers from the local history and archaeology society. The text is unobtrusive, and some people do not read any of it. Others select which parts to read, such as the labels on particular artefacts, or the captions that accompany some of the photographs.

I asked those visitors who said that they preferred the exhibition upstairs why they had said this. Many of them mentioned certain artefacts that they had seen or handled. A boy, aged six, who had come with his mother, said that he liked the sixteen-sided coin in the display upstairs. He didn't know that there were such things. His interest may have been stimulated because the coin was unusual. A lady mentioned that she had seen an old brick from the town. Another interviewee said that she liked the upstairs exhibition because there were more *little* artefacts from the area. A young Spanish visitor, who was living in the town whilst she worked as an au pair, said that she found the gas mask and other items from World War II interesting.

Clearly, the objects themselves have the potential to provide powerful learning experiences, as the visitors become active participants in the process of interpretation, and the construction of meaning. As the young boy who visited the small museum grows older, will he remember the text on the storyboards downstairs, or the sixteen-sided coin? In the archaeological debates of the future, will he think of the maps of the ruined site, or the mystery of the odd-looking gate? Human curiosity is one of the driving forces behind the thirst for knowledge about the past, and we ignore it at our peril. As Mills states so eloquently: "If lifelong learning is to mean anything, it surely means a lifetime's engagement with incompleteness, doubt and always, with debate" (2001). To

these, we should add that lifelong learning also means engagement with mystery, and our own curiosity.

Connections with family and place were mentioned by some of the interviewees. They had been able to situate what they had seen with what was familiar to them, and within their own experience. This is one of the first principles of constructing knowledge, or “placing an interpretation, within the framework of which the substance takes shape or assumes meaning” (Kelly, 1955:50). One visitor said:

Some I could relate to, for example the old station, before it was (knocked down) from childhood, and the old names of places that have now changed.

Another interviewee had looked up her own name in one of the registers of residents, and said that someone from the voluntary group was going to send her a “family tree”. Her learning was personal, about her family and her forebears. We may be fascinated by what is unfamiliar and exotic, but familiar narratives, which we can place within some aspect of our own lives, offer powerful learning experiences. As Uzzell and Ballentyne note, issues that involve personal values, beliefs, interests and memories will excite a degree of emotional arousal, which needs to be recognised and addressed in interpretation (1998:152).

Meanings and relationships necessarily have an emotional dimension, yet these are often excluded from interpretation, particularly when emotion is seen as

contrary to objectivity. Such engagement of the emotions in exhibitions is termed “hot” interpretation. The principle behind hot interpretation is that although a detached, cool and objective approach to the presentation and assessment of information and subsequent decision-making is seen as highly desirable in our society, there are many decisions that we make in both our private and public lives, where a purely rational approach to the world is difficult, impossible, or even undesirable (Uzzell and Ballentyne, 1998:153).

There are some areas in heritage interpretation which have a strong affective and emotional impact on people. This might be because the interpretation touches on personal memories: for instance at battlefield sites where loved ones were killed. Interpretation could equally have resonance at a collective level, such as at a site where a nation achieved its independence (Uzzell and Ballentyne, 1998:154). In the upstairs exhibition, visitors were excited to see photographs, and to handle artefacts from previous times that had associations with their families, the place that they live, and their earlier lives. This may explain why older visitors are more likely to come to museums and heritage sites: many of them can remember life, and British society, in past times. My father, who is 84, still visits historic houses because he likes to think about what England was like when he was younger. For him, visits prompt nostalgia for the past, and memories of his earlier life. Interview B also illustrates how the garden site brought back memories of the city when the interviewee was younger, and her experiences as an evacuee. Exhibitions about the past of a place cannot prompt the same emotional response in someone who is a stranger. Strangers have their own historic places.

In contrast to the open interpretation of the exhibits upstairs, there is little in the new textual display downstairs to prompt curiosity, to reawaken local memory, or to arouse a personal or emotional response. “Cold” interpretations of aspects of the past that are far removed from our interests and experience will excite little motivation to learn, little excitement or provocation. The isolation of the didactic display material downstairs from the feelings and experiences of the visitors, suggests distance, and a lack of familiarity and warmth, that is heightened by the physical contrast with the outside environment when we enter the building during the summer. Visitors commented on the “... musty, damp smell” and the low levels of light in the new downstairs exhibition. One visitor complained about “... coming in out of the sunshine to a dark room.” There is little that can be done about the inadequate supply of electricity to the building, or the chilly, damp interior of this ancient monument. By the time that the visitors have gone up the stairs to the local history exhibition, their eyes have adjusted to the light levels and the difference in temperature. It feels warmer and more comfortable upstairs.

The differences between these two exhibitions are summarised in Table 14.

Table 14: Features of the Exhibitions at the Small Museum

Downstairs	Upstairs
Dark	Light
Cold	Warm
Silence	Discussion
Official	Unofficial
Remote past	Recent past
Objective	Subjective
Impersonal	Personal
Detached	Friendly
Didactic	Experiential
Passive learning	Active learning
Exclusive	Inclusive

2.3. Community, Culture and Identity

In order to “empower” individuals and communities, many heritage projects now transgress what are basically Victorian disciplinary boundaries, where museum exhibitions and displays were the preserve of academics and curators. Traditional interpretations relied on a “top down” model of education, from expert to visitor. At the small museum, the new exhibition rests on this didactic model. Most education in museums still operates in this way:

... museums and galleries continue to perceive learning as mainly the communication of information, and the transfer of a given body of knowledge from one person (generally “the expert”) to another (generally a member of the public).

(Chadwick & Stannett, 2000:4)

However, some initiatives operate “from the bottom up”, or from the visitors or community, to the experts, such as the exhibition upstairs in the small museum. Here, visitors and the society members interact in discussions and debates about the exhibits. As Jenkinson notes, in oral history it is the lay person who becomes the “expert”, the lay person who is giving knowledge to the museum professional, thus altering the traditional relations of cultural production (1989:145). Proponents of these new interpretation practices have continually emphasised the need for local museums to involve the community in developing an appreciation of its own places (Walsh, 1992:160). This encompasses the idea of the “active” museum, which is concerned with involving people in the processes of both representation and interpretation (1992:162).

Within the political and social agenda, community knowledge is rising in status and is in the process of becoming legitimate, authorised knowledge. The museum urges us to take on new identities, through engaging in lifelong learning activities, or through joining groups and societies associated with the museum:

Breaking through the glass cage, the museum wants to make itself into a genuine part of the community's self-invention: identity would not be something nominally given, but a process of creation and participation, contention and revision. Diversity is celebrated over sameness, multiplicity over monoculturalism.

(Maleuvre, 1999:109)

Yet, the creation and sustenance of individual identity is a more complex notion than it may appear, as it involves the identification and integration of the individual into a cultural group. In the following section, I will examine the relationships of people to places, and argue that the formation of identity is an antithesis to notions of diversity and multiplicity.

2.4. People and Places

Over the past thirty years, contemporary interpretations of history have become more focused on individuals and communities. Although this represents a major shift in heritage interpretation, Lowenthal reminds us that heritage remains more an elite than a folk domain (1998:14):

But if palaces are more lavishly stewarded than folk haunts, the latter are better loved. Historic house visitors nowadays flock to kitchens and servant and slave quarters; folk museums stress the humdrum over the exquisite, the ordinary in place of the unusual, the popular rather than the patrician. In re-enacting the past, peasants and artisans now get pride of place.

(Lowenthal, 1998:14)

The kitchen areas of country houses, and the narratives of the servants, can be more popular with visitors than the fine displays of their former aristocratic owners. It may be easier for us to locate the lives of “ordinary people” within our own experience and framework of values, than to attempt to understand the remote, minority cultures of the wealthy aristocracy, even though these may engage our curiosity, and act as a magnet for “the tourist gaze” (Urry, 2002). Local visitors seem more concerned with the social aspects of the past, with people and places, than with the material manifestations of past wealth and power.

Howard notes that in a 1995 celebration, 50 years after VE day, an exhibition in a Devon village was visited by many passers-by and other outsiders, attracted by the range of uniforms and equipment, vehicles and other memorabilia on show. He claims that the insiders’ interest in this material was almost completely limited to spotting the identity of the person inside the uniform, or the owner of the medals. They spent hours poring over a map of the parish, which listed all the occupants of the houses according to the 1945 Voters Lists. Howard claims that their interest was personal, rather than objective (2002:68-

69). Yet, the two exhibitions at the small museum indicate other layers of complexity within exhibitions than Howard's odd antithesis (see Fig. 41).

Heritage is also concerned with the relationship of people to places. Currently, there is recognition, articulated through government reports, such as *Power of Place*, that local heritage is important to communities, and acknowledgement that: "For most people, the historic environment represents the place in which they live" (DCMS/EH, 2000:4). However, Featherstone notes that the increased mobility of individuals can lead to the loss of a sense of place. He claims that reconstructed working coal-mines, trams, corner shops and trains can actually take people into the physical reconstruction of past localities, where preservation of the real merge with simulations. For old people, this must provide an uncanny sense of the local cultures they lived in, when effectively they can step inside a typical room, handle the tin bath-tub or the mangle for wringing clothes. He claims that such "postmodern spaces" could be regarded as commemorative rituals, which reinforce, or help regain, a lost sense of place (1991:180). The upstairs exhibition represents one such space, where people can construct and renew relationships with their locality.

Walsh also notes that people are becoming increasingly mobile, losing the identity associated with place (1992:62), although visiting and revisiting a remembered local place reinforces the sense of belonging. Places can also prompt reminiscence, as Interview B illustrates:

The (town) I knew as a child has gone. And a lot of the buildings were destroyed, unnecessarily I think. And now they're putting it all together again. But yes, (the garden site) does remind me of my past, and I suppose I go there to, to reminisce.

(Interview B)

Community heritage thus becomes a focus for security, nostalgia, and a sense of continuity, particularly when redevelopment schemes alter the built landscape of a remembered and familiar past. These schemes threaten the identity of place, and thus upset the identities of individuals and communities.

However, the identity of a place is not static or discrete. Massey claims that the question of definition of place has almost always been reduced to drawing lines and borders around a geographic area. She asks how we can draw a frame around some area, the inside of which is defined in one way, and the outside in another. This is yet another form of the construction of a counterposition between us and them (Massey, 1993:64). The identification of places, and of people with places, promotes another form of cultural classification, constructing and reinforcing differences between those who are inside, and those who are outside, or between "us" and "them".

Massey argues that place is a more complex phenomenon than the mapping of an area. The uniqueness of a place, or a locality, is constructed out of particular interactions and articulations of social relations, social processes, experiences and understandings. Instead of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social

relations and understandings (1993:66). Therefore, what gives space its specificity is not some long internalised history, but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of relations, articulated together at a particular locus. The uniqueness of a place, or a locality, is formed through particular interactions and mutual articulations of social relations, social processes, experiences and understandings, which relate to the wider world in which the local place is set (Massey, 1993:66).

Yet, physical structure underlies this social construction of locality. The social determination of place is influenced first and foremost by factors such as geology, climate, and topography, that shape the social formation of place. For example, the identification of one region as a coalmining area may be a result of particular social relationships, but these will result from the interaction of humans on the geology of the area. Clearly, the relationships between humans and their environments are a study in complexity.

Capturing the identity of a place in a single representation, and at a particular moment in history through heritage, is thus a rejection of the elaborate historic, geographic, social and cultural stratification that constitutes place. Through fixing places as heritage representations, they become powerful symbols of individual and collective identity, but these representations will necessarily be partial and incomplete.

There are further difficulties in the "heritageisation" (Harvey, 2001:320) of place. Strange places can sustain a feeling of difference, isolation and exclusion for others, who are perceived as belonging elsewhere. A visitor to the garden site,

who had been evacuated to Wales during World War II, described her feeling of dislocation and alienation:

On and off, we were backwards and forwards, and our schooling suffered, and we were foreigners really in these country places.... There was another class, and another culture, and they didn't accept us ... They were very kind, and took us on, but ... well, you wonder what's happening, your life's taken from underneath you, isn't it?

(Interview B)

Location of the self is central to what makes us human, and a sense of place is central to our identity, to our own particular individuality and sense of belonging. Through our identities, we understand how to relate to others in our own groups and to situate ourselves in our relationships with those who are both within and outside our cultures.

Only through our cultural knowledge do we learn to understand ourselves, and learn how to communicate with others. Through our own identity, special to us all, we know what we have been, what we are, and thus, what we might become. Understanding our geographic place is a central part of the process of learning about ourselves.

However, local places and communities are socially and culturally, as well as geographically, defined, and communities are not necessarily more inclusive than any other cultural group. Therefore, the concept of community museums

becomes questionable, as they have the potential to exclude, as well as to include.

Maleuvre asserts that we should resist any attempts to coerce us into identifying with communities, and questions whether the community museum has successfully defeated the ideology of identity promoted by the traditional museum (1999:109). This is because the concept of identity involves absorbing the individual into an ideal image of the group, and those who do not fit the stereotype are excluded:

Identity entails repression: it groups and categorises, and therefore eliminates and coerces. The discourse of “empowerment” of identities that surround the “revised” museum underscores the fact that the museum is still in the business of transforming individuals into collective identities, even if it is to serve socially emancipatory aims.

(Maleuvre, 1999:109)

Thus, the rhetoric of emancipation through community activities in heritage may have more sinister undertones. Individuals and groups can have hidden agenda, and their ideologies are not always explicit, or open to challenge. How clear is it to visitors to the new exhibition at the redevelopment project that the purpose of the scheme is economic regeneration and redevelopment of the town, rather than preserving the past?

Although exhibitions may be about people, and the ordinary and familiar, this does not necessarily make community museums less exclusive, or more emancipatory. Maleuvre warns that:

Excessive identification with culture stultifies individualisation, turning it into a static essence, or blood-and-soil substance rather than an emancipatory and creative activity.

(Maleuvre, 1999:111)

For Maleuvre, true empowerment of the individual entails the resistance of the individual to cultural and political assimilation. Otherwise, it remains as oppressive as the obedient identification that is dictated by the traditional museum (1999:111).

Walsh stresses that there should not be an emphasis on only one form of representation. A true democracy will offer many and varied forms of museum service (1992:183). Clearly, museums and heritage sites need to plan exhibitions that present multiple narratives, with interpretations that are open to critical debate. Rather by accident than through design, the small museum provides us with a model. Two representations of the past are offered, juxtaposed one above the other, and we can choose which to accept, and which to reject. We have to ask ourselves which of these is more accessible and inclusive, and which has the greatest power to provoke interest and critical debate.

Chapter 8: Partnerships and Participation

In this chapter, I will identify the common themes that emerged from the interviews with the key executives in the partnerships. I will then set out the collective interests, concerns and agenda of the various stakeholder groups. I will examine the perceived opposition between education and entertainment, and conceptualise the links between formal and informal learning in the field of archaeology. Finally, barriers to participation in partnerships are identified, and the implications are discussed.

Firstly, I will compare the contexts in which the partnerships operated.

1. Contextual Differences

Table 15 shows that no feature is common to all three case studies. However, two of them, the small museum and the redevelopment project, are owned and managed by local authorities, and they both display ruined sites. The three exhibitions are different in size, scale and location, and funding was secured from different sources. The small museum was funded through the HLF, and the redevelopment project was awarded a grant from the MC, with a budget of £100,000 for the exhibition refit. Less than half of that amount (£38,500) was awarded by the HLF to the small museum, and this included not only the production of the exhibition, but also the refurbishment of the building. The small museum is a Scheduled Monument, but the site at the redevelopment project

was not scheduled. Research archaeology is carried out at the garden site and the small museum, but the other project involved rescue archaeology.

Table 15: Principal Features of the Case Studies

Data	The Garden Site	The Small Museum	The Redevelopment Project
Managing owner	Charitable trust	District Council	City Council
Type of site	Garden	Ruins	Ruins
Funding organisation	Heritage Lottery Fund	Heritage Lottery Fund	Millennium Commission
Total budget of overall scheme	£189,500 (not granted: new application granted in 2002)	£100,000 including renovation of building & archaeology	£20m, including redevelopment
Exhibition budget	N/A	£38,500	£100,000
Exhibition space	12 acre site	60 sq. m. on each floor	200 sq. m. on one floor
Status	Listed buildings on site	Scheduled site	Not a scheduled site: listed buildings in vicinity
Type of archaeology	Research	Research	Rescue
Public Access	Good site access, but no access to historic building (private ownership)	Poor: Sunday afternoons in summer	Good
Public admission charge	Yes	No	No

2. Interests, Agenda and Concerns of the Partners

To identify the discourses within the sectors that were involved in the partnerships, I have drawn together the common themes that emerged from the interview data (Table 16 and Figures 30-32).

