‘I DON’T KNOW WHAT THAT IS BUT I LOVE THAT IT’S THERE’

RETHINKING THE HERITAGE VALUES AND PUBLIC OUTCOMES OF IN SITU ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSERVATION AND PRESENTATION IN AUSTRALIA

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

MAY 2023

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COUNTRY

I would like to acknowledge that this thesis was written on Country and all the case study sites used in this thesis exist on Country that was never ceded. I pay respect and give thanks to the traditional Aboriginal owners and custodians of these lands and their elders past, present and emerging and acknowledge the responsibility that comes from visiting and undertaking research on Aboriginal land. Specifically, I would like to acknowledge:

- the Cammeraygal people on whose land I live and where I wrote much of this thesis;
- the Gadigal people on whose land The University of Sydney is situated. The Rocks YHA, the Sydney Conservatorium of Music and the Museum of Sydney are also on Gadigal land;
- the Gundungurra and Tharawal people on whose land the Highlands Marketplace shopping centre is situated; and
- the Muwinina and Palawa people on whose land the Medical Sciences Precinct of the University of Tasmania is situated.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP AND ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Caitlin Allen, 29 May 2023

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RESEARCH FUNDING

This research has been supported by a Carlyle Greenwell Research Scholarship, an Australian Government RTP Scholarship, a University of Sydney PRSS Grant and a University of Sydney Completion Stipend Scholarship.

For Addie

who inspires me with his boundless curiosity and reminds me to keep learning every day.

Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2019

ABSTRACT

Conserved archaeological remains are kept *in situ* and presented to the public within new developments all over the world. If David Lowenthal (1985) was correct and heritage is about creating something not conserving things, what it is that these archaeological places create in contemporary society? What are the public values attached to and benefits derived from them? Do heritage professionals and the people using these places share an understanding of what they do? How does the *in situ* nature of the remains influence these outcomes? What might an evidence-based understanding of *in situ* archaeological conservation and presentation in the present offer for the future of both the practice and the communities it serves?

Using these questions as its basis, this PhD argues that the way the products of archaeological work, specifically in situ conservation and presentation of exposed archaeological remains, are received by the public are poorly understood within the archaeological and heritage professions. Based on interviews and surveys at five places where archaeological remains have been conserved within new developments in Australia, this thesis draws on the perspectives of fifty-five heritage professionals and nearly three hundred members of the public, highlighting a disjunct between professional intentions and public reception. It challenges accepted professional views that archaeological practice, including in situ conservation and presentation, is primarily about the recovery and dissemination of information about the past and suggests this focus on research value and learning outcomes obscures the far broader concepts of meaning and value the public ascribe to conserved archaeological remains. The relationships between people and in situ archaeological sites as places, not just resources to be exploited for information about the past, can produce authentic and embodied emotional experiences. In turn these experiences can support deep connections and attachments to place and people over time, provide comfort, inspiration and perspective, and create outcomes relating to personal and community identity and belonging, enjoyment and wellbeing. Retaining archaeological remains in situ and presenting them to the public is key to these processes and outcomes, as is accepting public agency in the ways that people understand and produce meaning from these places.

These findings have implications for both archaeological and heritage practice and education and point to new ways of thinking about the purpose and outcomes of in situ archaeological conservation and presentation and the practice of archaeology more broadly. In particular: the reconceptualisation of archaeological sites as heritage places not just resources; the

acceptance of public values beyond learning about the past including emotional experience and place attachment; decision-making that prioritises public benefit; and recognition and support for wellbeing outcomes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Like many theses, this has been longer in production than expected. My son was three when I began and now he is nine. I have researched and written through the ups and downs of family life, a global pandemic and juggling PhD research and other work. I have written my thesis on riverbanks, in pubs and cafes, campgrounds, beaches, on aircraft, in libraries and a moveable feast of locations on campus at The University of Sydney. Most of it however, has been written at home at my dining table. This table, which used to belong to my grandparents and my great grandparents before them, was where my grandfather used to sit every night to reflect and write about his day. While writing this PhD I would often imagine him sitting there writing with me in companionable silence and reminding me of the importance of the past in the present.

Many people have supported this PhD research. I would like to thank:

- the managers and staff at the five case study sites who allowed me access, supported me while on site and dedicated their own time to participate in the research. Specifically: Susan Sedgewick, Senior Curator at the Museum of Sydney; Guy McEwan, Venues Operations Manager at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music; Alison Frappell, Education and Interpretation Officer at Sydney Harbour Youth Hostel; Ben Canny, Dean of Medicine and Mark Burgess, Facilities Manager at the University of Tasmania; and Alan Olivo, Centre Manager of the Highlands Marketplace Shopping Centre;
- all of the archaeologists and other heritage-related professionals who agreed to participate in interviews and surveys and share their perspectives on *in situ* conservation;
- Tracy Ireland for supporting this research and providing me an opportunity to share my research at a University of Canberra Postgraduate research forum, including paying for my travel and accommodation;
- AAA/NZAA; ASHA; SHAP; EAA and the Association of Critical Heritage Studies for accepting conference papers and supporting dissemination of my online survey for archaeologists and heritage professionals;
- Sadie Watson, Harald Fredheim and the team at the Museum of London Archaeology unit (MOLA) for your interest in my research and opportunities to discuss it in relation to your own work on the public benefits of developer-led archaeology in the UK;

- Jeremy Smith and the Victorian Heritage Council Archaeology Advisory Panel for your interest in my research and the opportunity to present it to you and discuss its implications for *in situ* conservation in Victoria;
- Frank Howarth, Chair of the NSW Heritage Council and members of the NSW Heritage Council and its Approvals Committee for your interest in my research and for letting me introduce ideas in real time to see how they work in practice;
- Staff and students in the faculty of Education and Social work at The University of Sydney for inviting me to participate in many useful training courses and seminars about undertaking qualitative research including: interview techniques; data coding and analysis; and writing for qualitative PhDs.
- Yvonne Inall of the Centre for Classical and Near Eastern Studies of Australia (based at Sydney University) for organising a monthly writing group. Caiti D'Gluyas and Nick Pitt for organising a writing group every Monday afternoon on Zoom. Your companionship, advice and support through our respective PhD journeys has been invaluable, especially through the lonely and stressful months of Covid-19 lockdown;
- Roland Fletcher and Pat Faulkner, my annual review team at the University, who were always interested in and supportive of my research as well as understanding about my multiple requests for extensions and suspension of my candidature; and
- Annie Clarke, Cameron Logan, Anna Lawrenson, Matthew Devine and James Flexner for providing teaching work, which kept me going financially after my scholarship ended and also extended my thinking about my research in unexpected and helpful ways.

An extra special thanks to my supervisory team Annie Clarke, James Flexner and Steve Brown who have been stalwart supporters of my research. They gave me understanding and encouragement during the difficult phases, space when I needed it, levity when necessary and most importantly constructive feedback on my ideas and detailed commentary on my writing.

Thanks to my family and friends who have supported me along this unexpectedly long and bumpy road, including my parents who helped with childcare, especially in the first year or two of my candidature.

The biggest thanks go to my husband and son. They have been unfailingly supportive, accepting the loss of income, the late night and weekend writing sessions and having an occasionally absent and often distracted and grumpy wife and mother. They talked through ideas over breakfast, went on site visits and put up with piles of research materials littering our tiny apartment. This thesis would not exist without their forbearance.

Finally, my heartfelt gratitude to the members of the public who so generously agreed to open their hearts and minds about their connections to each case study place and their thoughts on the values of in situ archaeological conservation in general. Their words are at the heart of this thesis. Thank you for re-inspiring my love of archaeology and changing my understanding of why it's important.

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PREFACE

In July 1999 I found myself standing between two mobs of angry people. They were in conflict over the conservation of archaeological remains as part of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music redevelopment in Sydney Australia. One group, spearheaded by the NSW National Trust, wanted the remains retained and were protesting perceived negative impacts of the redevelopment on both the Conservatorium and the surrounding Sydney Royal Botanic Gardens. The other group made up of students and staff at the Conservatorium were concerned the heritage issues would derail the much longed for upgrade to their teaching and learning environment. The controversy over the redevelopment and the archaeological findings on the site had been on the front pages of the major metropolitan papers for weeks. The removal of some of the archaeological remains without approval had led to a stop work order from the NSW Heritage Council and a Green Ban by the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU). It was the first heritage related Green Ban since the heady days of activism in The Rocks historic precinct in the 1970s, which was a partial driver for the introduction of heritage protection legislation in NSW in the same decade.