Table 16: Common Themes in the Interview Transcripts

Issue	Interview no.	
Responsibility/control of project	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7	
Education	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7	
Expert/professional/amateur roles	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7	
Finance for project	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7	
Custodianship	1, 2, 3, 5, 6	
Preservation/conservation	1, 2, 4, 5, 7	
Tourism	1, 2, 5, 6, 7	
Delays in project	1, 3, 4, 7	
Turnover in staff	1, 4, 7	
Lack of communication	1, 4, 7	
Felt de-skilled/underutilised	2, 4, 7	
Key to Case Studies and Interviews		
The garden site	The small museum	The redevelopment project
1	2, 3, 4	5, 6, 7
Institution/Organisation		Interview No.
Local authority		2, 5, 6
University		4, 7
Community volunteers		1, 3

Figure 30: Discourses of Key Officials: The Garden Site

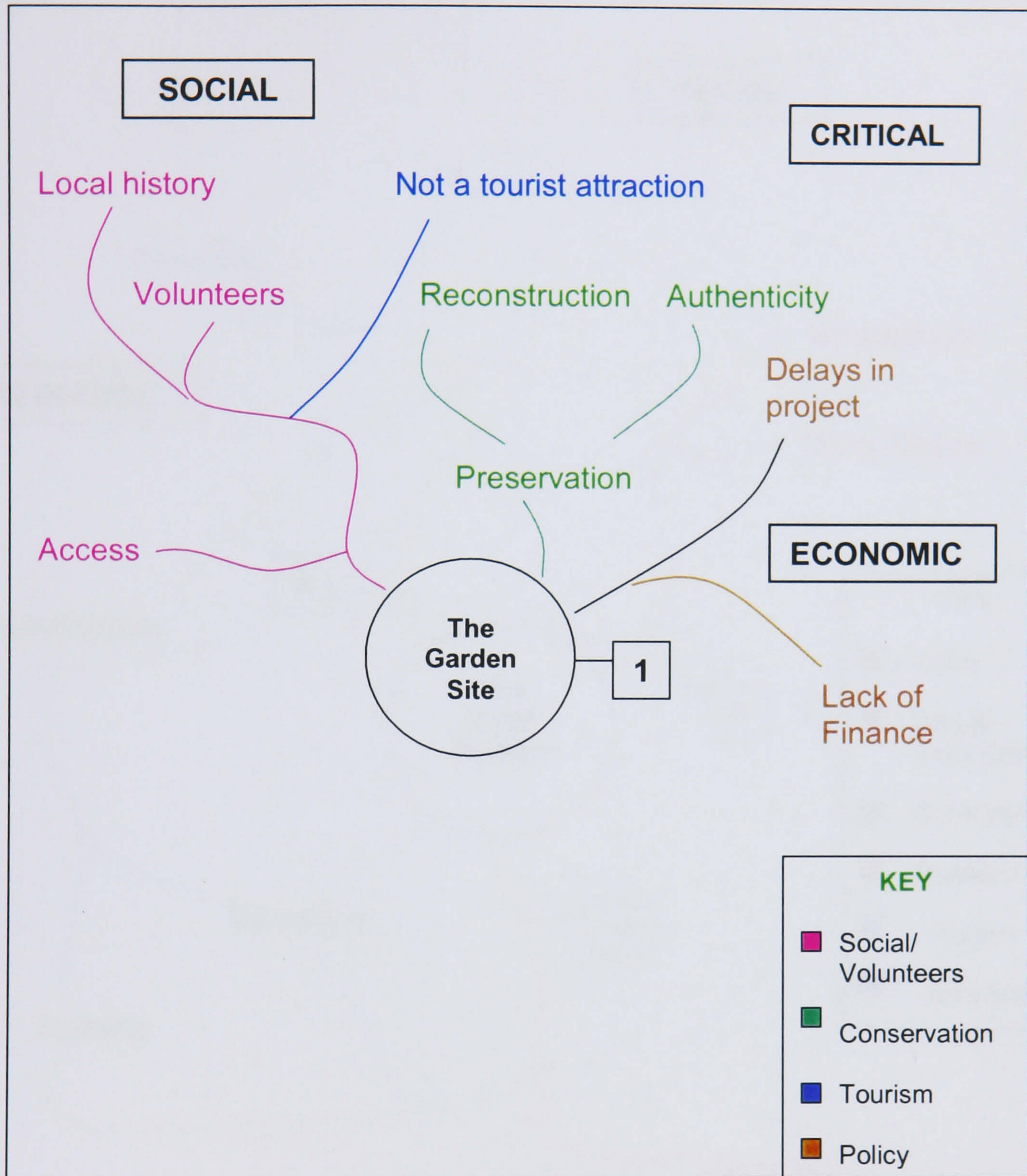


Figure 31: Discourses of Key Officials: The Small Museum

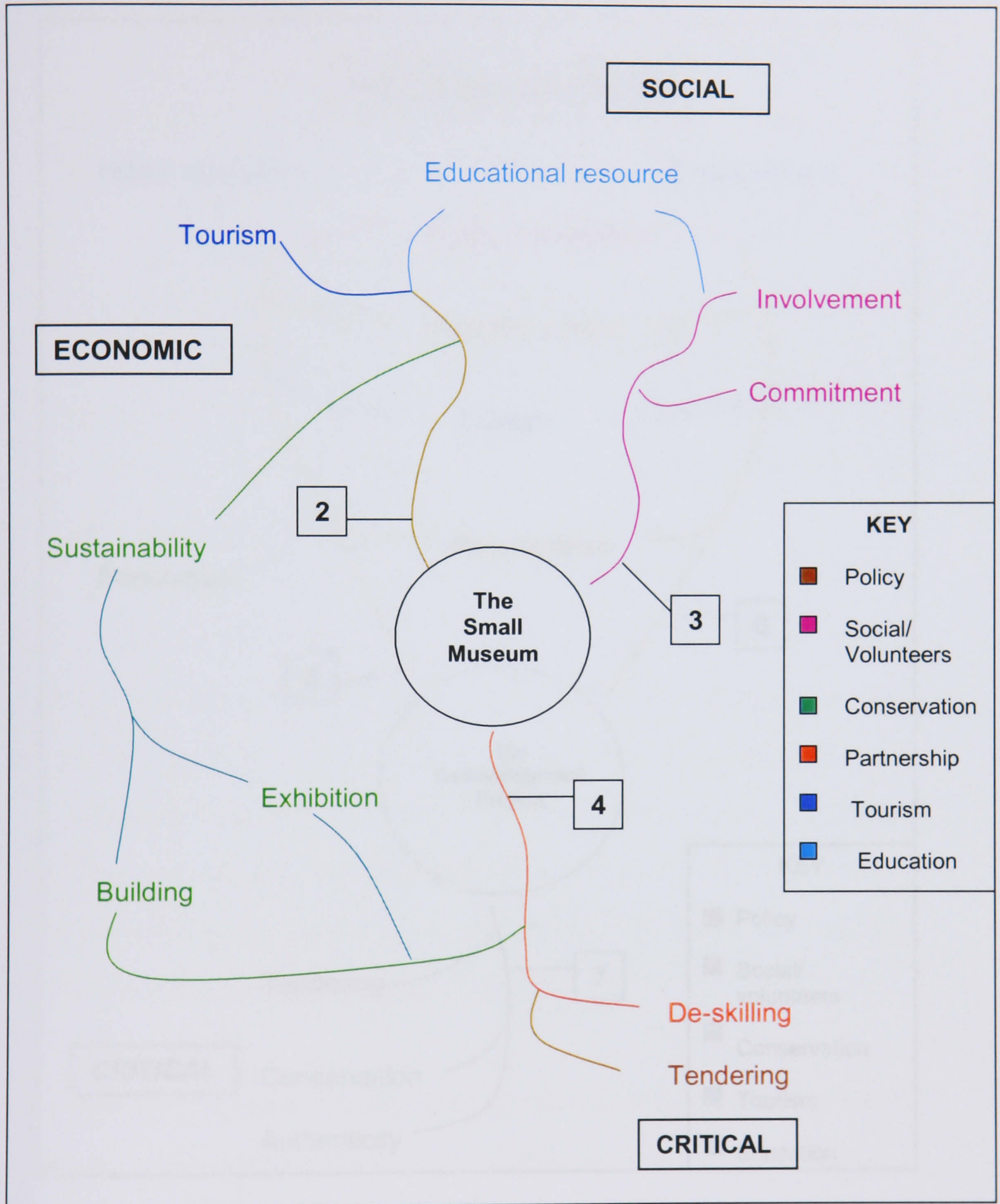
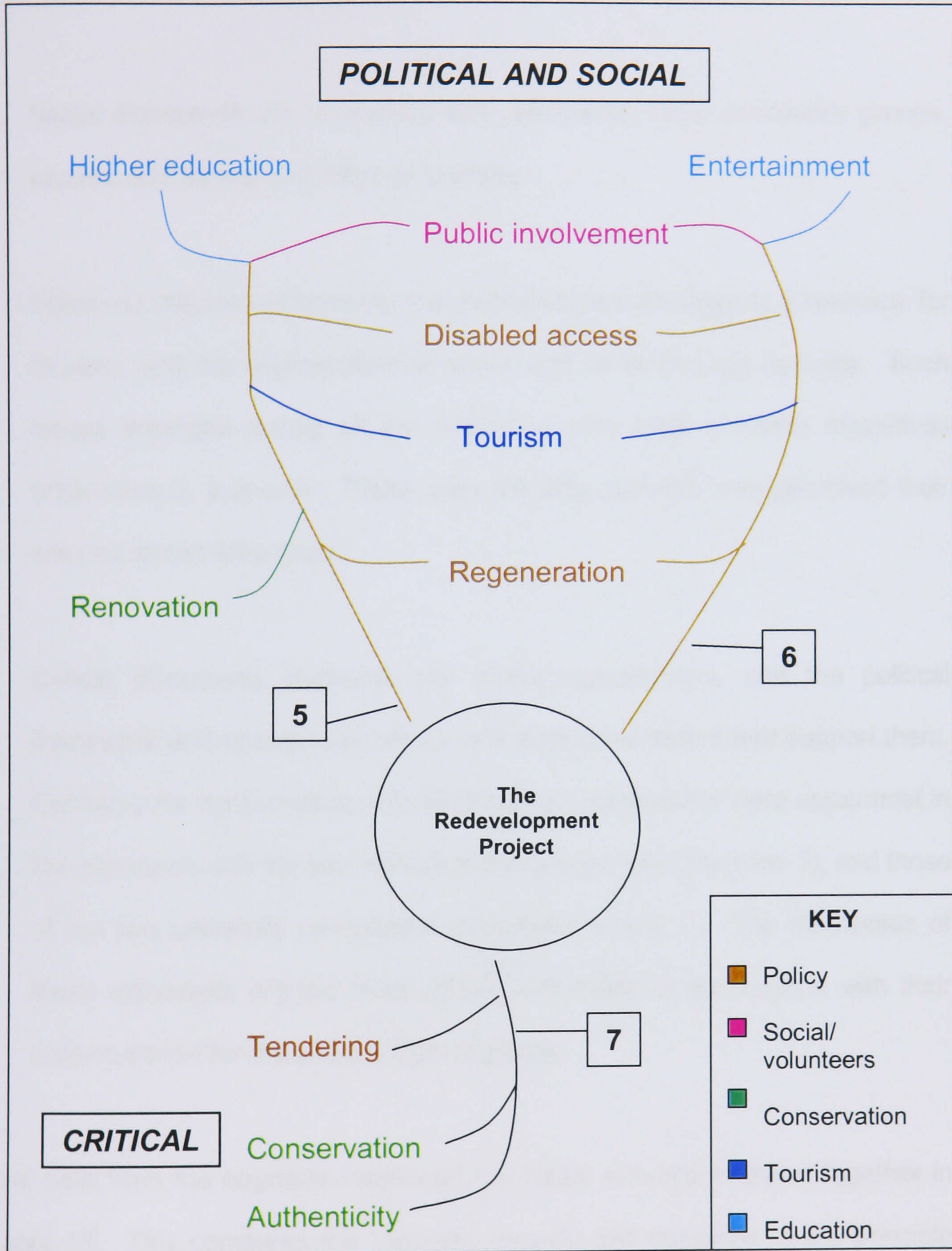


Figure 32: Discourses of Key Officials: The Redevelopment Project



Three collective agenda emerge from the analysis, broadly conforming to social, economic and critical discourses:

- Social discourses are concerned with volunteers, local community groups, access, and formal and informal learning.
- Economic discourses promote the archaeological heritage as a resource for tourism, and the regeneration of towns and cities through heritage. Such issues emerged during all the interviews with local authority executives (Interviews 2, 5 and 6). These were the only partners who perceived their sites as tourist attractions.
- Critical discourses challenge the above assumptions, and the political framework and practices of central and local government that support them. Concerns for conservation, authenticity and sustainability were uppermost in the interviews with the key officials at the garden site (interview 1), and those of the two university consultants (Interviews 4 and 7). The discourses of these individuals aligned most closely with those of the visitors, with their preoccupation for the preservation of places.

The data from the cognitive maps and the visitor surveys is drawn together in Table 17. This compares the interests, agenda and concerns of the principle stakeholders.

Three sectors came together in the partnerships:

- Private: redevelopment contractors, and consultants such as designers.
- Public: local authorities, EH, university consultants.
- Voluntary/community: archaeology societies, disabled groups.

Table 17: Interests, Agenda and Concerns of the Principle Stakeholders in the Partnerships

Interview No.	Stakeholders	Principal Concerns
1, 2, 5, 6	Owners	Finance, security, public access
2, 5, 6	Local government	Gaining finance for projects Use of heritage for tourism: regeneration of towns/cities Education Community involvement to secure funding and legitimise schemes Access for minority groups
4, 7	University consultants	Resource for higher education Publication and dissemination of results Authenticity Conservation Sustainability Critical of government practices
2	Community volunteers	Involvement in the decision-making process Securing/sustaining voluntary help
Questionnaire surveys and interviews A and B	Visitors: local visitors and tourists	Preservation, particularly of places, for future generations Continuity Access to buildings and sites Leisure resource for couples, groups of friends, families Site for personal memories Place for informal learning, e.g. family history

However, classifying individuals into groups is problematic, as Bourdieu recognises:

The individuals grouped in a class that is constructed in a particular respect ... always bring with them, in addition to the

pertinent properties by which they are classified, secondary properties which are thus smuggled into the explanatory model.

(Bourdieu, 1984:102)

It is not possible to place the individuals in the partnerships within one particular group. As I will demonstrate, most individuals and groups operate under a number of different guises.

2.1. Owners

Classifying owners is particularly problematic, especially if they are central or local government agencies. In a sense, government agencies act as trustees for heritage, whether they own the sites or not, as one of the roles of government is to control the development of archaeological sites, via the planning process, to ensure that national policy to protect heritage is implemented. At the same time, as McCrone *et al* note, much of the burden for economic regeneration falls upon the local authorities (1995:36). Therefore, as owners, they will be concerned with “driving upmarket” (Howard, 2002:66) and with economic development. At the redevelopment project, the city council was responsible for the regeneration of the city centre. As the archaeologist said:

We have been trying for twenty-odd years to try and keep people
In the city ... We want to grab those visitors, because that would
improve, feed through, into the city and its economy and so on.

(Interview 5)

However, in their role as legislators, local authorities also act as guardians and protectors of the archaeological heritage. This presents a classic case of conflict of interest.

Lane points out that public ownership is a much more difficult concept than either private or common ownership. When the state or government is the owner of assets, then it is not entirely easy to answer simple questions about who the owners are, who are the stakeholders, and who is concerned with how government manages state assets. He conceptualises the role of the state as operating in the same way as a legal trust (2000:165). However, the local authority role of trustee and guardian sits uneasily alongside its role as legislator. It becomes even more problematic when a guardian/legislator also acts as an agency for development.

In the case of the redevelopment project, it is highly questionable whether local government acted as a legal trust. As one partner in the redevelopment project pointed out, what governed the scheme from the beginning was that it was a civic, commercial development. The city was the promoter and the judge, and it was not a scheduled site, so there was no problem about getting the necessary approval. He described this as an incredible situation (Interview 7). Indeed, it is unbelievable that such power can be vested in one authority.

Government cannot simply be regarded as just another contractual partner, as the state is also the guarantor, and the umpire (Lane, 2000:161). Lane suggests that the state should ensure that actors following different institutions conduct

these roles (2000:161). However, although different departments within local government may have different responsibilities (for example Planning, Conservation, and Cultural Heritage), these departments cannot be deemed independent of each other, and do not resolve the dilemma.

Who will protect the city's archaeological heritage, when the discourses of conservation, sustainability and authenticity compete against the more powerful economic discourses of central and local government? According to contemporary policy, EH act as guardians of heritage, but they can only intervene when sites and monuments are registered or buildings are listed. Unlisted and unregistered monuments and buildings have no such protection. In such cases, the role of guardian of the archaeological heritage can be cast aside.

2.2. Archaeological Research and the Market

The conflicting role of local government comes into sharper focus in the case of redevelopment, or "rescue" archaeology, where there is tension between the economic discourses of the market, and archaeological research. Although the complex issues and arguments concerning rescue archaeology are largely outside the scope of this thesis, the problems experienced during one of the case studies in this research may be widespread, and justify further discussion.

It is important to remember that archaeology in Britain operates in an environment of declining budgets and staffing, particularly within local authorities

(Baker and Chitty, 2002: 2). In cases where local authority staff is inadequate, private contract archaeology companies fill the gap, on a short-term contractual basis. As the archaeologist at the redevelopment project pointed out:

Now, my (archaeological) unit, it was small, and it couldn't cope with the extent of the archaeology, so I subcontracted to (name of company) to undertake the excavation

(Interview 5)

In Britain, as in many other European countries, the developer pays for any rescue archaeology to be carried out prior to development, in accordance with planning regulations, and the rules of private, commercial competition. Thus, "the polluter pays" for any archaeological investigations. However, this forces an interface between the economics of the market, and scientific research.

Carver has noted that archaeology, as a scientific process, does not end with fieldwork, but must be seen to include the collection and dissemination of scientific information. This is not widely recognised, even within academic/scientific circles, and can be attested by archaeology's lamentable record of publication (2002:9). However, what is less well known is that developers, who are responsible for funding archaeological investigations prior to redevelopment, own the archaeological reports. There is no statutory requirement for this "grey literature" to be published or disseminated.

These structural tensions in rescue archaeology have been recognised and addressed in France. Until recently, archaeology in France operated along similar lines to archaeology in Britain, and problems were evident concerning post excavation work and publication (Demoule, 2002:173). Under the principle of “the polluter pays”, the developers were paying only for the excavation, and for the editing of the excavation reports. However, as Demoule notes:

Once an excavation was over, the digging team dispersed and the excavators were re-deployed on another site before they had the time to study their material more closely or to publish it in full detail.

(Demoule, 2002:173)

Similar problems were noted in the redevelopment scheme in this research. Interviewee 7 lamented the loss of the collective experience of the archaeological team. He said that there were problems with archaeologists going off to other jobs, and that the human link, or the personal input of individuals into the research reports, would be lost. He claimed that there was not enough thinking time during the project, and that one result of the excavations, the exhibition, was produced before the research reports had been completed. In short, once the excavation was over, the contractors packed their trowels and left.

Demoule highlights further problems. He claims that private archaeology companies in France found themselves trapped in direct economic dependence

on the developers (2002:173). They would have no motive to announce exceptional and unexpected discoveries, which would require an increase in the budget. The financial fate of these private firms would depend less on the quality of their scientific results than on their ability to dig faster and cheaper than anyone else:

In other words, they were not being paid to expand the field of scientific knowledge, but to provide a “service” to “customers” in the context of a “marketplace”. The expansion of knowledge would be a mere by-product of their activities.

(Demoule, 2002:174)

However responsibly and scientifically they carry out their work, private contractors are motivated by profit, not by the advancement of scientific knowledge. To resolve these tensions, the French parliament has legislated to establish a research institution, with authority over all rescue excavation anywhere on French territory (Demoule, 2002:174). This body, although it is a public rescue archaeology service, works with other research institutions on request. Through this, Demoule claims, a clear distinction is made between matters of market economics, which would involve private commercial competition, and matters relating to national public services operating in the common interest (2002:174).

Whether such a framework entirely separates these conflicting interests, and whether such a scheme would be workable in Britain, is open to debate. Also, it

is too early to assess the impact of this research institute on the quality of scientific research in France, or to assess whether this solution resolves the complex issues that are involved in redevelopment archaeology. Undoubtedly, the role of local authorities and private contractors in rescue projects in Britain deserves closer scrutiny.

2.3. Contractors

Bearing the above discussion in mind, it might be logical to assume that contractors, such as redevelopment companies, are firmly located in the private sector. However, as Bishop points out, it is all too easy to set this up as a clash of public versus private objectives, occupy the high moral ground and say: "Developers don't care, all they are interested in is the cheapest price and the size of their profit margin". However, developers have their own perspectives about their obligations to society (Bishop, 2002:4).

We need to remember that development is considered by society, and particularly by government, to be as much in the public interest as the care of archaeological sites (Bishop, 2002:5). It is not right or reasonable to treat developers as a more homogenous group than the rest of the public. Not all developers are large companies: many are small concerns operating on narrow margins, and many, if not most of them, are private individuals (Bishop, 2002:4).

Nevertheless, although developers are part of the public sphere, and would agree in abstract that archaeology is a "good thing", like most people, including

archaeologists, they are likely to complain when an abstract “good thing” affects them in particular, constraining their ambitions and hitting their pockets (Bishop, 2002:4). Although such acceptance may be difficult when preservation *in situ* is involved, the situation is at least clear cut: law and policy combine to place the public interest in the archaeological remains ahead of development, which must be either rejected or modified in consequence. However, this situation is comparatively rare, for government, through PPG16, only gives such precedence to Scheduled Ancient Monuments and other nationally important sites (Bishop, 2002:4).

In the majority of cases, remains can be managed only through negotiated preservation *in situ* and preservation by record, secured through conditions on planning permissions. This involves real expenditure, and that it is at this point that the developer’s acceptance of archaeology begins to become strained (Bishop, 2002:4). Bishop points out that the problem is that archaeology is about knowledge, and apart from the objects retrieved, its product is intangible, without physical substance or common property:

The benefits to commercial developers lie in access to land, public relations, social approval or acceptance and the “holy glow”. These are no mean benefits, but in the world of bricks and mortar, of the balance sheet, of commercial exchange, they may well appear secondary. To these developers, archaeology is a cost for no tangible return

(Bishop, 2002:4)

We can conclude from this that, no matter how co-operative redevelopment companies may appear to be concerning the recording and/or preservation of archaeological remains, ultimately, they are driven by the need to make profits.

Gaining finance to maintain and develop the sites was the principle concern of all of the owners of the case study sites. However, their efforts were not necessarily directed towards profit-making. Two of the case study organisations were driven by the need for sustainability. The garden site receives very little funding from the local authority, and struggles to be financially viable. At the small museum, the scheme involved a partnership with the local archaeological society, who would act as public educators, thereby absolving the local authority (and local taxpayers) of any responsibility to staff the museum.

On the other hand, at the redevelopment project, economic regeneration through redevelopment was the driving force. The scheme was designed to upgrade what was felt by the local authority to be a particularly run-down part of the city centre. However, the extent to which it could be deemed “run-down” is open to question. Before it was developed, the site included a cemetery, a community centre and a car park. Building the multi-faith centre has merely replaced one community resource that was lost because of the redevelopment scheme, with another. It can also be argued that this was a “showcase” project: the third major redevelopment of the city centre since World War II.

2.4. Specialist Consultants

At the garden site, most of the external consultants provided their services free of charge, with the exception of the architect who produced the plans for the funding application for the new visitor centre. Therefore, they acted as volunteers, rather than as paid consultants. In the other two projects, some of the consultants were paid for their services. Close comparison between these two projects brings the different concerns of consultants into sharp focus (see Table 18).

Table 18: Use of Specialist Consultants

Category	Garden Site	Small Museum	Redevelopment Project
Historian	Voluntary	Paid (short-term)	Paid (long-term)
Archaeologists	Voluntary	Voluntary	Paid (part-time)
Excavators	Voluntary	Voluntary	Paid and voluntary
Educators	Voluntary	Voluntary	Paid

During the production of the exhibitions at the small museum and the redevelopment project, the partnerships included archaeologists and historians from local universities. At the redevelopment project, a consultant historian was involved over a number of years, and he received a fee. Concerning other consultants, some of these were paid and some were not (Table 50). Depending on whether they received a fee or not, these individuals could be placed in either the voluntary or the private sector.

During the project at the small museum, the historian was only paid for a short period of time. The archaeologist was not paid at all. Did one of them subscribe to the agenda of the private sector, and the other to the agenda of the volunteers? Reference to the interview data shows that, despite their voluntary or paid status in the partnerships, their interests and concerns were linked to their institutional or organisational bases (see Table 17). The archaeologist at the small museum and the historian in the redevelopment project were both concerned with higher education and academic dissemination, conservation and sustainability. Both of them challenged the practices of local government. For example, the archaeologist at the small museum was highly critical of the way that the partnership operated, particularly of the tendering procedure for the design of the exhibition:

The District's Council's system actually seems to be quite counter-productive ... something officially goes out to tender, but it is out to tender by people you invite. The University approach would be much more to use relevant literature, I mean on this occasion it might be Museum Journal, and advertise for tender and see what comes in. The District Councils seem so used to these procurement rules, instead of it being an open process, it is quite a closed process. Ring up your mates and get four of them to quote. I'm not terribly convinced by the effectiveness of the process.

(Interview 4)

We must conclude that, even though individuals may assume different roles for the purposes of a partnership, they bring their own institutional and organisational values with them. Their concerns and agenda do not change, confirming Bourdieu's concept of habitus as being deeply embedded in the individual (Bourdieu, 1977:78-82).

2.5. Discourses of Interpretation: Education and Entertainment

Further analysis of extracts from the transcripts at the redevelopment project reveals that two local authority executives within the same case study had very different perspectives on interpretation. This is highlighted through a close examination of the language used by these interviewees.

The Project Director used the words "a circus ringmaster" to describe his role. He was concerned with producing an attractive and entertaining "show" for visitors. He also understood the importance of capturing peoples' interest and imagination, and stimulating the learner's interest (Interview 6). More disposed towards popular forms of interpretation, than academic dissemination, the Project Director described his role as: "Getting people involved, helping people understand presentations, talks and discussions about the whole thing" (Interview 6). He appreciated the importance of motivating people to learn, claiming that if people were not "... captured by what you are trying to do, they won't listen":

So, I really wanted to try and capture peoples' imagination, and to entertain them, but at the same time they would be educated. So they would see the building, they would understand about the life and times of the people who lived in the building ...

(Interview 6)

In this project, although the local authority archaeologist supported this strategy, she was also concerned with using the archaeology as a resource for higher education. During the interview, she said that she did not give "jolly talks", but "lectures" (Interview 5). The statement betrays her higher intellectual values.

When discussing the exhibition material, she frequently used the word "information":

So that's pitched at a level where people can take away some information. Many years ago, there was a tremendous amount of research done on museum exhibitions, and how much information people actually can take away. And it is surprisingly low. Low because there was too much information, and they become swamped ...

(Interview 5)

However, Tilden reminds us that although interpretation includes information, information is not interpretation: "Interpretation is revelation based upon

information. But they are entirely different things” (Tilden, 1957:9). Information will be meaningless unless it is interpreted at a suitable level for the audience, and it may be forgotten unless further interest is generated.

Despite their different perspectives on the level and nature of the interpretation of the site, there was no evidence of conflict between these two local authority executives. The archaeologist accepted that: “Education is a very broad thing”, and that there were two sides to education, the formal and the informal (Interview 5). Within the arena of the redevelopment project, the agenda, concerns and values of each of these executives could be accommodated, as both formal and informal educational activities were initiated during the project: the scheme included both popular and intellectual forms of dissemination. Otherwise, the opposition between fun and entertainment on the one hand, and higher intellectual interests on the other, might have caused tensions. The result was that a broad range of educational activities was undertaken during and after the project.

The links between entertainment and education, and formal and informal learning, are discussed further in Section 2.6.5.

2.6. Volunteers

Table 19 shows that all three projects involved volunteers to some extent. However, the degree of participation by these volunteers in the decision-making process shows some variation.

Table 19: Participation Levels of the Volunteers

Stage of project	The Garden Site	The Small Museum	The Redevelopment Project
Decision-making	High	High	Low
Implementation	High	High	High

The volunteers at the garden site are central to the organisation itself: the volunteers are the organisation, as the Trust employs very few paid staff. The Trustees are unpaid, and volunteers can be found throughout the hierarchical structure of the organisation.

On the other hand, the volunteers at the small museum felt that they had very little input into the management of the site, or into the design of the exhibition, and the Chairman perceived that they were weaker partners. Yet, the upper floor of the small museum was originally designated as a space for temporary displays. The local society challenged this policy, so that they could hold their own exhibition on this floor. This change of policy had to be approved by the HLF. At the implementation stage of the project, public access to both exhibitions depends on the contribution of the volunteers, as they act as educators and custodians. Although they perceived that they were weaker partners, they had influence at the decision-making stage, and were crucial to the implementation of the scheme.

To summarise, there was a high level of community involvement at the garden site and at the small museum, via the activities of the volunteers. Paradoxically,

the application by the garden site to fund a visitor centre was refused by the HLF.

At the redevelopment project, there were the usual community consultation initiatives that are associated with gaining building and planning consent. Although statutory public consultations took place before the granting of planning and building permissions, the only direct community involvement in the decision making process was that of a steering group, initiated to debate and agree access for disabled people. However, the power of this group was limited by the need to conserve the archaeological remains, and what the Project Director felt concerning the aesthetics of the site.

At the implementation stage, the volunteer archaeologists helped with the excavations at this site, but they were not directly involved in the decision-making process. The interview data indicates that community involvement was through the ongoing educational activities that took place during the excavations. However, education about what is happening at the site is not the same as involvement, and having the power to challenge, influence or change decisions.

2.6.1. Level of Commitment within the Voluntary Societies

The Chairman of the voluntary society at the small museum claimed that apathy was a problem amongst the members. Although these volunteers were entrusted with the responsibility for public dissemination, with a few notable

exceptions, the society's Chairman perceived that there was a lack of commitment from individual members (Interview 3). He claimed that apathy was a problem in the society.

Yet, this society has been active in archaeological research, and recently undertook a ground penetrating radar survey, funded by the society. This represents a considerable achievement for a relatively small, local group of independent, amateur archaeologists, and does not indicate apathy or lack of commitment.

Possibly, the perception of the other partners, that they were at the small museum for security reasons, may have lead to the feeling that their contribution was not recognised or appreciated. Also, attendance as a volunteer at the weekends is an ongoing commitment that some volunteers may be unwilling to fulfil. As many of them are elderly, it is not surprising that they are reluctant to stand on their feet for several hours to staff the exhibition. For members of the society, the costs seem greater than the benefits. There is no training programme to help them to interpret the site for visitors, and they felt the weaker partners during the process of producing the new exhibition. Adding these together, it is hardly surprising that some of them are less than enthusiastic about giving up their time at the weekends.

Turning to the redevelopment project, the input of the volunteers from the local archaeology society was limited to the excavation. Without their help, some of the work would not have been carried out. According to the project

archaeologist, the volunteers carried out some very heavy work. Discussions with some of the volunteers who helped to excavate this site indicated that they were all very satisfied with this arrangement.

The use of unpaid excavators undoubtedly transferred some of the financial and moral responsibility for the archaeological work away from the redevelopment contractors, and the local authority. In the same way, responsibility for public education at the small museum was shifted from the local authority to the history and archaeology society. It could be argued that some volunteers were exploited as an unpaid labour force for the purposes of these projects. All they had in return was the experience.

Yet experience itself is a valuable commodity, and fieldwork experience is highly regarded in the field of archaeology. The redevelopment scheme presented a rare opportunity for volunteers to gain experience that is often denied to amateurs, without the cost that usually accompanies education and training. However, the use of volunteers does raise ethical questions concerning the use of volunteers, particularly as such a large grant was awarded for the redevelopment scheme, on condition that the archaeological work was carried out first.

2.6.2. Gender Difference in the Voluntary Organisations

The Chairman and Secretary at the garden site agreed that their volunteers comprised "... a significant number of married women who have either got part-

time jobs or no job at all, and their families are growing up, so they are looking for something to do". Both executives agreed that there were more women than there were men amongst the volunteers (Interview 1).

Membership of the voluntary societies in the other two case studies is compared in Table 20. This shows that retired, male committee members dominated the archaeology society at the small museum.

Table 20: Comparison of Voluntary Archaeology Societies

Details	The small museum	The redevelopment project
Total membership 2001	81	139
% of female members	46%	55%
% of female committee	25%	66%
% of committee retired	75%	46%

Gender difference is more balanced in the society at the redevelopment project. This society has a woman chairperson, over two thirds of the committee, and just over half of the members are women.

2.6.3. Contemporary Research on Volunteers

Heritage volunteers are the backbone of the industry, and many sites are run entirely by volunteers (Smith, 1999:1). The garden site has very few paid staff, and depends heavily on its 120 volunteers. At the small museum, not only are

volunteers from the local history and archaeology society involved in archaeological research, but they also act as guides, and interpret the site for the visitors.

Smith has identified two groups of heritage volunteers. In her research, "Mature Volunteers", socially-motivated, older, retired professionals dominated numerically. Younger, career-orientated "Experience-Seeking Volunteers", were primarily motivated and rewarded by gaining experience in a heritage environment (1999:1). Both of these groups can be identified within the case studies. The history and archaeology society at the small museum is largely comprised of "Mature Volunteers", whilst "Experience-Seeking Volunteers" were involved in the excavations at the redevelopment project. Both groups can be found at the Garden site, but there are more "Mature Volunteers", most of whom are women.

While the key relationship in the management of volunteers is between the responsible manager and the volunteers, other factors were found to be important, including the relationships between the volunteers and the paid staff, other volunteers, visitors, the property and the community (Smith, 1999:1).

Holmes interviewed over 300 volunteers at over 30 sites, and found that they tended to be older, retired people, and largely mirrored the social profiles of the visitors. Because of their similar backgrounds, volunteers had a high impact on visitors, particularly through sharing their enthusiasm and knowledge (1999).

Barriers to volunteering have been identified in a recent report to the Heritage Lottery Fund, carried out by PLB Consulting Ltd. These include the financial situation of individuals, as not everyone can afford to spend time working for no payment. Organisational practices, lack of awareness and information, and feeling unwelcome were also important factors. A further barrier was lack of time, and a perception that volunteering is not fun. (PLB, April 2001:5).

The report also investigated the barriers to working in a paid post in the heritage sector. These display similarities with barriers to volunteering, and include:

- Cultural exclusion at all levels
- No sense of ownership
- Low pay and low status of heritage careers
- Levels of training required
- Lack of opportunities
- Too many volunteers, not enough paid positions
- “Outsiders” are not welcome.

(PLB, April 2001:5)

Accepting “outsiders”, either as volunteers or employees, may be a difficult concept for museum professionals and recruiters to accept, particularly as excluded groups include young adults and teenagers, those from low-income households, people lacking basic skills, or those who are low achievers (PLB, April 2001:4). Accepting “outsiders” might also be a difficult concept for other volunteers to accept within the culture of a voluntary group or society.

Newcomers might not be accepted within the communities in which existing heritage staff and volunteers operate. Some individuals may not possess the necessary social, human and symbolic capital to participate in heritage activities. When professional archaeologists, gardeners, landscape architects, educators and historians become involved, the concept of accepting “outsiders” can become even more problematic.

2.6.4. Amateur and Professional Discourses

It would be quite wrong to treat all volunteers as a homogenous group. For example, volunteers at the garden site ranged from a peer of the realm, who acted as a Trustee, to gardeners and tea-makers. Inequality of status did not appear to be a feature of the partnership at this site: all of the volunteers were valued for their particular contribution. However, the data from the other two sites indicates that volunteers perceived that they were weaker partners. I will argue that this is not necessarily because of their status as volunteers, but can be attributed to their status as either amateurs or professionals.

The issue of a division between amateurs and professionals emerged during the interview with the archaeologist in the partnership at the small museum:

And I had a kind of – still have a kind of – view that the (history and archaeology) society has members with a lot of knowledge, but not necessarily what you might call – they are not

professional archaeologists, they are not professional educators,
they are not professional guides.