I was standing in the middle of the protest that warm winter's day because as Archaeologist for the NSW Heritage Office I was the administrator of the archaeological approvals process for the project, under the provisions of the *NSW Heritage Act*, 1977, including a directive to retain some of the archaeological remains in situ and present them to the public.[1] This was the first of many in situ conservation projects that I would be involved with over the next 20 years as both a heritage administrator and heritage practitioner, but the Conservatorium had left an indelible mark upon me. Aware of the criticism levelled at the project by my archaeological colleagues, who felt the archaeological remains were not important enough to retain and the interpretation was ineffectual, I remained slightly embarrassed by my involvement in the outcome. It left me with a series of doubts and questions about the practice of in situ conservation and presentation of exposed archaeological remains. What, if anything, does the practice achieve? Do people understand what they are looking at, or learn anything from conserved archaeological remains? Does it matter? The questions lingered in my mind through other less contested projects over the next 20 years and I found myself becoming increasingly jaded about in situ archaeological conservation and presentation. This PhD was born from a desire to better understand its real-world public outcomes and whether

1 Although it is usual to italicise latin terms, given the frequency with which 'in situ' is used in this thesis, it will be in plain text to aid ease of reading.

it has a future as an archaeological management practice. While I came into this project convinced that I would discover there were few if any public benefits from in situ conservation, spending time exploring public perspectives revealed a range of unexpected outcomes and fundamentally changed my views on the purpose and value of archaeology. This thesis documents that journey of exploration.

INTRODUCTION

'In Situ' – Latin for in its original place. Also meaning in the appropriate place.

Oxford Dictionary

In situ conservation and presentation of archaeological remains occurs all over the world. Often the remains exist as ruins with limited surrounding redevelopment, such as Pompeii in Italy or Port Arthur in Australia, but in an increasing number of places they are found and retained within redevelopment contexts. In these cases, a decision is taken to retain archaeological remains within or alongside new buildings or other design elements and to leave them exposed for public viewing. Occasionally the new context is a museum, which is purpose-built to showcase and interpret the archaeological remains. More often however, the new development has a non-heritage related purpose such as a railway station, courthouse, shopping centre or apartment block. This latter type of conservation and presentation of visible archaeological remains within foyers, basements, courtyards and other public spaces is experienced on a daily basis as people go shopping, go to work or study, or meet friends for leisure. In these cases, the people who interact with these remains are generally not seeking a heritage experience as they might be if they visited a museum or dedicated historic site - rather, these interactions with the past in the present occur incidentally as people go about their day.

Retaining and presenting archaeological remains in situ within new development, instead of recording and destroying them, has been a management option used in Australia since the late 1980s. Most of these places sit within urban contexts in major cities, particularly in NSW, the country's most populous state. In some cases the remains are identified and then reburied for long term conservation. In others they are exposed and presented to the public with varying degrees of interpretation. It is this latter category of places that are the focus of this thesis. As will be discussed in Chapters 1, 4 and 5, this conservation practice has been contentious amongst archaeologists who focus on excavation and research as the public outcome from development-led salvage archaeology. Where in situ conservation is supported, or required, by heritage officials there appears to be a general sense that it is a 'good' thing to do but no clear articulation of what might be achieved from the practice.

The rise of in situ conservation as an archaeological management practice is part of a more general boom in heritage conservation activity over the last thirty years. Nostalgia as a reaction to globalisation and the need for nation states to secure themselves by fostering national identity based partly on cultural heritage, have been cited by a number of authors as a possible reason for this boom (Harrison 2012; Ireland 2010; Smith 2006; Lowenthal 1985) but in reality the reasons are not clear and theories are rarely informed by evidence. Little research has been undertaken to assess public experiences of conserved archaeological sites, particularly outside museum settings. There has also been little research with archaeologists and other heritage professionals to clarify their attitudes towards in situ archaeological conservation and what they consider the purpose and benefits to be. This thesis seeks to contribute to a better understanding of these issues. It asks what conserved archaeological remains create in contemporary society. What are the public values attached to archaeological places? Does the public benefit from interacting with them and how? Do heritage professionals and the public users of conserved archaeological places share an understanding of their value and the work they do in communities? How does the *in situ* nature of the remains influence these outcomes? What might an evidence-based understanding of these perspectives, values and benefits offer for the future of both archaeological management practice and the communities that encounter and experience conserved archaeological places?

This research is framed using post-humanist relational ontologies including Actor-Network and entanglement theories to establish a philosophical framework in which people, places and things work together to create heritage and heritage values in the present. Qualitative research methods, specifically in person interviews and online survey, have been used to understand and compare public and professional perspectives and experiences of conserved archaeological places in Australia. Public opinion was accessed by engaging with nearly 300 visitors aged 18 to 92 at five case study sites where archaeological remains have been retained in the context of new development in Sydney (NSW), Mittagong (NSW) and Hobart (TAS).[2] Interviews and surveys with professional heritage practitioners were focused more broadly on the practice of in situ archaeological conservation although their views on the five case study sites were also sought. The interview and survey data yielded views on various matters. They are listed in the dot points below along with the locations in this thesis where they are discussed:

2 While these places can and do speak to the experiences of Indigenous Australians, they are places where the archaeological remains post-date the European invasion of Australia in 1788.