(Interview 4)

This raises issues concerning the legitimacy and authority of the various discourses of these groups. I will now discuss discourses of training, competence and professionalism, formal and informal learning, and the theoretical implications of “the ritual of institution”, which Bourdieu suggests is instrumental in the shaping and sanctioning of individual identities (1991:119). Table 21 sets out the different discourses of the professionals and amateurs in the case studies.

Table 21: Amateur and Professional Discourses

Field	Amateur	Professional
Work	Hobby/Interest	Career/Profession/ Employment
Learning	Unrecognised Unaccredited Informal Superficial	Recognised Accredited Formal Advanced
Status	Unqualified/Uncertified	Qualified/Certified
Professional trust	Low	High
Authority	Unauthorised	Authorised
Position	Weak	Powerful
Recognition	Undervalued	Valued

Many amateurs have been content to regard their involvement in archaeology as a “hobby”, and as a pleasant and interesting way to spend their leisure time. There seems little reason to challenge this informal, unpaid and unpaid-for mode of learning, which has given pleasure to so many people in the past, and has

proved of such great benefit to archaeology (see Speight, 2002). The voluntary sector has been a dominant force in archaeology for over a century, and the journals of county societies still carry a significant proportion of academic archaeological publications (EH, 2000:30). Clearly, knowledge and skill in archaeology are not limited to those who are professionals.

However, new European legislation, in the form of the Valetta Convention, may ultimately threaten the future involvement of amateur archaeologists. Although not enshrined in British law, the convention states that some form of suitable qualification will be necessary for all those who are involved in archaeological investigations (CoE, 2001:3). Under Article 3, signatory states are required "...to ensure that excavations and other potentially destructive techniques are carried out only by qualified, specially authorised persons". Section (e) specifies that this should be:

... subject to specific prior authorisation, whenever foreseen by the domestic law of the State, the use of metal detectors and any other detection equipment or process for archaeological investigation.

(CoE:2001:3)

As the Council for Independent Archaeology (CIA) points out, there is nothing in the convention to suggest that the public should actually do any archaeology, or take responsibility for the heritage themselves (CIA, 2000:1). Although it has advantages for protecting archaeology from irresponsible practitioners, the

Valetta convention could effectively exclude all amateurs from taking an active part in archaeological investigations, and this includes both scheduled and unscheduled monuments and sites. Currently, in principle, local archaeology societies cannot undertake even non-invasive archaeological investigations without prior authorisation. However, the question of who will issue such authorisation has not yet been addressed, and thus these principles cannot be policed or enforced.

In an environment of reduced government funding for “professional” archaeology projects, the ground penetrating radar survey, funded and carried out independently by the history and archaeology society at the small museum, if not actually illegal, is likely to be discouraged under the terms of this new European agreement. Two important issues arise. Firstly, amateur volunteers are likely to find their involvement in archaeological activities threatened. Secondly, in order to raise the status and authority of amateurs, there is a need to recognise their knowledge and skills. This may be essential if amateurs are to participate in any kind of archaeological investigations.

2.6.5. The Links between Informal and Formal Learning

Training has been seen by various organisations as a solution to encouraging under-represented groups to engage with heritage, and participate in heritage-oriented activities. PLB Consulting examined how small- and medium-sized heritage organisations might better encourage people from under-represented groups (PLB, 2001:1). A number of “Golden Rules” to help guide heritage

organisations along the path of audience development and inclusiveness were distilled from the research. This included training for volunteers. The report recommended that heritage organisations should:

Provide appropriate training for staff and volunteers to ensure that traditionally excluded and under-represented audiences have a high quality experience whether they are visiting, volunteering or working at the site.

(PLB, 2001:6)

However, training for volunteers poses particular problems. There would need to be some incentive for both providers and volunteers to engage in training activities. Some individuals and heritage organisations may not be able to pay for such training courses. More importantly, volunteers may resist the concept of accreditation, particularly if this becomes less of an option, and more of a statutory requirement. As Stalker says, we should not assume that adults enter into opportunities to participate in adult education activities on a voluntary basis. He claims that tacit external pressure creates a kind of adult education, which, for all intents and purposes, is as compulsory as elementary and secondary education (1993:64). Tight has also warned that the compulsive nature of this process can turn people away from learning altogether (1998b:483). Many amateurs may reject the idea of taking part in some form of accredited learning, so that they are “allowed” to participate in archaeological investigations, or act as volunteers in museums and at sites.

At the garden site, the volunteers were trained “in-house”, but this did not involve an accredited course. Through the training co-ordinator, they gained knowledge about the latest research on the site, and increased their confidence as interpreters. The Chairman of the Trust was afraid that an accreditation scheme for volunteers “... might frighten some of them off. ” He also felt that there would be little gain for the organisation:

I am not sure what benefits we would get out of it, to be honest. I am afraid I am anti BS 5750 ISO 9000 ... and all of these other things. I have to ask myself, what's in it? It's a piece of paper to me, a certificate on the wall when you've got it. I know I am the Jeremiah in this, because most people think it's a good idea, but accredited training schemes, why? What do we get out of it? Our guides get praise from – well, I've never heard a bad word about our guides.

(Interview 1)

This organisation is able to shape its own discourses of informal learning, through acknowledgement and respect for the knowledge and skills of the volunteers. Both the organisation and the volunteers are likely to reject the dominant discourses of formal accreditation and learning. Formal training would need to bring benefits for organisations and volunteers, and conflict is likely if accreditation is anything other than voluntary. There is a danger that volunteers might resist, and turn their backs on voluntary work altogether. At the very least, such schemes would need to offer participants the opportunity to develop their

own particular interests in heritage, whether these concern archaeological fieldwork, history, site interpretation, conservation, or public education. On the other hand, some volunteers may welcome the opportunity to develop their interests further, and to gain more formal recognition of their skills and experiences.

Speight claims that participation in adult education in archaeology has been influenced by several factors. During the 1960s and 1970s, archaeological techniques became more and more scientific, and the number of archaeologists working full-time increased. The trained amateur was needed, but in smaller number than before (Speight, 2002:80). Wider social changes, for example, the increased accessibility of exotic archaeology meant that adult students could save their resources for a Nile cruise rather than undertake an extra-mural course. The excitement of archaeology could be provided by passive means, for example listening to a viewing radio and TV history and archaeology (Speight, 2002:81). With the increased dissemination of popular forms of knowledge about archaeology, informal learning through entertainment and leisure could have replaced the demand for formal education.

On the other hand, informal learning may be generating, rather than reducing, interest in archaeology courses. Recruitment statistics show that in the academic year 1999-2000, archaeology, local and medieval history provided over 20% of extra-mural provision by the University of Nottingham (Speight, 2002:82). At the University of Warwick, the figure for the same period was 46%. 69% of these students registered because of "interest", rather than for

“vocational” or “progression” reasons (University of Warwick, 2000:1). As Speight points out, adult educators face a new task:

The challenge for the new generation of archaeologists within adult education is to identify the interests and needs of their contemporaries, to find a means to harness the diverse energies within archaeology, so that the profession can be supported by skilled amateurs, who can play a full part in the advancement of knowledge, as they did in the youth of the discipline.

(Speight, 2002:82)

What is needed is a coherent framework within which interest in archaeology can be harnessed, for the benefit of amateur volunteers and staff, as well as for the benefit of heritage organisations.

2.6.6. Archaeologists as Cultural Intermediaries

In this section, I will discuss how the networks of archaeologists can facilitate transfers between informal and formal learning, for the benefit of the community, educational institutions and archaeological practice. A model is presented of the social networks of the two archaeologists who were interviewed in the research, identifying their role as “cultural intermediaries” (Bourdieu, 1994:14).

The archaeologists in the partnership at the small museum and the redevelopment project were both involved in formal education and research

activities at a university. Also, both were involved with local amateur archaeology societies. At the case study sites, the archaeologists interpreted academic research material for public dissemination. One of them gave lectures to local groups about the case study project. She said that the audience ranged from:

... retired union members to professional womens' groups, to historical associations, to other archaeological societies ... so this education thing is very broad indeed.

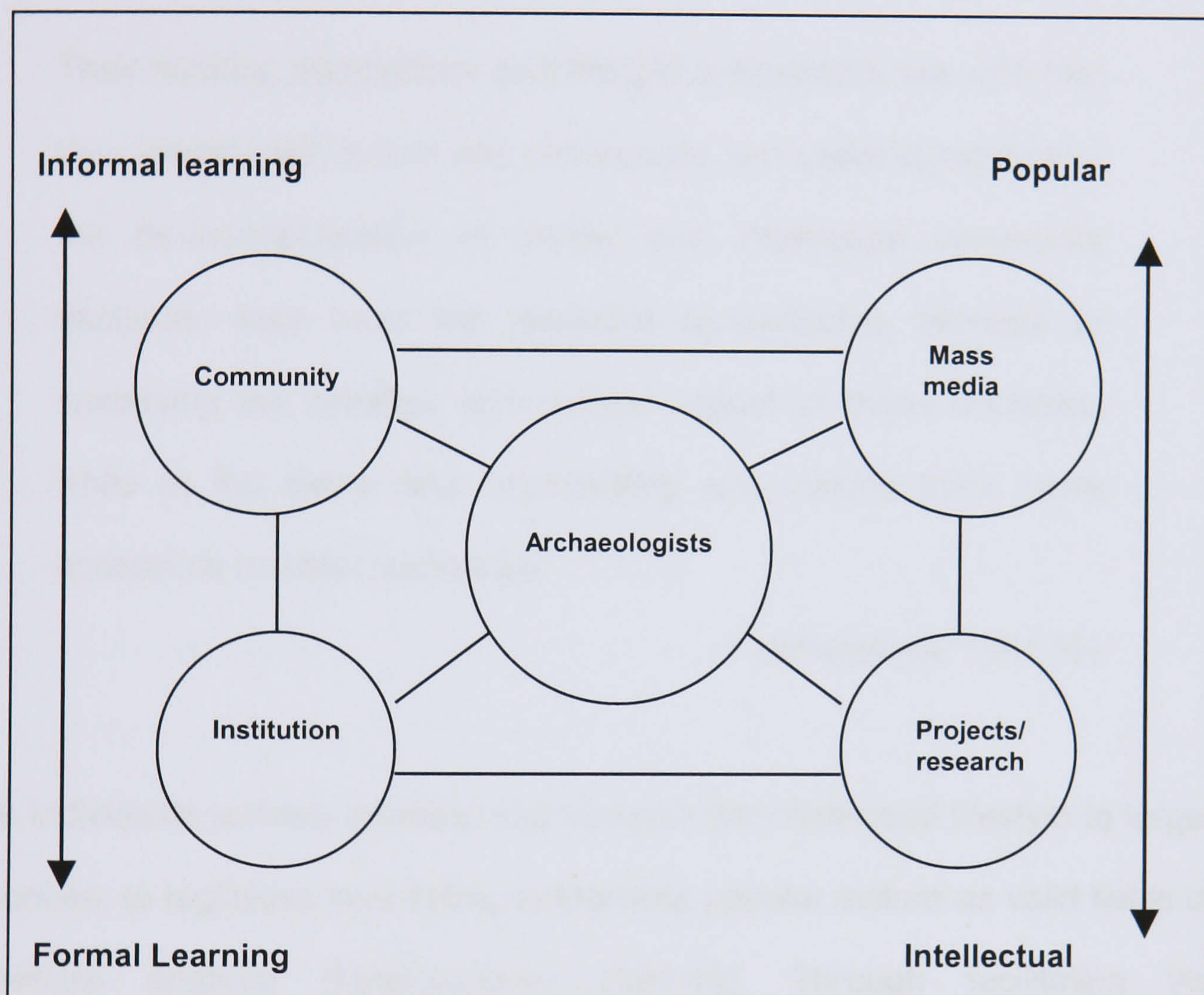
(Interview 5)

Also, during the past year, both archaeologists have appeared on television, describing archaeological projects to mass audiences.

Through their activities, these archaeologists encourage students to join local archaeology societies, and in turn, individuals in archaeology societies are encouraged to participate in extra mural activities at the university. Some of these students progress to part-time degrees. Therefore, the archaeologists promoted and facilitated lifelong learning activities, both formal and informal, and encouraged movement between these different spheres of learning. Also, they facilitated the transfer of intellectual material to the wider public via the mass media, for example, by interpreting research material for public exhibitions, or through giving interviews about their research activities on radio and television. Strong in social capital, the archaeologists have networks in the community (local archaeology societies), institutions (the university), the case study projects

and other research activities, as well as in the media (exhibitions, newspapers and television). These networks are shown in Figure 33.

Figure 33: Networks of the Archaeologists



Bourdieu terms these individuals, who move between the different areas of culture, the new intellectuals, or the “new cultural intermediaries” (1984:14). Cultural intermediaries include those who work in the production, marketing and dissemination of symbolic goods (Featherstone, 1991:19), for example, those who facilitate public access and understanding of archaeological artefacts and monuments.

Featherstone notes the growing demand for specialists and intermediaries, who have the capacity to ransack various traditions and cultures in order to produce new symbolic goods, and in addition, to provide the necessary interpretations on their use (1991:19):

Their habitus, dispositions and lifestyle preferences are such that they identify with artists and intellectuals, yet under conditions of the de-monopolisation of artistic and intellectual commodity enclaves, they have the apparent contradictory interests of sustaining the prestige and cultural capital of these enclaves, while at the same time popularising and making them more accessible to wider audiences.

(Featherstone, 1991:19)

Such individuals actively promote and transmit the intellectual lifestyle to larger audiences, to legitimise new fields, authorising popular culture as valid fields of intellectual analysis (Featherstone, 1991:44). Through facilitating the transmission of intellectual knowledge to non-specialists, these new cultural intermediaries help to collapse the hierarchies of intellectual knowledge, and break down the symbolic structures and barriers which were based on the high culture/mass culture distinction (1991:125).

Thus, archaeologists who practise between the cultures of the mass media and those of intellectual life have blurred the boundaries between entertainment and education. Informal and formal lifelong learning activities can be seen as

alternative, complementary pedagogues that support intellectual life, and are favourable to upholding and reproducing the social structure. The need for volunteers in archaeology, and the continued demand for public interest and support for the archaeological heritage, means that the networks of these archaeologists are likely to be sustained. Through these networks, archaeologists support and maintain the educational system, and thereby reproduce the social structure.

3. Power, Control and Participation in Partnerships

Bourdieu notes that to describe power in terms of interaction and mutual adjustment would be to forget that the interaction itself owes its form to the objective structures which have produced the dispositions of the interacting agents, which allows them their relative positions (1972:81). For Bourdieu, "interpersonal" relations are never, except in appearance, individual-to-individual relationships and the truth of the interaction is never entirely contained in the interaction (1977:81).

It is necessary, therefore, to abandon all theories which explicitly or implicitly treat practice as a mechanical reaction, directly determined by the antecedent conditions and entirely reducible to the mechanical functioning of pre-established "models" or "roles", which would have to be postulated in infinite number (Bourdieu, 1977:73). Analyses of group processes (for example, Tuckman, 1965, Belbin, 1981) would clearly be inadequate in the analysis of power and discourse, as they fail to take into account the embodied system of

dispositions of the actors, or their habitus. Actors are unaware of their individual and group habitus, as these are an intrinsic part of what is constituted as “normal” practice:

It is because subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing that what they do has more meaning than they know. The habitus is the universalizing mediation which causes an individual agent’s practices, without either explicit reason or signifying intent, to be none the less “sensible” and “reasonable”.

(Bourdieu, 1977:79)

Although Bourdieu assumes a fundamental link between actions and interests, he rejects the idea that interests are always narrowly economic. Not only does this make a certain, and by no means uncontroversial, claim about the basic character of human action, it also, perhaps more importantly, calls upon the researcher to elucidate the specific interests at stake in the practices and conflicts which take place in particular fields (Thompson, 1992:16). These interests will now be examined.

3.1. Conflicts and Tensions

3.1.1. The Redevelopment Project

At the redevelopment project, there was a challenge from outside the partnership. The funding organisation attempted to control the appointment of

the designers. The Project Director challenged the validity of the claim that the designers were unsuitable, carried out his own personal investigations, and guaranteed the work himself, stating during the interview: "I was happy to put my head on the line..." (Interview 6). However, his head is relatively safe, as there is no mechanism for monitoring and evaluating Millennium Fund projects beyond the opening of the exhibition.

Although the Project Director struggled to gain authority at the outset, his choice of designers was appointed, he wrote the design brief himself, and said that he had a very clear idea of what he wanted the visitor centre to look like. The exhibition was designed to entertain visitors, in accordance with his interests, concerns and agenda. This was certainly not a narrow, economic struggle, but one that involved the values, beliefs and personal authority of one individual.

However, within the steering group of disabled people, there is evidence of resistance from those who were in a less strong position. One or two groups "abused it, by sneaking the odd extra person on..." (Interview 6). Such actions, according to de Certeau, are tactics of the weak, who must continually turn to their own ends forces that are alien to them (1988: xix). However, it is doubtful whether this extra person gave the group any advantage. As the Project Director stated in the interview, some of the people in the disabled groups became "... very frustrated, and angry indeed..." because all of their demands had not been met (Interview 6).

Conflicts occurred because of the needs of people with different disabilities. For instance, to create a space for wheelchair users to negotiate the ramp to the visitor centre, a handrail had to be shorter than blind people would have liked. A steeper ramp would have allowed an adequate handrail for blind people, but the incline would have been too great for either self-propelling wheelchairs, or people who pushed wheelchairs, to negotiate. EH would not allow a support to be put on a wall, so that blind people could find their way, as it would impact on the archaeology. The handrail stops short, in accordance with the wishes of EH. In another power struggle in this steering group, the Project Director refused to have the type of paving which the partially sighted people wanted:

I wouldn't have, for all partially-sighted people, Marshalls red pink paving, in front of all my wonderful York stone. I would not have this horrible, red, garish paving.

(Interview 6)

His use of the word "my" suggests that the interviewee claimed personal ownership of the scheme, and that his own agenda and concerns were uppermost. Clearly, there are no compromises for those who have power and authority, who can eliminate and nullify other discourses.

3.1.2. The Small Museum

The process of partnership at the small museum appears to have been the most problematic of the three case studies. Here, there was little room to

accommodate the different concerns and interests of the partners. The result was the domination of the strongest partner: local government. Other stakeholders had to make concessions about the exhibition text, and the design for the refurbishment of the building. It was the local archaeology society who had to move their collection of carefully gathered artefacts upstairs, and "... shift it off the ground floor", to make way for the new exhibition (Interview 3).

In the interviews, the words that were used by some of the partners are particularly revealing. The archaeologist said that there was a tendency for the partners to be "branded" as particular experts by the local authority (Interview 4). This was a particularly powerful word to use. Foucault states that it is those who are in power who classify and assign roles to others. Here, the power of another partner (the local authority) is evident through what Foucault calls the definition of an individual as a subject, typical of disciplines:

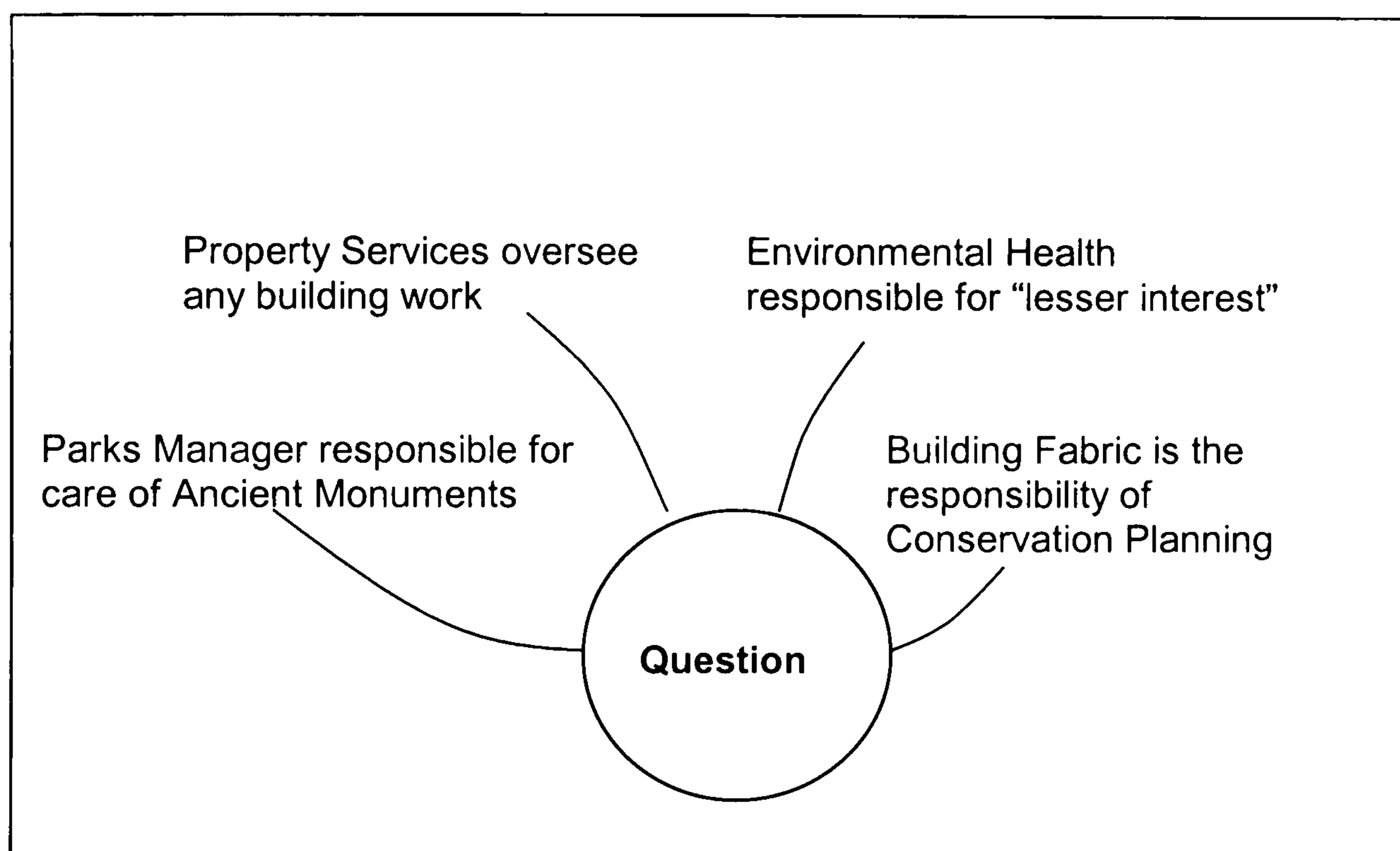
... disciplines characterise, classify, specialise; they distribute along a scale, around a norm, hierarchise individuals in relation to one another and, if necessary, disqualify and invalidate.

(Foucault, 1977:223)

This tendency to classify individuals in specific roles may be conceptualised as embedded in the habitus of some individuals. The data from my meeting with the local authority executive in this case study shows a rigid classification of roles within the district council. Although I had asked this interviewee about his

own role in the project, I was informed exactly who was responsible for which part of the archaeological site (see Figure 34).

Figure 34: Responsibilities for the Small Museum



The tendency to assign rigid roles may not be confined to local authorities, but may be an inherent feature of multi-sectoral groups. Tennyson and Wilde suggest that stereotypical thinking and rigid mindsets may be a feature of partnerships:

Professionals tend, often unconsciously, to adopt a sectorial attitude when handling issues. Such "group think" can feature in the operations of any sector ... and can lead to inflexibility across the board... Unless this type of narrow and conformist thinking

can be changed, the possibilities of forming a successful partnership are slim.

(Tennyson and Wilde, 2000:91)

When such divisions are brought into close proximity, the result is “classification struggles”, and it is important to understand how those with different and contrasting practices and beliefs struggle for supremacy (Bourdieu, 1986:309). The “classification struggle” is waged within firms, for example, in the contest for supremacy between production and publicity, between engineering and marketing. In these, occupational interests are advanced by imposing a scale of hierarchical values which “... involve the participants’ whole world views and arts of living”, or differences in habitus (Bourdieu, 1986:310).

In the partnership at the small museum, the partners included an archaeologist, an historian, a local authority executive, and central government (EH), a representative from a voluntary group and a designer. Where these different sectors came together in a partnership, the potential existed for conflict, or “a culture clash” (Interview4), as each sought to gain the upper hand. There were few strategies that could be used by the partners to resist the rigidity of role assignment: once they were designated in a certain way for the purposes of the partnership, they were unlikely to be considered as having authority in another area.

Yet, classifying individuals within a certain group is something of which we are all guilty. I have characterised certain individuals as “local authority executives”,

“volunteers”, or “consultants”, despite the diversity and complexity of these groups. Clearly, it is necessary to recognise that individuals have distinct and differentiated identities, and a range of skills and knowledge. Ignoring these can clearly prove detrimental to partnerships, and cause resistance towards those who have the authority to classify. Even worse, some individuals and groups can be excluded, through being identified as non-specialists, volunteers, or amateurs.

The voluntary society felt that that they were the weaker partners in the scheme, excluded by those who had more authority and status. This was a particularly negative aspect of this partnership. Clearly, heritage partnerships need to provide a supportive environment for participants, where the contribution of each individual is recognised and valued, and there is the opportunity for them to develop their knowledge and skills.

Drawing on the research, and building on the work of Taket and White (2000), Table 22 identifies some of the features of inclusive heritage partnerships, and suggests ways to broaden and facilitate inclusion and active participation in heritage projects. It is not intended to be a comprehensive manifesto, but it does address some of the problems that were highlighted in the research.

Finally, it is possible that some of the problems that were experienced in the partnerships at the redevelopment project and the small museum can be attributed to the complexities and ambiguities of the missions underlying these projects.

Table 22: Features of Inclusive Heritage Partnerships

Issue	Details
Mission	A common vision.
Motivation	Driving individuals to achieve the mission
Mutual respect	For the values and interests of others, whether amateurs or professionals, staff or volunteers.
Mutual Expectations	Raise and recognise the expectations of all the partners.
Lifelong Learning	Learning from others and sharing knowledge.
Networks	Recognise and encourage networks between different partners and external groups.
Guidelines about how things should be done	Discussion and agreement about working practices, e.g. tendering procedures.
Communication	Clarification of terms that have different meanings for different groups.
Co-ordination	A co-ordinator to be agreed by all partners, to avoid fragmented activities.
Roles and responsibilities	Open discussion of individual roles in the partnership.
Knowledge, skills and abilities	Identification and recognition of the flexible skills of the partners.
Support	Mutual support (e.g. training for amateurs and volunteers).
Equity	Give equal consideration to all discourses, agenda and concerns
Monitoring and Evaluation	Regular, critical review of partnership process.
Reciprocation	"Repayment" of symbolic capital, for example through open recognition and acknowledgement of the contribution of partners.

The funding organisations demanded a complex range of criteria in order for finance to be granted, and these emerge as a series of aims and objectives for each project. To fulfil these criteria, different partners came together, with various interests, agenda and concerns. For example, amateur archaeologists

may only be interested in excavation, and might have little interest in educating the public. Some archaeologists may be wholly opposed to public access, because of the threat to the conservation of the archaeology. Without a common vision, the activities of the partners can be fragmented, the interests of other partners can be ignored, and unproductive conflict between the partners seems inevitable.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

In this chapter, I will review the research questions and the methodology, present the contribution of the research to the debates on lifelong learning, heritage management and partnerships, and summarise the results. Finally, I will consider the implications of the research for policy and practice, and suggest areas for further research.

1. Review of the Research Questions

The aim of the thesis was to investigate formal and informal learning in the field of archaeology. The study involved research at three levels (policy, organisations and visitors), to investigate the effectiveness of contemporary heritage partnership projects for lifelong learning, and the ways that the archaeological heritage is valued across different social contexts.

Chapter 1 outlines the context of the research, describing how lifelong learning is enshrined in EU and British policy as a mechanism for increasing employability and active citizenship, with a focus on broadening access for everyone (EAEA, 2002). These principles are evident in both EU and government policy on the management of the historic environment (DCMS 2000, DCMS 2001) and the archaeological heritage (CEC, 2001, EH 2002).

Contemporary funding organisations for heritage, such as the HLF and the MC, stress the government's strategy to broaden access to the historic environment, and community involvement in heritage activities. There is a need for heritage

organisations to incorporate these requirements in funding applications (HLF, 1998, HLF 2001, NHMF, 2001, HLF 2002, MC, 2000).

Despite such initiatives, participation in heritage activities tends to mirror participation in formal education. Apart from overseas tourists, the majority of visitors to museums and heritage sites appear to be middle-aged and middle-class. Few ethnic minorities who are resident in Britain, or young people, visit sites and museums (Chadwick, 1980, Merriman, 1991, McCrone *et al*, 1995), and volunteers in heritage activities display similar social profiles to visitors (BLP 2001, Holmes, 2002). However, there are indications that the narrow social profile of visitors may be changing, as the emphasis shifts to more popular representations of heritage (Divall, 1998, Chadwick and Stannett, 1998, Scaife, 1995).

Broadening access and participation in lifelong learning activities through involvement in heritage is more problematic than it appears, as:

- Recent EU policy on the historic environment may threaten the involvement of amateur archaeologists (CoE, 2001). However, there is no consensus about what constitutes a professional archaeologist. There is a need to clarify the differences between amateur and professionals in archaeology.
- Popular displays of heritage have been contested as lacking authenticity (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1883, West, 1988), or for exploiting heritage through promoting the economic agenda of regeneration and/or tourism

(Hewison, 1987, Lowenthal, 1985, West, 1988, Corner and Harvey, 1991, Walsh, 1992, Urry, 2002).

- Tensions arise between public access and conservation (Renfrew & Bahn, 1996:531, Larkham, 1995:6, Brunet *et al*, 2000:33).
- It is claimed that museums and heritage representations can promote narrow cultural values (Neitzche, (trs. Preuss) 1980, Bourdieu, 1984, Maleuvre, 1999, Hooper-Greenhill, 1991, Walsh, 1992).

These issues raised the following research questions:

1.1. Lifelong Learning

- How is knowledge about the archaeological heritage interpreted, disseminated and valued across different social contexts?
- What are the implications for lifelong learning?
- Do contemporary representations of the archaeological heritage encourage active participation in heritage activities?
- Are education and entertainment mutually exclusive?
- To what extent is the preservation of a site threatened by its exploitation as a leisure resource?

- Do contemporary representations of heritage broaden the interests and knowledge of their visitors?
- What constitutes a professional archaeologist?
- How can the profile of amateur volunteers be raised?

1.2. Partnerships

The advantages of multi-sector partnerships are stressed in government policy on the management of the historic environment (EH, 2000:41), and partnerships are actively encouraged by funding organisations (HLF, 1998:27, HLF, 2001:4, NHMF, 1998:14, MC, 2000). However, I was unable to locate research on the effectiveness of heritage partnership projects. This omission prompted the following questions:

- Are partnerships an effective way to manage the archaeological heritage?
- Who are the stakeholders in heritage projects, and what are their interests, concerns and agenda?
- To what extent are community representatives included in the decision-making process?
- What is the role of government agents in managing the archaeological heritage?

- How sustainable are contemporary heritage projects?

2. Review of the Methodology and Methods

Such a broad area of study clearly demanded a wide range of methods, and a pragmatic paradigm was adopted (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). The multi-method comparative research involved both empirical and qualitative methods at three case study sites in the Midlands of Britain where the organisations claimed to work in partnership: an historic garden site, a new visitor centre, and a small museum.

To investigate the concerns, interests and agenda of the partners, taped interviews with the key personnel were used, supported by notes of observations made at the sites, and notes from discussions with staff and volunteers. The interview data were analysed using cognitive mapping (Tolman, 1948, Buzan 1993), which were colour-coded to facilitate identification of the principle themes.

Data on the visitors were gathered during three surveys at the case study sites, using semi-structured interview questionnaires, with both open and closed questions. These were analysed manually. Data from the taped interviews and the surveys were drawn together in a secondary analysis, to identify the similarities and differences between the different levels of study (policy, organisations and visitors), and between the three case studies.

I have drawn on Foucault's concept of discourse (1970, 1972, 1977, 1988) to theorise the interests, agenda and concerns of those in the partnerships. The data was related to Bourdieu's human capital theories, his notions of habitus, and distinction (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1991, 1997).

3. Results and Contribution of the Research to the Debates

3.1. Public Participation in Archaeology and Heritage Activities

Speight has argued that the role of adult education in sustaining interest, and facilitating public participation in archaeology, has been overlooked, in the literature of both education and archaeology (2002:73). Also, Light claims that poor understanding of the educational aspects of archaeology represent a significant research challenge (1995:141). This research has attempted a response to these omissions. I have investigated public participation in heritage activities, and the ways that visitors can explore and enjoy their heritage through visiting exhibitions of archaeology, through volunteering, and through taking part in partnerships.

This research has confirmed the results of earlier studies that some social groups do not participate in heritage activities. The visitors that were interviewed were overwhelmingly white, employed or retired, middle-aged or elderly. Very few people from ethnic minority groups, or young adults, visited the case study exhibitions. 59% of the visitors who were interviewed were over the age of 50. However, visitors to the small museum displayed a broader age range, probably because of the location of the site in a public recreation area.

It is not possible to confirm Merriman's hypothesis that the availability of local sites may broaden access for older visitors (1991:58), as several variables are involved. Twenty years after his study, car ownership is more widespread, and interpretation at museums and heritage sites has changed significantly. These factors may have combined to create a culture of heritage visiting amongst visitors over retirement age, whereby they pursue lifelong learning activities, rather than withdrawing from social life.

The social profiles of members of the voluntary organisations that were involved in the projects were not investigated in detail. However, at the garden site, most of the volunteers were women, with older children. Retired men dominated one archaeology society, but gender difference was more balanced in the other society.

3.2. Values of Visitors and Organisations

Few studies have questioned which particular aspects of the archaeological heritage are of interest to visitors, and whether the values of the visitors are in accord with those of the organisation that produced the exhibition, although Howard's model provided a useful starting point for the research (2002:66).

The case study sites were regarded by two of the managing partnerships as an economic and educational resource, yet few visitors regarded the sites in this way. The results indicated that many visitors were long-term residents of the neighbourhoods of the sites. They were concerned with preserving the sites for future generations, and with continuity, perceiving them as a leisure resource,

and as a place for personal memories. Some visitors found the rapid changes to their environment were unsettling. The results underline the importance of the relationship of individuals to particular places. Theoretically, this is linked to social constructions of the notion of place (Massey, 1993).

The concerns of the visitors were in accord with the interests, concerns and agenda of the organisation at only one of the case studies, which was owned and managed by a charitable trust. At this garden site, the key officials had a clear, and largely accurate, perception of the social profiles of their visitors, and the reasons for their visits. Close attention was paid to matching the interests of the groups that visited, to the most suitable volunteer guides. Therefore, at this site, the perspectives of the organisation aligned with those of the visitors.

At the small museum, although the tendency of family groups to visit was recognised, there was little exhibition material that was suitable for children. At the redevelopment site, despite its multi-ethnic neighbourhood, the educational material was only produced in English. Here, visitors preferred a relatively inexpensive tile game to the exhibit that the fund holders had deemed important, and which cost a great deal more to display.