- overall impressions on whether in situ archaeological conservation and presentation is a "good" thing to do (Chapter 5);
- perspectives about public interest in archaeology both here and overseas and history and heritage more generally (Chapters 4 and 5);
- the key public outcomes of in situ archaeological conservation and presentation (Chapters 4 and 5);
- the importance of the archaeological remains staying in situ in order to achieve the identified outcomes (Chapters 4 and 5);
- archaeologists' and heritage professionals' thoughts on the systems that currently govern decision-making about in situ conservation and presentation (Chapter 1);
- professional and public responses to the physical and use-related contexts of the in situ archaeological remains and methods of interpretation used (Chapter 4).

Of note is the apparent disconnect between professional and public viewpoints about the purposes and benefits of in situ conservation and presentation. The professional emphasis on research value overlooks the far broader outcomes identified by the public as they interact with archaeological sites as a form of heritage place, not just as a source of information about the past.

Government and professional decision-making frameworks for archaeology are entirely reliant on professional understandings and motivations for in situ conservation and not on community values or outcomes.[3] Given the disconnect between professional and public views evident in the data presented here, this research raises significant issues regarding the relevance of current values-based decision-making frameworks for archaeology as they are practiced in Australia and elsewhere. The findings of this research have significant implications for the ways that archaeologists and heritage administrators conceptualise the value and benefits of archaeological practice. It also has implications beyond archaeology, highlighting the power of emotional and imaginative engagement with heritage places and the capacity for heritage places to contribute to individual and community outcomes including identity, wellbeing and resilience.

3 At the time of writing this thesis, heritage legislation and archaeological management practice in Australia tends to separate the archaeology of Aboriginal 'prehistory' and post-invasion 'historical' archaeology. Community involvement in identifying and managing Aboriginal heritage is routinely sought. This is not currently the case for 'historical' archaeological places, or indeed most other forms of what is commonly referred to as 'non-Aboriginal' heritage. Where the terms archaeology or archaeological sites or places are used in this thesis, they are referring to 'historical' archaeology.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 - provides an historical overview of the development of a conservation ethos in archaeology both globally and in Australia and the ways in which in situ conservation has been used as an archaeological management tool. It concludes with a consideration of the current governance and decision-making systems for in situ conservation in Australia.

Chapter 2 - turns to scholarly literature about in situ archaeological conservation. It considers archaeological viewpoints about the value of archaeology and in situ conservation, specifically the emphasis on archaeology as knowledge. It highlights the tension between archaeology as an inward-looking discipline, concerned with its own priorities and survival and its aims to provide public outcomes. It considers the ways public benefit is conceptualised by archaeologists and the limited number of studies that have previously explored public responses to archaeology and in situ conservation.

Chapter 3 - establishes a theoretical framework for this thesis, drawing on post-humanist relational ontologies where people, places and things work together to create and re-create heritage in the present. It introduces a qualitative research approach and the specific methods, interviews and surveys, employed to investigate the phenomenon of in situ archaeological conservation and its meaning to both the professionals who create these places and the public they are intended for.

Chapter 4 - introduces five Australian case studies that form the focus for this research and describes the data collected from both members of the public visiting these places and archaeologists and other professionals. This data includes responses to the specific design and interpretation contexts for the archaeological displays in each location and perspectives on the outcomes for people and communities from experiences of archaeological places.

Chapter 5 - provides an integrated analysis of the case study data described in Chapter 4 and introduces further data comparing and contrasting the views of professionals and the public around a number of themes including: general attitudes to in situ archaeological conservation and presentation; support for heritage conservation and interest in history within Australian communities; and the outcomes of in situ archaeological conservation and presentation for contemporary communities.

Chapter 6 - considers what happens when people and archaeological remains interact and how the various public outcomes identified in Chapters 4 and 5 might be created by these interactions. This discussion draws on current scholarship in areas such as urban planning,

sustainability, community health, psychology and critical heritage studies. It proposes a framework whereby imagination, emotion and perceptions of authenticity entangle with experiences of archaeological remains in situ to create processes of connection to people and place over time. In turn this creates outcomes for individuals and communities including identity-building and wellbeing. The chapter considers in situ archaeological remains as a form of heritage place was well as a resource of information and challenges some of the assumptions about the relationships between people and heritage that are espoused by a number of key heritage scholars.

Chapter 7 - looks to the future of in situ archaeological conservation and presentation and its potential role in shaping and supporting individual and community wellbeing. It considers current understandings of the value and outcomes of archaeology in relation to the findings of this thesis, in particular the social values of archaeological places. It considers the wellbeing outcomes highlighted in the data and proposes benefit-based heritage management frameworks as a potential way forward to better recognise and support the work that in situ archaeological conservation appears to do.