Both of the local authority owners in the research regarded the sites as potential tourist attractions. One of these owners was preoccupied with using the site to regenerate the city centre. Within this redevelopment project, the discourses of conservation and sustainability were undermined by the political agenda of regeneration, and with raising the cultural capital of the city through redevelopment. In the thesis, questions were raised about current policy and

practice in redevelopment archaeology, and the problematic opposition between the market and scientific research. It also brought to the forefront the conflicting role of local authorities as both guardians and developers of the archaeological heritage.

3.3. The Links between Informal and Formal Learning

In the field of adult education, there is room for more exploration of the links between informal and formal learning. (For this field of study, see Coffield, 2000). In archaeology, informal learning through visiting sites and museums and formal training for those who are professionals are regarded as separate and disconnected.

The thesis places archaeologists at the centre of networks, where they move with ease between the academy, the community, heritage organisations and the mass media. Archaeologists can facilitate lifelong learning opportunities for adults, through acting as “cultural intermediaries” (Bourdieu, 1994:14), collapsing some of the traditional hierarchies that exist between popular, mass culture and exclusive, intellectual knowledge. Strategically, archaeologists are well placed to encourage and facilitate transfers between informal and formal learning activities, for the benefit of individuals and groups in the community, and for the benefit of archaeological practice.

Whilst writing this thesis, it has become evident that these networks in archaeology can also facilitate work opportunities for students. Recently a student at the university approached me, as he was interested in working in the

area of heritage interpretation. He needed work experience in the heritage sector, and I suggested that he might like to become a volunteer at the small museum. Shortly afterwards, he secured a paid position at the new “Think Tank” exhibition in Birmingham.

Identifying the incidental (unintentional) learning that takes place at heritage sites and museums is no easy task. As Hein notes: “The voluntary, fleeting nature of most visitors’ involvement with museums has made the effort to understand learning difficult” (1989:134). Interviews with the visitors indicated that, over time, this learning accumulates, becomes more substantial, and can directly benefit the community. Through visiting historic gardens, one visitor had developed an interest in gardening, and had created a small garden for the disabled adults in her care. Although she had learned little about history at school, she felt that, over the years, she had learned a great deal of history through visiting sites (Interview A). The research emphasises the value of in-depth interviews for investigating learning, and illustrates the difficulties of directly asking visitors what they have learned.

3.4. Education and Entertainment

The links between informal and formal learning challenge the perceived opposition between entertainment and education in some studies of heritage. Such opposition was evident in the distance between the “circus ringmaster” and the “intellectual archaeologist” described in Chapter 8, or the polar opposites on the continuum of informal and formal learning. However, there is no reason to suppose that popular representations of heritage are less “authentic”, or less

critical, than intellectual representations. Chapter 7 demonstrates that popular forms of heritage, such as those produced by the local community, merely represent the archaeological heritage at a different intellectual level. Such community narratives are theorised as no more or less “true” than those produced by intellectuals, although they may lack the legitimacy and authority of the academic community. They are accessible, rather than inferior, versions of archaeology and history. In the thesis, community narratives are theorised as more powerful than intellectual forms of interpretation.

However, community cultures can be as exclusive as other cultures. Heritage exhibitions can signify deeper divisions between “us” and “them” in society, and can uphold, rather than break down, the barriers between different groups. If we want all sections of society to participate in heritage activities, this will involve more than translating labels and brochures into other languages. It will mean identifying areas of interest that are important to non-participant groups, and representing aspects of the past and the present that have meaning and relevance in their lives. It also means the active participation of community groups in the production of heritage narratives.

However, alternative versions of heritage emerge as threatening concepts for some intellectuals, as those who are not professional archaeologists or historians join the debates, and the line between amateurs and professionals becomes blurred and contested. Handing over heritage interpretation to “amateurs” may be troublesome for those who have traditionally held responsibility for heritage, such as local authority executives and university

consultants. In the light of the research, the features of amateur and professional discourses are conceptualised (Chapter 8).

4. The Implications for Policy and Practice

4.1. Facilitating Inclusive Partnerships

The garden site, although it operated through a hierarchical management structure, emerged as the partnership with the greatest community involvement. Here, the partnership between the volunteers and the organisation was clearly articulated as one of mutual respect and support.

However, as it is a charitable trust, the management can take executive decisions without consulting other stakeholders. This may limit the participation of other partners in the decision-making process.

At the other two case studies, although community representatives were included in both partnerships, these were wholly dominated by the discourses of their local government owners. Whether this was because the government agents held the funds, because they were the instigators of the projects, or because of their status as owners, was not apparent from the research. What is clear is that at all three case studies, the concept of partnership was partial and, at times, dysfunctional.

The move towards partnership working is closely linked to moves towards participatory decision-making (Taket and White, 2000:1). However, Edwards claims that, although having a “voice” is certainly important, it cannot be

assumed to be inherently authentic or “empowering”, as voices are themselves constructed through culturally located discourses (1997:12). Certain stances and practices are more “empowering” than others, and not all discourses are equal (Edwards, 1997:13). Such discursive anomalies brought tensions and conflicts to the case study partnerships.

However, conflict can be theorised as a necessary feature of critical discourse, and should not necessarily be regarded as counter-productive. The Nietzschean doctrine stresses that there can only ever be “interpretations”, and that human concepts, beliefs and values always emerge as the result of the suppression of alternative possibilities. Therefore, all forms of “knowledge” and “truth” are versions that have emerged triumphant from a competition between warring ideas (Robinson, 1999:77). However, if stronger stakeholders dominate partnerships, then conflict and tension become counter-productive, and critical, open debate can be overpowered and silenced.

Furthermore, the concerns, interests and agenda of one powerful individual can dominate a partnership. In two of the case studies, there was little room for others to challenge the interpretation of the new public exhibitions, or to negotiate alternative narratives. As a result of such practices, partners can work independently, rather than as a team, and dissemination activities can be fragmented. The transferable skills of individuals are not recognised, valued, or utilised, as partners can be categorised as particular “experts”, or as “amateurs”. To overcome such difficulties, it has been suggested that an effective co-ordinator can make a difference (Taket and White, 2000, Tennyson and Wilde, 2000).

Several different terms are used to describe the role of those who co-ordinate partnerships, for example, “facilitator”, “shapeshifter” (Taket and White, 2000:167) and “broker” (Tennyson and Wilde, 2000). Tennyson and Wilde stress the importance of the broker (2000:68), who can create effective learning opportunities, and establish working relationships between disparate partners (2000:103). They see partnership brokering as a new style of leadership, where the broker acts as a catalyst, guiding rather than directing the partnership (2000:106). Bearing this, and the results of the research, in mind, a project director appears to be the least suitable person to co-ordinate a partnership. A director has an authoritarian role, and is expected to direct a project, acting as a “circus ringmaster” (Interview 6). A partnership co-ordinator has a different function, to facilitate the participation of all the actors, so that they work together as a co-ordinated, multi-skilled team.

Drawing on the research, and building on the work of Taket and White (2000), the features of inclusive heritage partnerships are identified, and ways to broaden and facilitate inclusion and active participation in heritage projects are suggested.

4.2. Training for Volunteers

The range of activities that amateur volunteers undertook at the case study sites was very broad. Some volunteers acted as trustees for sites, others cleared sites, and some were involved in excavations. Volunteers cleaned or documented artefacts, planted bulbs and hedges, or raised money through house-to-house collections. Some wrote archaeology research reports, or

educated visitors, acted as security guards, or answered the telephone. Volunteers gave talks and lectures: others made visitors' teas. Yet sometimes, their contribution was not recognised or acknowledged, or their needs addressed. Is it possible to raise their status through training and accreditation?

Frequently, researchers seeking to identify the essential skills required in the heritage industry direct their survey instruments towards the key executives in organisations, rather than towards the needs of volunteers (for example, PLB Consulting, 2001, Crotts *et al*, 2002: 337-346). In the thesis, it became clear that some volunteers, and some voluntary organisations, might reject the idea of formal accreditation and training (Interview 1). Issues of accreditation need to be negotiated with the volunteers themselves, rather than imposed on them by their own organisations, or from outside institutions. As important stakeholders in the archaeological heritage, it is essential that the voices of volunteers be heard, when accreditation and training for volunteers are on the agenda.

However, the issue of training in archaeology is still under debate, as professional archaeologists themselves disagree over what constitutes professional competence in the field.

4.3. Training for Professional Archaeologists

Among employers, UK, Scottish and Welsh governments, as well as in the EU, there is a growing requirement for professions to have recognised standards. One of the prerequisites of a professional association is subscription to a code of ethics (Hinton, 2001:16). During the course of the research at the

redevelopment project, ethics emerged as an important issue, as the project displayed a lack of forethought and attention to the conservation of archaeological remains. Conservation of the remains, described by those who were interviewed in this case study as “important archaeology” (Interviews 5, 6 and 7), was subsumed by the economic agenda, as it was driven by a scheme to regenerate the city centre. Paradoxically, within this partnership, the individual who brought the issue of conservation to the forefront was not an archaeologist, but a consultant historian (Interview 7).

Individual membership of a professional association, which includes subscription to a code of ethics, could make it mandatory for archaeologists to practise and promote high standards in the scientific investigation, dissemination, and conservation of archaeology. A professional archaeologist would not be able to ignore any of these issues, and still be regarded as a “professional”.

The Archaeology Training Forum (ATF) considers that we can no longer carry on with a situation where anyone can practise as, and call him or herself, an archaeologist, whether these professionals are acting as paid employees, consultants, or volunteers. We need a way of demonstrating competence in archaeological skills (ATF, 2002:1). This would provide the “distinction” (Bourdieu, 1984) that is so important to distinguish an archaeologist from a non-archaeologist.

Occupational standards form the basis of the government’s strategy for vocational qualifications and training. These describe what competent people in a particular occupation should be able to achieve. They provide a framework

for progression through various qualifications, for vocational training, professional development and career planning. Occupational standards can also be used for structuring learning and training programs for professionals, as well as for amateurs in the voluntary sector.

Professional archaeologists undertake a wide variety of activities from field practice to laboratory work, information management to education, specialist research to artefact curation and display. The range of skills used in these activities is exceptional. The ATF claims that this is two to three times greater than in comparable groups or professions (2000:2). As in the case of training for amateurs, it is difficult to list a set of discrete competences for archaeologists, although the ATF has attempted to resolve this issue (2002:3). However, the concept of “professionalism” implies more than a set of discrete skills. Is theoretical knowledge, gained through, for example, a university degree, an adequate measure of “professionalism”?

A degree in archaeology cannot be regarded as a professional qualification indicating competence. The same can be said for approximately thirty degrees and postgraduate certificates in Heritage Studies and Museum Studies that are taught in universities in the UK. Furthermore, in archaeology, there is no formal structure for accumulating higher “in practice” postgraduate qualifications for career advancement. It is evident that the practise of archaeology is distinguished by confusion, as there is no way to distinguish a professional archaeologist from an amateur.

4.4. The Acquisition of Expertise

From their studies of reading and writing skills, Scardamalia and Bereiter (1991) note that the least understood aspect of expertise (or higher knowledge) is how it is acquired and perfected. They argue that vague notions of 'experience' and 'practice' obscure the issue of why there are such great differences in competence among people with equivalent amounts of experience and practice (1991:191).

It is important to distinguish between practice, and mere exposure to experience, as there is a difference between carrying out a task (practice) and observing others (exposure to experience) (Ericsson and Smith, 1991:27). Furthermore, learning requires feedback in order to be effective. Hence, in environments with poor or even delayed feedback, learning may be slow, or even non-existent. There are countless examples of individuals whose performance never appears to improve, in spite of more than ten years of daily activity at a task (1991:27).

Patel and Groen found that a feature of experts may not be what they know, but how they think. From their study of medical practitioners, the researchers found that even outside their domains of specialisation, experts are distinguished by knowledge of what not to do. In contrast, intermediaries do not seem to be able to screen out irrelevant information (1991:121). They suggest that the transition from novice to intermediate to expert bears some resemblance to the classical developmental theories of Piaget, concluding that there are good arguments for

the stage-like nature of the distinctions between novices, intermediates and experts (1991:123).

Biggs, building on hierarchical models of learning, has described the Structure of Observed Learning Outcomes, or SOLO taxonomy (Biggs, 1971, Biggs and Collis, 1982). This sets out levels of increasing complexity in a student's understanding of a subject (Atherton, 2002). The claim of SOLO taxonomy is that a student's understanding of a subject passes through five stages, although not all students will progress through all five, and not all teaching or training is designed to take them all the way (Biggs and Collis, 1982:21). The theory assumes that each level embraces the previous level, but adds something more, and is illustrated in Figures 35 to 39.

Figure 35: Solo Taxonomy, Stage 1

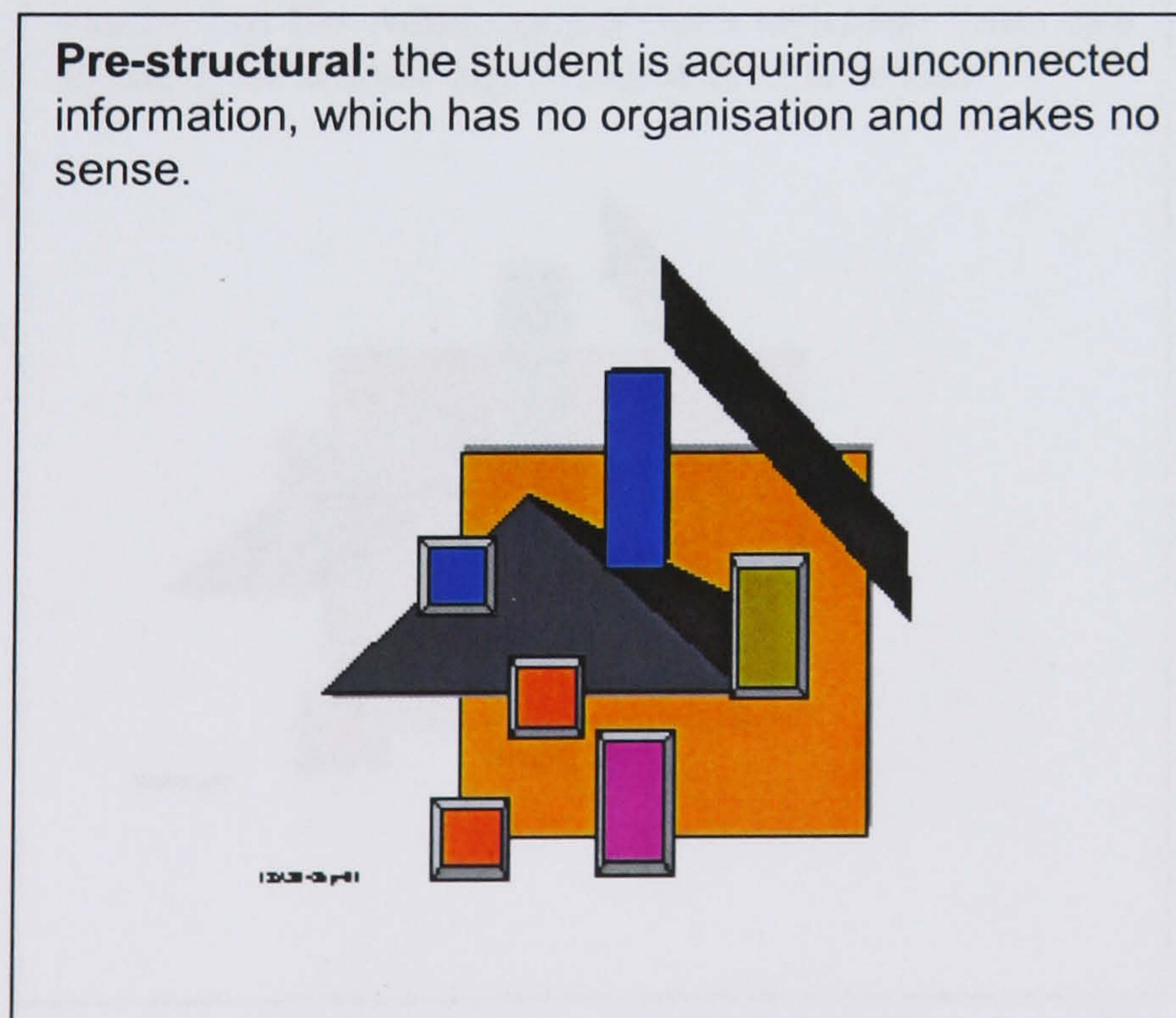


Figure 36: Solo Taxonomy, Stage 2

Unistructural: simple and obvious connections are made, but the significance is not grasped.