CHAPTER 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSERVATION ETHOS - AUSTRALIA IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Once the information has been retrieved from sites, many archaeologists see little advantage in conserving such legacies.

Helen Temple (1986: 5)

This thesis is primarily concerned with understanding current public and professional attitudes towards conserved and exposed archaeological remains, rather than deeply analysing how the current state of conservation practice arose. It is however, important to pause and briefly look backwards in order to set the scene for the analysis of current attitudes in Chapters 4 and 5. This chapter considers the origins and development of a conservation ethos in archaeology in Australia. It begins by overviewing the history of archaeological conservation globally, particularly in the United Kingdom, Europe and the United States, whose systems influenced Australian heritage practice. It then outlines the development of practice in Australia, particularly in NSW, which is the State with largest number of archaeological remains conserved in the context of redevelopment and the location of four of the five case studies used in this thesis. The chapter concludes with a reflection on issues in current archaeological practice that impact in situ conservation outcomes.[4]

GLOBAL BEGINNINGS – 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Deciding to retain and conserve archaeological remains in situ requires an underlying conservation ethic. The development of a conservation ethic in archaeology has its roots in the development of a broader heritage ethic. Heritage as a concept is commonly considered to have originated in the modernity movement in Europe in the nineteenth century (eg. Harrison 2013; Smith 2006). But writers such as David Harvey (2001) and David Lowenthal

4 Although this chapter is a background chapter and would not normally contain data collected for the purpose of the thesis, there is little published material on in situ conservation and presentation in Australia and the decision-making frameworks that support it. This chapter therefore, draws on some of the professional interview data as a form of oral history to inform this background to the development of archaeological conservation activities in Australia. The interview data is referenced with the name of the interviewee and the date of the interview eg. (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018). This convention is used throughout the thesis where key informant interviews are referenced. As a practitioner working in this field for over 25 years in NSW, where four of the case study sites are situated, my personal recollections and views also inform this chapter.

(2004) note that interest in the past is a far older and more universal phenomenon, arguing that it is part of being human to be interested in what came before. Archaeological societies established in the United Kingdom as early as the 1840s and 1850s cited preservation as a core aim and deliberate in situ conservation of archaeological sites in the context of redevelopment can be traced back 150 years in London (Sidell 2012: 373). The 1856 excavation and conservation of Myles Standish's house in Massachusetts shows a similar antiquity for this practice in North America (Deetz 1977: 32). At the turn of the twentieth century the concept of conserving archaeological remains was discussed in writing about the discipline by English Egyptologist Flinders Petrie. He promoted conservation of both artefacts and elements of archaeological sites so that there might be something left for future generations.[5] He also asserted that the past itself has rights and was one of the first to articulate the feeling of connection to past lives that archaeological material can facilitate.

> A work that has cost days, weeks or years of toil has a right to existence… who are we to defeat all that thought and labour? Every tablet, every little scarab, is a portion of life solidified; - so much will, so much labour, so much living reality. When we look closely into the work we seem almost to watch the hand that did it; this stone is a day, a week, of the life of some living man. I know his mind, his feelings, by what he has thought and done on this stone. I live with him in looking into his work and admiring, and valuing it… The work of the archaeologist is to save lives; to go to some senseless mound of earth, some hidden cemetery and thence bring into the comradeship of man some portion of the lives of this sculptor, of that artist, of the other scribe; to make their labour familiar to us as a friend; to resuscitate them again, and make them to live in the thoughts, the imaginations, the longing, of living men and women; … With the responsibilities before us of saving and caring for this past life of mankind, what must be our ethical view of the rights and duties of an archaeologist? Conservation must be his first duty (Petrie 1904:77-79).

5 The terms 'archaeological site' and 'archaeological place' are both used in this thesis to refer to locations where archaeological remains exist. 'Archaeological site' is the term in common usage in archaeological practice and I include it when reviewing existing practice and scholarship in chapters 1 and 2. 'Archaeological place' is used elsewhere in the thesis as my preferred term, as it captures a broader range of meanings as discussed in Chapter 7 on pages 192-3 using the reconceptualisation of 'place' suggested by Yeoh and Kong (1996) as a container or space for both material things and meanings, memories and practices. "Archaeological remains" is used to refer to the material that sits within the archaeological place or archaeological site.

Petrie recognised the value of archaeological sites beyond their ability to educate about the past, highlighting the sorts of personal and emotional dimensions of place that are the focus of more recent work on place attachment, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Legislation recognising the need to identify and protect archaeological sites in the United States was enacted in the *Federal Antiquities Act*, 1906 and the research value of these sites was recognised in the *Historic Sites Act*, 1935 (Temple 1987: 8-9). European archaeologists La Regina and Querrien (1985) note that collaboration between archaeologists and urban planners was fairly common at the start of the nineteenth century in cities such as Paris and Rome and urban structures were created around and based upon ruins. In 1923, John Marshall promoted a conservation ethic and the importance of keeping archaeological sites and ruins "in position", in his handbook for the Indian Archaeological Service (Marshall 1923). In the post WWII reconstruction of London there were public calls for the in situ conservation of archaeological remains uncovered during bombing and subsequent clearance work. An example is the protest voiced in *The Times*, at the urging of members of the public, about the dismantling of the Roman Temple of Mithros discovered in 1954 and visited by approximately 30,000 people before it was eventually reconstructed nearby (Sidell 2012: 376). Recently, these remains have been the subject of another reconstruction and interpretation program situated within a new high-rise development that serves as Bloomberg's European headquarters.[6]

GLOBAL PRACTICE – LATE 20TH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT

From the mid-twentieth century there was increasing concern among the archaeological professions of Europe and North America about the rapid pace of development and the loss of finite archaeological resources. In the United States of America this concern saw the establishment of the *National Historic Preservation Act,* 1966, the establishment of State Historic Preservation Offices and public sector reservation systems such as the South Carolina Heritage Trust Program (established in 1976), which attempted to conserve for posterity a representative sample of archaeological sites or undisturbed lands with archaeological potential (Judge 2008: 195). This approach was passionately promoted by American archaeologist William Lipe in a 1974 article raising concerns about the quality of salvage archaeology and promoting the practice of preserving representative samples for future generations to investigate (Lipe 1974). It is worth noting the emphasis on archaeological

6 https://www.londonmithraeum.com, viewed 11 April 2020.

evidence as a resource to be conserved for future research rather than any other public value or purpose.

In 1984 La Regina and Querrien, considering the pressures on archaeological sites in urban areas, rejected the notion that they needed to either be "enclosed in 'reserves', cut off from town or social life" (p 103), or destroyed. Instead, they suggested, smaller areas of remains needed to be organically incorporated into developing cities and that larger areas of remains could serve as the base for new urban plans. By the mid-1980s Australian archaeologist Helen Temple observed that the notion of conservation was widely accepted by the general public in both the United States and the United Kingdom (Temple 1987: 13). Although in a more recent reflection on Lipe's 1974 paper and the state of archaeology in the United States, Brian Fagan lamented the failure of the American archaeological community to embrace a conservation ethic (Fagan 2006). Interestingly, Fagan saw this problem as unique to the United States, suggesting that in other countries "the notion that conservation comes first, archaeology second is commonplace" (2006:338). Australian archaeologist Tracy Ireland supports this view of archaeology in the United State, observing during her research into in situ archaeological conservation in settler societies, that despite expressing a desire for the types of in situ conservation outcomes being achieved in Sydney this outcome is quite unusual in the context of new development in the United States (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019).

If Fagan and Ireland's observations are accurate, the differences between practice in the United States, Australia and Europe perhaps arose due to the influence of various charters for archaeological conservation in Europe such as the *European Convention for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (The London Convention)* ratified by The Council of Europe in 1969 and later updated in 1992 as the *Convention for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage of Europe (The Valetta Convention)*. The stated aim of The Valetta Convention is "to protect the archaeological heritage as a source of the European collective memory and as an instrument for historical and scientific study" (Article 1.1). It enshrines the principles of archaeological conservation espoused by Petrie, of preserving archaeological material for future generations, and ensuring that archaeological sites are adequately recorded if they are to be disturbed (Articles 2 and 3). Articles 4.2 and 5.4 specifically establish a preference for archaeological remains to be conserved in situ rather than disturbed or destroyed. Unlike Petrie however, the emphasis in the Valetta Convention (as it was for Lipe in 1974) is on conservation for the purpose of education (Article 9) rather than the more emotional experience of place that Petrie speaks of (Van Os et.al. 2016).

The influence of the Valetta Convention in addition to watershed projects in the 1980s such as the discovery of The Rose Theatre in London, prompted the development of planning principles in the United Kingdom that emphasised archaeological site conservation (Williams 2009; Sidell 2012). Adopted in November 1990, *Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning* (commonly known as PPG 16) recognised that archaeological resources are finite and promoted the concept of in situ conservation. In 2010 this guideline was replaced by *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning and the Historic Environment* (PPS 5) that integrated archaeological management policies with those for the historic environment. PPS 5 was in turn replaced by "good practice" notes in 2015. While PPS 5 and the current practice notes are less specific about archaeology, they signaled that conservation rather than simply investigation and destruction of archaeological sites had become a more accepted practice. It is not clear however, if this indicated a shift towards thinking of archaeological sites as heritage places with multiple values or if the motivation was conservation for the purposes of either retaining archaeological information resources for the future or as a vehicle for communicating archaeological knowledge.