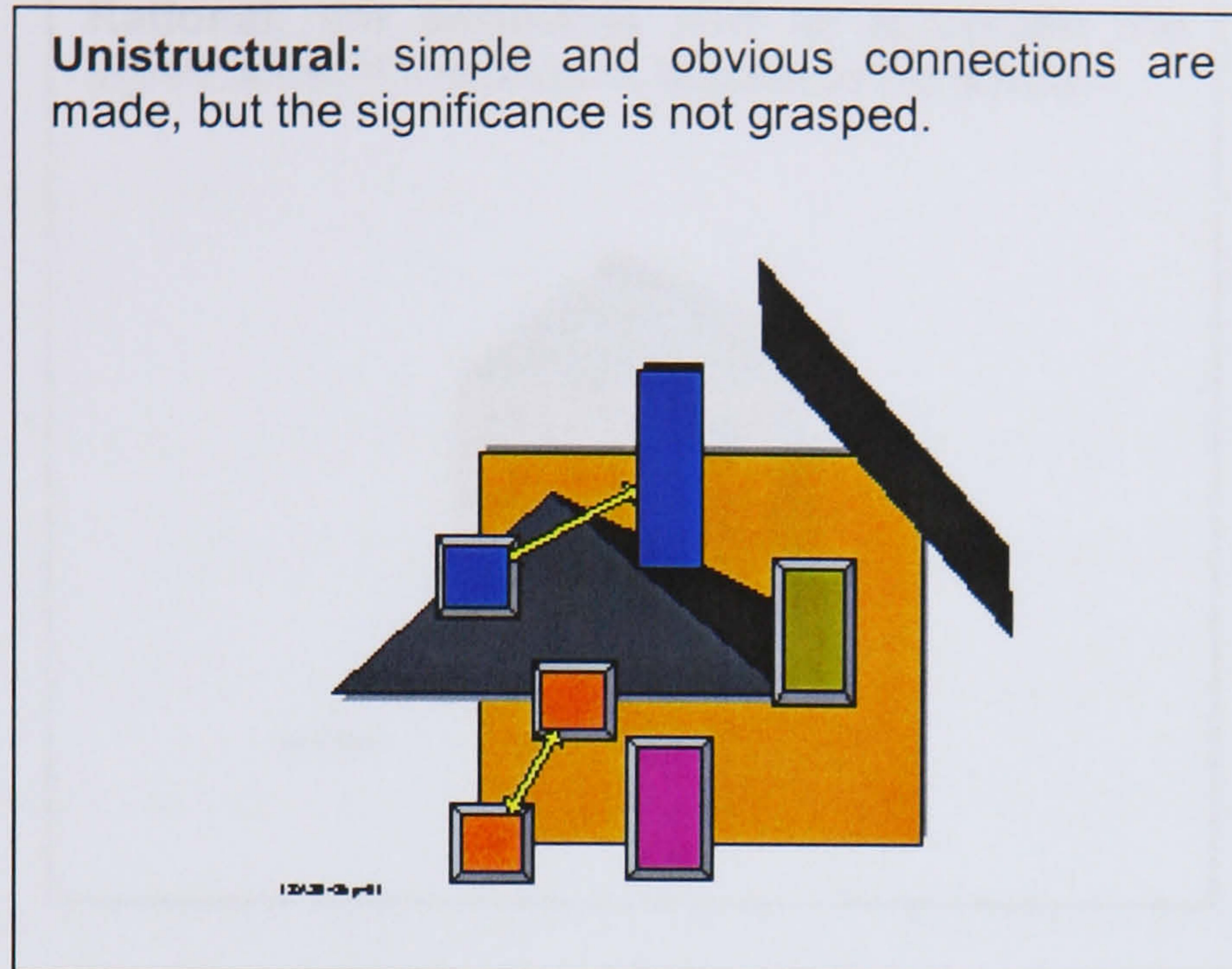


Figure 37: Solo Taxonomy, Stage 3

Multistructural: a number of connections may be made, but the meta connections between them are missed, as is their significance for the whole.

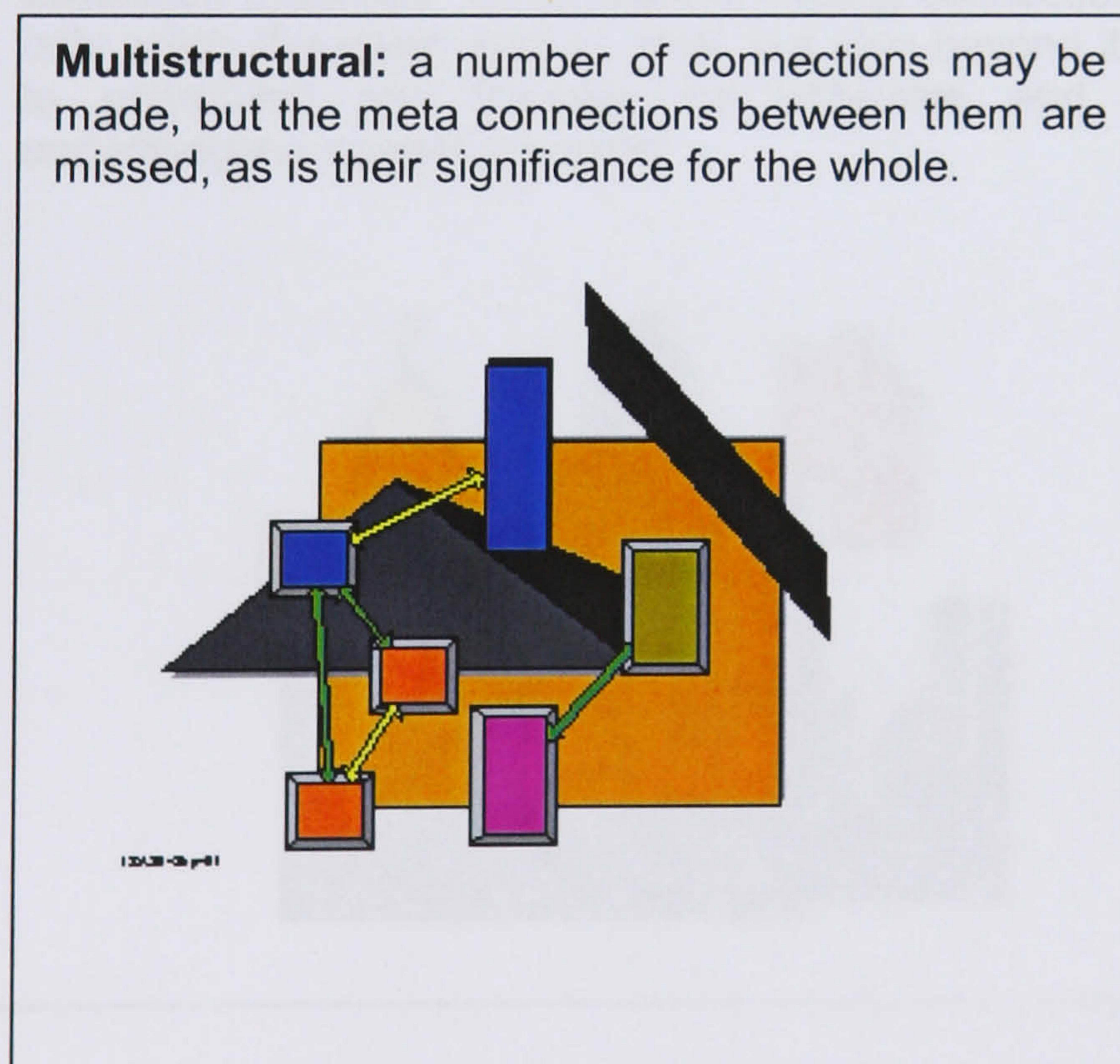
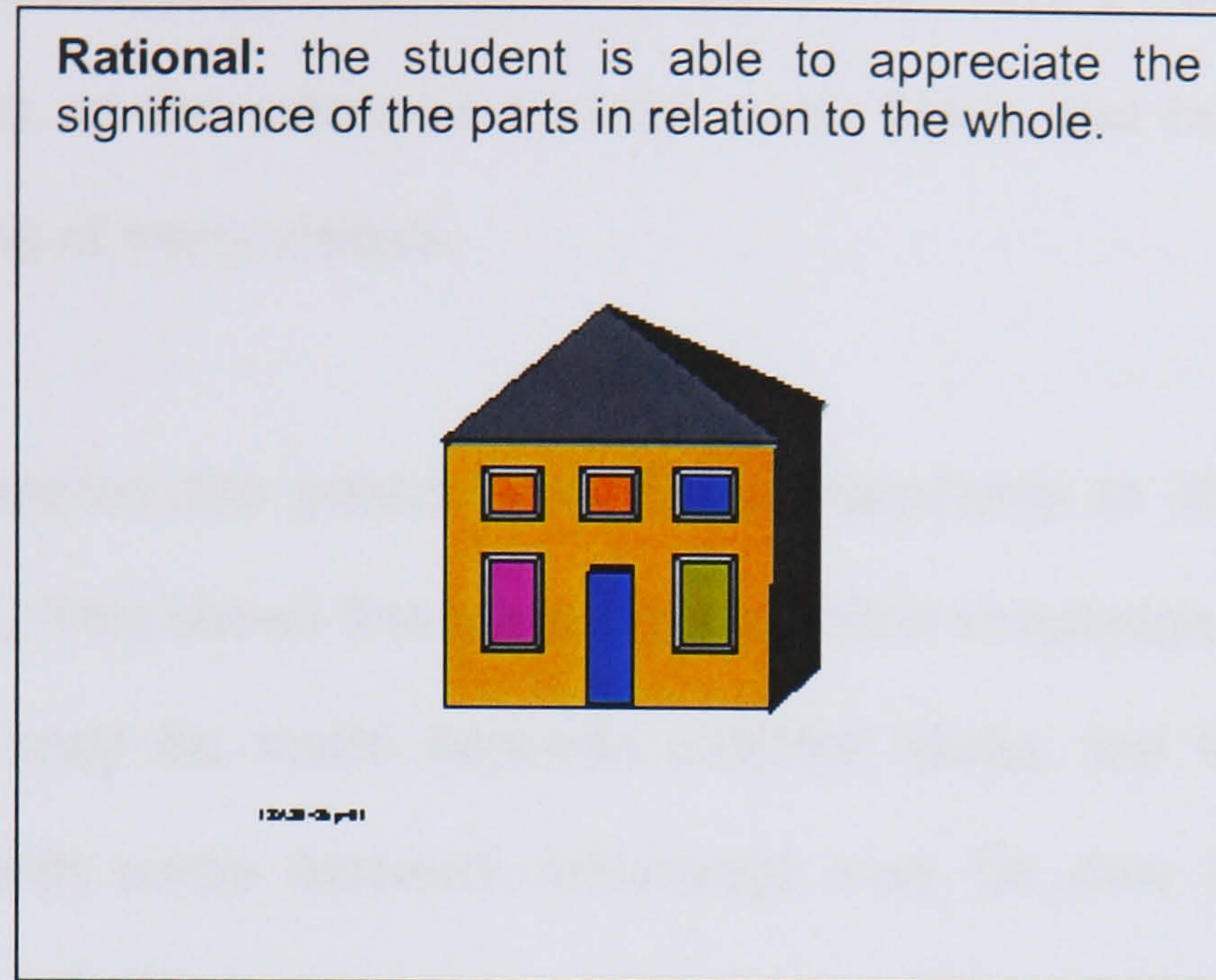
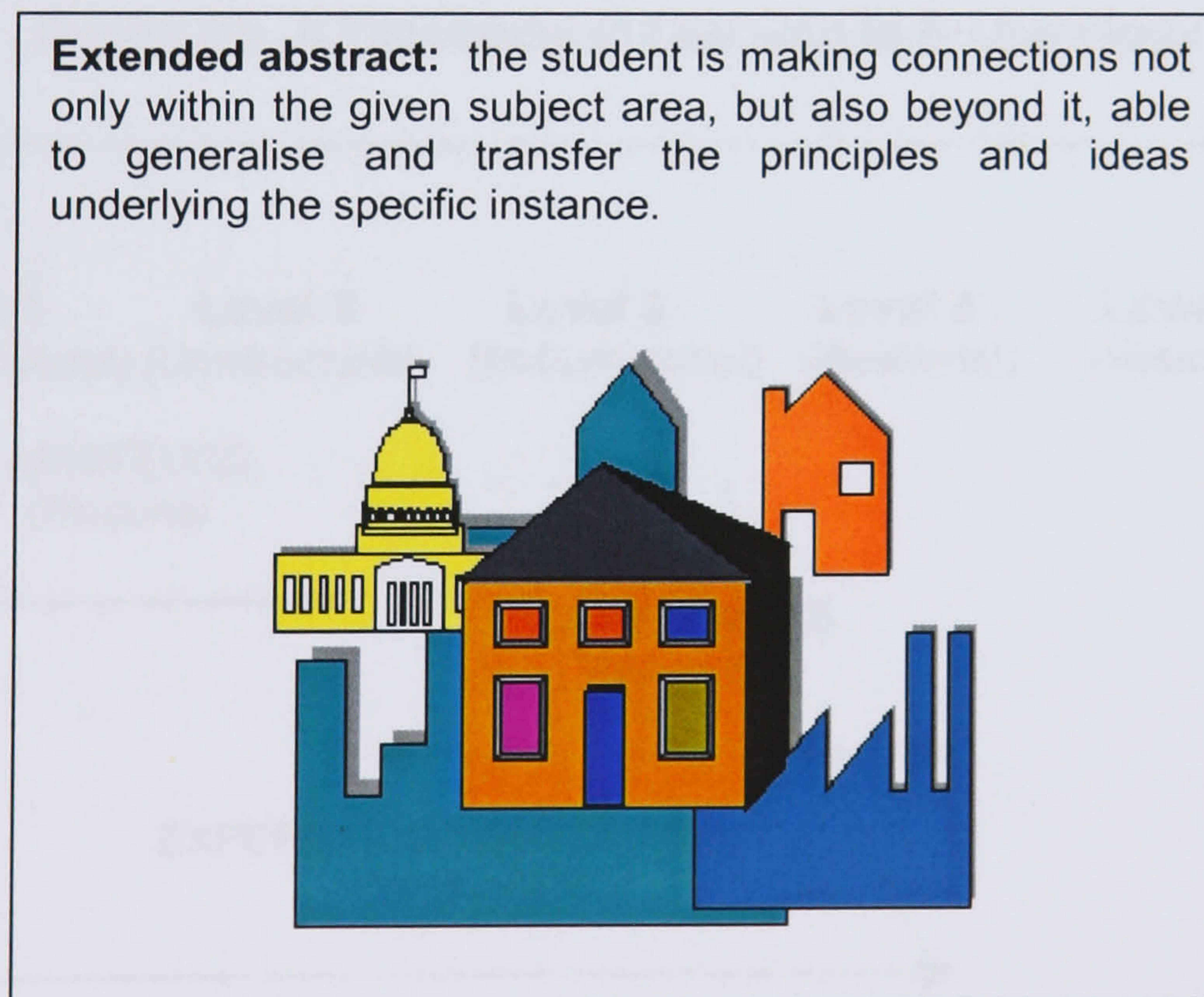


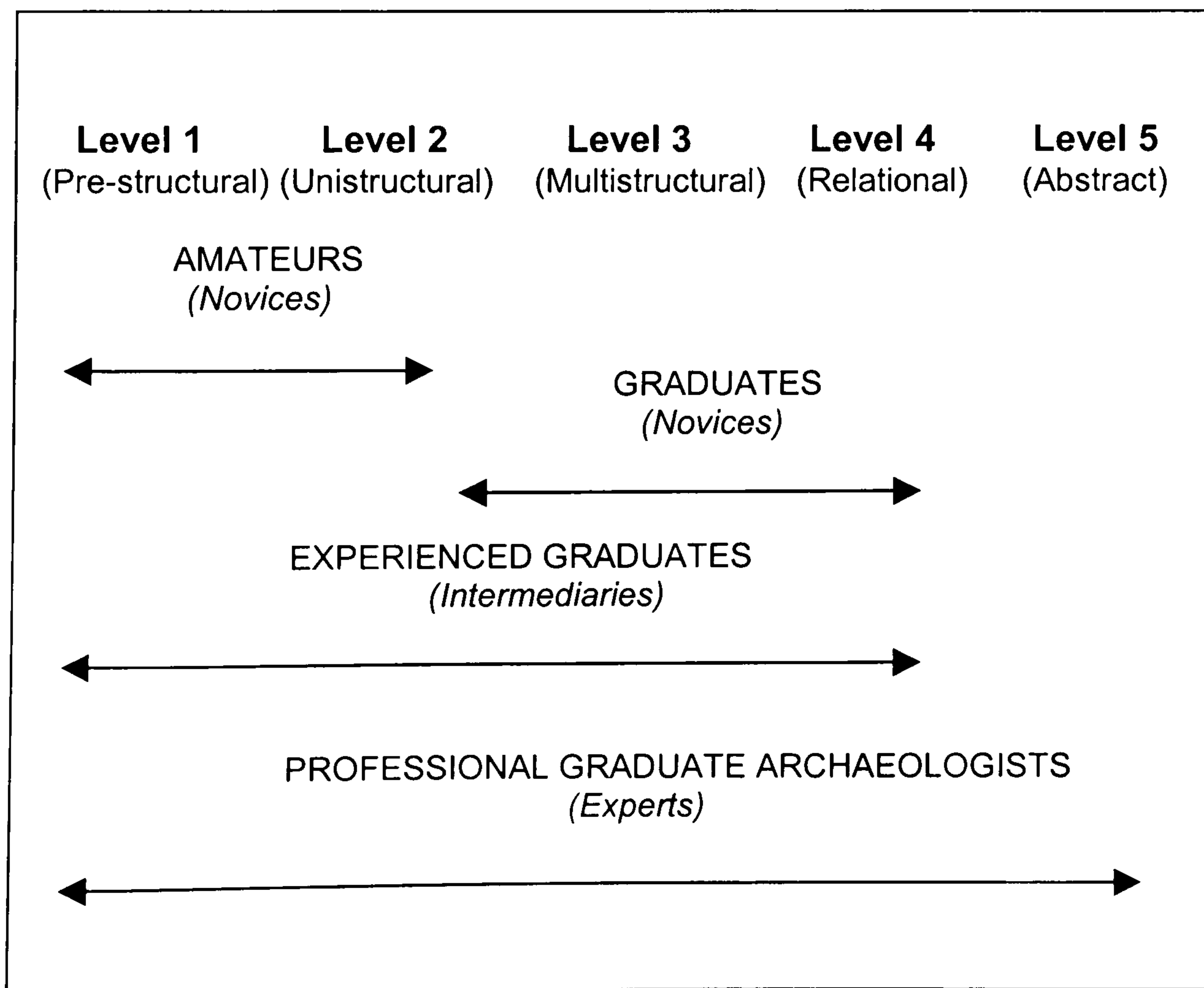
Figure 38: Solo Taxonomy, Stage 4**Figure 39: Solo Taxonomy, Stage 5**

(Atherton, 2002:1-2)

This theory may explain why so many people did not study the maps and texts at the case study sites. The reason may be that these placed the artefacts in their contexts, at the extended abstract level, which was beyond the level of understanding of many visitors.