The 1980s and 90s saw advancements in building technology that made in situ conservation and presentation a more feasible option in the context of new development (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018). An early and much-cited example in the United States is the Robert Venturi interpretation of the remains of Benjamin Franklin's House in a landscaped public square at Franklin Court, a complex of museums, historic structures and archaeological sites in Philadelphia. Opened in 1976 to mark the Bicentennial of the United States, the viewing windows to the remains below ground and the soaring "ghost structures" above, were innovative and still inspiring outdoor projects decades later: including the First Government House interpretation in Sydney and the Newcastle Lumberyard interpretation, both in Australia (Temple 1987). The early success of the Benjamin Franklin House site did not, as already noted, lead to widespread in situ archaeological conservation in the context of new development in the United States.

In contrast in Canada, Europe and the United Kingdom numerous development-related in situ conservation projects have occurred within the public spaces of new buildings or infrastructure projects over the last three decades. These have included museums such as the New Acropolis Museum in Athens and Pointe à Callière in Montreal, as well as non-museum contexts such as the Guildhall Amphitheatre in London, England, the Athens subway system in Greece and the main concourse of the Bern Railway Station in Switzerland (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Sections of the Medieval city wall preserved in Bern railway station in Switzerland. Some sections are preserved behind glass, but the most striking presentation is within the 'hans im gluck' burger restaurant where patrons can sit at tables situated under and next to the arches of the wall. This is a far more relaxed approach to in situ conservation than in Australia where close interaction between the public and the archaeological remains is usually prevented by barriers (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2019).

Another London-based example is the Box Office project in Hackney London, which proposes to retain archaeological remains of The Theatre (1576), England's first successful purpose-built public playhouse, within a new residential development (Single and Davies 2021). The introduction of England's National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) in 2012, which embeds aims regarding the delivery of public benefit through development, prompted a rethink of the original development scheme to incorporate the archaeological remains into a ground floor exhibition space alongside artefact displays and interpretive material.

In other parts of the world, the conservation and presentation of archaeological sites in the context of new development is a relatively recent phenomenon and examples can be difficult to find. In China for example, renewal of cultural heritage places or acceptance of their natural decay are the most common approaches - an approach also taken in many other parts of Asia including Japan and Thailand (Mizoguchi 2006; Byrne 1995). Conservation and presentation of archaeological sites only became fashionable in the 2000s (Bai and Zhou 2012) around the time that the Getty Institute imported the Australia ICOMOS *Burra Charter* to China in the form of the *Principles for the Conservation of Cultural Heritage in China (The China Principles)* (Agnew and Demas 2002, revised by China ICOMOS in 2015). The principles do not provide specific advice regarding archaeological conservation, applying the same principles to all of China's cultural heritage places, but the document appears to have influenced a fabric conservation-oriented approach (Zhang 2020). Increased funding of conservation projects by external organisations such as the World Bank, the impacts of increased tourism and its associated economic benefits also seem to be drivers for the importation of a more western approach to heritage conservation into China and its neighbouring regions.[7]

This importation of western heritage principles into non-western contexts and the assumption that global heritage charters have universal applicability has been criticised by several writers (Sullivan 1993; Han 2012; Akagawa 2016). Nevertheless, it seems likely that the trend towards conserving archaeological places and interpreting them to the public will continue globally as adherence to the western heritage management principles adopted by the World Heritage system is seen as good global citizenship by many non-western countries (Sullivan 1993).

7 Such as in situ conservation of the remains of a Qing Dynasty Machinery Bureau railway production workshop and Japanese colonial era drains and pipes at Beimen Station in Taipei (https://www.travel.taipei/en/media/audio-guide/details/232, accessed 11/09/22).