Figure 40 applies the principles of SOLO taxonomy to lifelong learning in archaeology. This shows that amateurs may have knowledge, and a number of connections may be made between different areas, but these are limited. Graduates with some fieldwork knowledge may be able to appreciate the significance of what they are doing, but only the practising graduate archaeologist has the potential to demonstrate extended abstract knowledge, and can apply this knowledge to other domains.

Figure 40: A Taxonomy of Learning in Archaeology



Scardamalia and Bereiter claim that experts, or people with higher levels of knowledge, are able to interact between domain knowledge and immediate cases. Domain knowledge is used to interpret, or deal with, the immediate cases. In turn, these yield information that may be used to modify domain knowledge, sometimes in a major way, in a dialectical, two-way process (1991:175). The result is that experts keep enhancing their competence through encounters with particular cases, whereas this is less true of non-experts: another version of the rich getting richer while the poor get poorer (1991:178). Clearly, the acquisition of expertise involves a continual, dialectic learning process.

Such theories suggest that to develop students' learning, they should actively participate in a variety of practical fieldwork projects. This would allow learners to develop and apply theoretical and domain knowledge to other domains. To develop professional expertise in archaeology, undergraduate and postgraduate training should include a significant proportion of archaeological practise.

4.5. The Status of Informal Learning

In stressing the importance of extended abstract knowledge, the above discussion raises questions about the status of different forms of learning. Do people learn any less from attending museums and heritage sites, or from watching an archaeology programme on the television, than they would in a lecture theatre? For many people, watching a television programme about archaeology may be more entertaining, cheaper, and more convenient than attending an archaeology course. Although such learning is largely

unrecognised, does it have less educational value? Samuel (1994) suggests that this might not be so:

The perceived opposition between “education” and “entertainment”, and the unspoken and unargued-for assumption that pleasure is almost by definition mindless, ought not to go unchallenged. There is no reason to think that people are more passive when looking at old photographs or film footage, handling a museum exhibit, following a local history trail, or even buying a historical souvenir, than when reading a book.

(Samuel, 1994:270)

Samuel argues that people do not simply “consume” images, in the way in which, say, they buy a bar of chocolate. As in any reading, they assimilate them as best they can to pre-existing images and narratives.

The pleasures of the gaze are different in kind from those of the written word, but necessarily less taxing on historical reflection and thought.

(Samuel: 1994:270)

It can be argued that television programmes, and displays of archaeology that cater for tourists and casual visitors, simply present archaeology at the unistructural level, so that it can be more easily understood in the context of a leisure activity by those who are not experts. It is therefore a question of different levels of interpretation that are designed for different stages of

understanding. However, there is no reason to suppose that this pre-structural learning will not accumulate over time to motivate a deeper interest in archaeology or history, and prompt a progression towards higher levels of knowledge and understanding.

It is thus difficult to accommodate the informal, transitory and incidental aspects of informal learning with the assertions of some critics of heritage (for example, Hewison, 1987, West, 1985, Lowenthal, 1997), who challenge the concept of entertainment in heritage interpretations. However, the appropriation of more popular forms of representation, in order to “market” heritage and archaeology to a wider public, does raise some issues about the status of informal learning.

Government, employers and researchers routinely ignore informal learning (Coffield, 2000:1). Why do those who have authority in society perceive informal learning in such negative terms, particularly when it may provide a foundation for higher learning and knowledge? Bourdieu suggests that, as the borders between popular and intellectual knowledge become blurred, the intellectual position is increasingly threatened, through the appropriation and circulation of cultural capital.

4.6. The Cultural Capital of Archaeologists

It is the undemanding ease of accessibility that can be problematic for those who regard higher, intellectual knowledge as the only valid form of knowledge. Bourdieu claims that intellectuals speak of “facile effects” to characterise the obtrusive elegance of a certain style of journalistic writing, or the too insistent,

too predictable, charm of what is called “light” music, or certain performances of classical music. These are condemned as “vulgar” works, light, frivolous, shallow, superficial, showy, and are not only a sort of insult to refinement, a slap in the face to a “demanding” audience, but also arouse distaste and disgust by the methods of seduction (1979:486). In short, they are not perceived as legitimate intellectual discourses. Furthermore, because of the ease of appropriation and mastery, they do not function as cultural capital.

This is because the appropriation of cultural products presupposes dispositions and competences, which are not distributed universally. For those who are able to appropriate these cultural products, they can function as cultural capital, yielding a profit in “distinction” (Bourdieu, 1979:288). The distinction gained is in proportion to the rarity of the means required for appropriation. In societies that are little differentiated, where access to the means of appropriation of the cultural heritage is fairly equally distributed, culture is equally mastered by all members of the group, and cannot function as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979:228). Therefore, the symbolic profit arising from material or symbolic appropriation of a work of art, for instance, is measured by the distinctive value which the work derives from the rarity of the disposition, and the competence which it demands, and which determines its class distribution (Bourdieu, 1979:229).

In other words, if everyone is able to fully understand and appreciate a work of art, then all members of the group possess the necessary competence to call themselves specialists in art. If everyone is able to understand the practice of

archaeology, then there is nothing special about being an archaeologist and the value and distinction of being an archaeologist falls.

This may explain the anxiety of some professionals in the field, who face a situation whereby those who might have little experience or knowledge, can claim to be archaeologists. This threat would not arise if, in order to practise as an archaeologist, this involved progression through a formal, structured career framework, and/or membership of a recognised professional association. For example, in the area of property surveying, only certain individuals can claim: "I am a chartered surveyor". It is universally accepted that the "chartered" individual is properly qualified, and licensed to practise. Not everyone has the disposition and competence that is demanded to claim this distinction, and consequently, the economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital of chartered surveyors is high. Currently, almost anyone can state; "I am an archaeologist". This lessens the value of an archaeologist, and threatens society's trust in those who claim to be archaeologists.

The issue has become an important consideration in the light of the Valetta Convention (CoE, 2001). Article 3 demands that: "... excavations and other potentially destructive techniques are carried out only by "qualified, specially authorised persons." However, there is nothing in the convention to suggest that the public should actually do any archaeology, or take responsibility for the heritage themselves (CIA, 2001). Although it is important to protect archaeology from unscrupulous practitioners, the convention may prevent local amateur initiatives, and the thesis shows that these can generate public interest and learning about archaeology. There are links between understanding,

appreciating and protecting heritage (Tilden, 1957:3). Clearly, there is a need to adjust the balance between the legal protection of archaeology and public participation.

Training for amateurs and professionals needs to be addressed by archaeologists and educational institutions, in consultation with amateur volunteers, so that the needs of all those who work in archaeology and heritage can be met. Archaeology is a diverse area of practice, involving many fields of study, and we need a way to recognise, acknowledge, build on, and validate the knowledge, skills and abilities of both amateurs and professionals. Otherwise, archaeology is unlikely to receive the status in society that it justifies.

5. Limitations of the methods

5.1. Survey Size

In this research, the challenge was to balance the number of interviewees with sufficient depth of response. If I had undertaken larger surveys, compromises would have been made concerning the number of questions asked, and the time taken for open questioning would have been reduced. The number of interviews carried out during the visitor surveys attempted to balance these demands.

The response rate from the interviews with the key officials and the visitor surveys at the three sites was 100%. Nobody refused to be interviewed,

although some visitors may have used evasive tactics (such as leaving the exhibition while I was interviewing someone else) to avoid being interviewed. However, there was some reluctance on the part of the visitors to take part in a longer, taped interview. Although between five and ten visitors at each of the three sites indicated during the surveys that they would be willing to participate in a longer, taped interview, when I wrote to them, and followed this with a reminder a few weeks later, only two visitors responded. I did not feel that it was ethical to pursue the others further, particularly as many of them were elderly.

5.2. “Snapshot” Studies

The methods relied heavily on capturing various activities at three heritage sites over the summer of 2001, when two new exhibitions were opened to the public, and a third was well established. Within the timescale of a doctoral thesis, it was not possible to undertake a longitudinal study. Also, it is difficult to assess the learning of visitors as they leave an exhibition, and often, it is only after reflection that learning is recognised.

A further difficulty is that it is not easy to assess the sustainability of sites and exhibitions within a relatively short period of time. Some negative aspects of the exhibitions, noted in the reports to the organisations, could be regarded as “teething troubles” that would subsequently be overcome. For example, at the redevelopment project, there was a lack of material translated into other languages for visitors who do not read or speak English, and there were no signposts in the town to guide prospective visitors to the new exhibition. At the small museum, it was difficult for the local archaeology society to persuade

some of the elderly committee members to act as guardians and guides on a Sunday afternoon. These difficulties were pointed out to the partners in my reports in the autumn of 2001, as they threatened the aims and objectives of the projects.

5.3. “Twists in the Tales”

More than a year since these two new exhibitions opened, and the research was carried out, it is interesting to note the following developments, which give some indication of the value of longitudinal studies.

5.3.1. The Redevelopment Project

The key executives at the redevelopment project stressed that they wanted the exhibition to be accessible for everyone. Yet, in the multi-ethnic neighbourhood of a city centre, and in the context of a multi-million pound regeneration scheme, there are still no brochures in languages other than English. Also, there are no tactile maps for blind people. The project is part of a larger scheme to encourage tourists to stay in the area, but there are still no signposts in the town centre to guide visitors to the exhibition, and finding the visitor centre can represent a challenge for strangers to the town. Recently, I recommended the exhibition to a colleague, who arrived by train. He returned home, unable to locate the exhibition. He had spent the afternoon at the town’s Museum and Art Gallery. Also, from time to time, breakdowns have been experienced with the “interactive” computer software at the exhibition.

This exhibition was very busy when it first opened. A few months later, a colleague, visiting the exhibition on a Saturday at midday, was only the third visitor to come into the exhibition that day. The initial enthusiasm of local visitors appears to be waning, and tourists may not fill this gap, particularly during the winter season. The sustainability of the new exhibition can therefore be questioned.

Moreover, doubts can be raised about the sustainability of the archaeology in this redevelopment project. Preservation by record is not preservation *in situ*, and redevelopment almost always involves some element of sacrifice of archaeological remains: it is like tearing a page out of a book. Although it was mostly common Victorian artefacts that were consigned to the spoil-heap, the storage and conservation of the artefacts that were removed also presented problems (Interviews 5 and 7).

Moreover, the creation of the visitor centre threatens the archaeology, and the exposed remains are breaking down. Incorporating part of the archaeology into a wall of the visitor centre, and heating the inside of the building, has destabilised the environment, causing the exposed archaeology to crumble. A similar problem was foreseen at the small museum (Interview 4). However, at this case study, public access was restricted to the summer months. Heating the building in the winter has been discounted, in order to preserve the artefacts, and the fabric of the building. On balance, the redevelopment project appears to be the least sustainable of the three case studies.

5.3.2. The Small Museum

At the small museum, lack of practical help and commitment from the volunteers appeared to represent a threat to the sustainability of the project. Since I carried out the interviews, the Chairman has made efforts to recruit more members, particularly through other societies in the town, such as the Soroptomists. In January 2003, I sent an e-mail request to the Chairman of the history and archaeology society, to ask him whether he had succeeded in his efforts to recruit more members. He replied:

Yes, we are attracting new blood. Some younger people have joined, and are, in fact producing a monthly 'Newsletter' that we hand out at each meeting to let people know what's happening.

(pers. comm., 4th February, 2003)

Furthermore, because of this additional membership, the society was able to open the small museum to the public on every Sunday in the summer of 2001, rather than on every other Sunday. Last summer, they welcomed an estimated 2,500 visitors, and plan to open the building on every Sunday throughout the summer of 2003, and on Bank Holiday Mondays. In the longer term, they hope to open on Saturdays as well. "Our volunteers from other societies seemed quite happy, and keen to help again this year" (pers. comm. from Chairman, 19th January 2003). He also reported:

We've had a load of stuff bequeathed us, and the Society is buckling down to recording it all. It will take a long time, but the

offers of help are coming in. People are actually volunteering their skills – never been known before.

(pers. comm., 4th February 2003)

The society will shortly publish a guide to the town, underwritten by the Town Council. He added: “Things are looking up, aren't they!” (pers. comm., 4th February 2003).

The links between the society and the university have also become closer. One of my colleagues at the university has given talks to the society's members on fieldwork methods. The society uses the university as a source of expertise and training, as well as a resource for archaeological equipment. At this site, the archaeological remains are sustainable, and the signs are very encouraging for increasing public access and community involvement in archaeology. In particular, the training of volunteers has formed an important ongoing project at this case study.

The projects at the small museum and the redevelopment project both involved amateur archaeology societies. It is interesting to note that both of these societies are participating in work that is continuing after the funded part of the project has ended. These activities help to sustain community interest and active participation in archaeology.

5.3.3. The Garden Site

In June 2001, it was announced that the HLF would award £189,000 to improve facilities for staff and volunteers at the site. By this time, the organisation had raised £26,000 of its own contribution, and needed to raise another £70,000. The trust began a house-to-house collection in the immediate locality to raise finance for their share of the funding for the new buildings. During a telephone conversation with the Chairman in June 2001, he said how surprised the volunteers had been to discover that so few people who lived nearby knew that the site existed. These house-to-house collections are likely to attract more visitors, and possibly more volunteers, although the organisation still has enough volunteers.

Despite its archaic management structure, necessitated by its status as a charity, the site appears to be sustainable in the long term. However, the rather odd policy directions about the topography of the site need to be revised with the trustees, as they could represent threats to the sustainability of the site and its archaeology (see Chapter 4).

A further development is that the adjacent historic house is to be sold by auction on 3rd July, 2003. According to the estate agent's advertisement, this property offers an "Investment opportunity and potential for conversion of the listed buildings to residential use, hotel, restaurant, conference, or institutional uses, subject to planning and listed building consent" (local Property News, May 10th 2003).

Redevelopment of the house is unlikely to directly benefit the garden site. It is difficult to imagine that a new owner would allow part of the house to be used as a visitor centre, or to open the property to the public. However, it is possible that a change of owner, and a change of use, might result in increased public access to the property if, for example, the new owner opens the house as an hotel, or a restaurant. Whether the archaeology and the garden will be investigated, documented and conserved if redevelopment takes place is far more uncertain.

6. Areas for Further Research

6.1. Sustainability

This research provides a springboard for longitudinal studies of new exhibitions of archaeology, to investigate the following:

- The sustainability of archaeological remains and artefacts that are displayed for the public.
- The sustainability of the display material, such as storyboards, plinths and interactive displays.
- The extent of continued public interest in new sites and exhibitions.

6.2. Participation in Heritage Activities

- There is an urgent need for research into the education and training needs of amateur volunteers at heritage sites. However, it is important that their voices are heard, rather than just the voices of organisations and institutions.
- Further studies could either confirm or challenge the assertion made in this thesis that amateur community volunteers may be excluded from the decision-making process in heritage partnerships, particularly when these sites are owned and managed by local authorities.
- The conflicting role of local authorities as guardians and developers of heritage warrants further investigation.
- Research in redevelopment projects has emerged as a cause for concern. This is not merely of interest to archaeologists, but to all those who are concerned with heritage. Interpretation that is based on credible scientific research must form the foundation for future representations of heritage. A critical, scientific research agenda is in the interests of all stakeholders, and justifies studies into the quality of the research material that is produced during redevelopment projects, and the extent to which this is disseminated.
- There is a need to clarify what constitutes a professional archaeologist, and to put into place measures for the development of the profession.

7. Concluding Remarks

The new paradigm of partnerships in heritage management has brought the interests, concerns and agenda of the stakeholders into close proximity. In this thesis, I have studied the ways in which the archaeological heritage is valued and appropriated by different groups in society. I have uncovered a range of concerns and interests in heritage and archaeology, and a number of different perspectives concerning the use of the past for the purposes of the present. However, as Hewison asserts:

The definition of these values must not be left to a minority who are able, through their access to the otherwise exclusive institutions of culture, to articulate the only acceptable meanings of past and present. It must be a collaborative process, shared by an open community which accepts both conflict and change.

(Hewison, 1987:144)

This study indicates that some partners did not fully participate in heritage activities, or in the partnership process. Local amateur volunteers were included in the partnerships, but sometimes their voices were silent. Ethical practice in archaeology emerged as an issue for concern, which should be addressed through rigorous examination of professional standards in archaeology, and the formation of a professional association.

Currently, an increasingly educated, sophisticated and critical public demands high standards of integrity in research, interpretation and dissemination.

Furthermore, the government is committed to the aim of “A high-quality, sustainable tourist product...” (DCMS, 2001, paragraph 5:1). To achieve this, Britain’s heritage needs its backbone: sound archaeological research, and the support and contribution of individuals, local societies, communities, academic institutions and government agents. At the same time, archaeology needs the heritage industry, and the opportunity to interpret, educate, and most of all to involve the public in their quest for conservation and sustainability. As Tilden says:

Not the least of the fruits of adequate interpretation is the certainty that it leads directly towards the very preservation of the treasure itself, whether it be a national park, a prehistoric ruin, an historic battlefield, or a precious monument of our wise and heroic ancestors. Indeed, such a result may be the most important end of our interpretation, for what we cannot protect we are destined to lose.

(Tilden, 1957:37-38)

A more accurate statement, in the light of this study, would be that what we cannot adequately research, document, conserve, critically interpret and represent, with the active involvement of all the stakeholders, we cannot protect, and are certain to lose. Broadening public access, interest and knowledge about archaeology through lifelong learning must become the central aim of heritage management. The active participation of community groups in heritage partnerships could represent the first step towards a more inclusive agenda.

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