AUSTRALIA FOLLOWS SUIT – 1980S TO THE PRESENT

Archaeological conservation practice in Australia developed within the western, specifically European and American traditions of both archaeology and heritage conservation. Aspects of Laurajane Smith's Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), as defined in her book *Uses of Heritage* (2006), provide a useful way of understanding dominant modes of thinking about heritage and its management in Australia from the mid to late twentieth century. While her characterisation of the AHD is fairly uncompromising, many of the attributes she identifies resonate with my own experiences – having been trained and worked in archaeology and heritage management in Australia from the 1990s onwards. In particular: the focus on fabric as having primary importance and the associated perception of heritage as a series of material things rather than a practice or a way of thinking; the authority of the expert; the belief that heritage value is intrinsic and revealed through a process of investigation rather than created and mutable; and a desire to avoid or mitigate impact to heritage places by fixing them at a particular point in time (Smith 2006; Holtorf 2015: 407). These approaches are characteristic of the Australian heritage management system in its early years, where legislation was introduced and heritage listing began largely in response to development impacts to numerous heritage buildings and precincts (Pearson and Sullivan 1995). Thinking has changed over time with more proactive heritage listing initiatives and increasing recognition of the complex nature of heritage and its competing value systems (Fredheim & Khalaf 2016; Ireland, Brown & Schofield 2020). However, the idea of irreplaceability is still prevalent, linked to the value placed on heritage fabric. It is likely that all these factors influenced the development of an archaeological conservation ethic in Australian historical archaeology.

The 1960s - 80s were a time of burgeoning interest in the convict history of Australia and a time when historians and other cultural commentators were re-imagining Australia's colonial past and place in the world (Ireland 2012b). It was also a period of increasing concern with the state of the natural environment and the 1970s saw the introduction of a raft of environmental and heritage legislation in many Australian states and territories along with the establishment of the Register of the National Estate, the first national attempt to identify and list places of heritage significance across the country (Temple 1988: 38-50; Ashton & Cornwall 2006; Yencken 2008). The earliest example of in situ archaeological conservation in Australia occurred in 1977 when the remains of an 1820s Guardhouse at Windsor on the outskirts of Sydney in NSW were retained at the behest of the NSW Historic Buildings and Sites Advisory Committee, the precursor to the NSW Heritage Council (Nick Pitt, 2019, personal

communication, 15 November). It was quickly followed by the conservation of a section of convict-built brick barrel drain in Parramatta, NSW (T. Higginbotham, 6 November 2018).

During this period the emphasis of archaeological work in heritage conservation terms was focused on its contribution to the conservation of historic places, rather than conservation of archaeological remains (Allen 1975). Although archaeological sites can be considered heritage places in their own right, the *Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, The Burra Charter* (first adopted in 1979) only mentions archaeology in the context of providing essential data for the conservation of historic places (Article 28). This is perhaps not surprising because at that time archaeology as a discipline was squarely focused on the recovery and analysis of information, with conservation of archaeological sites occurring *ex situ* via site recordings and the salvage of artefacts. Influential papers by archaeologists Sandra Bowdler, Anne Bickford and Sharon Sullivan in the mid-1980s articulated the notion that research value is the chief concern of archaeologists (Bowdler 1984; Bickford and Sullivan 1984). While they recognised that there are many kinds of significance including historic, aesthetic and social value, they argued that "it is the archaeologist's task … to assess archaeological significance, which is to say, scientific significance" (Bowdler 1984: 1). "The use of archaeology … in the service of conservation, is very proper, but this is not necessarily the practice of archaeology as an intellectual discipline, nor is it the main aim of the exercise" (Bickford and Sullivan 1984: 21). In practice this has often translated to research value being the only value recognised and assessed for archaeological sites, with the consequent management approach being one of excavation in order to realise research potential. During the mid-1980s, Helen Temple was also critical of Australian archaeologists' tendency to "view archaeology as an elitist practice by and for the few" and to exclude the public from all phases of the archaeological process (Temple 1987: 4). The Australian Bicentennial brought an opportunity to challenge this approach.

In 1981 on a windswept corner site near Circular Quay in Sydney, a team of archaeologists began searching for remains of Australia's "First Government House", the seat of Government in the fledging British Colony from 1789 to 1846 (Department of Planning n/d).[8] Sydney-based historian Mark Dunn noted that it came at a time of rising historical consciousness and ideas of a contested history of colonial and Indigenous peoples. Dunn suggested that the decision to conserve the remains was a tangible expression of this interest (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018). By 1986 after a period of prolonged debate and public activism there was a commitment from

8 This site is one of the case studies explored in detail in Chapter 4.

the NSW Government to "retain and commemorate" the site in what would later become the Museum of Sydney (Temple 1986: 8). It was a ground-breaking decision to conserve archaeological remains in the heart of Australia's first city. It also demonstrated that it was possible for heritage conservation to occur in the context of a successful commercial development project. The project delivered not only conserved archaeological remains and a Museum of Sydney, it also delivered high rise office space and significant earnings for the NSW Government, a portion of which went into the NSW Heritage Council's Heritage Conservation Fund.[9]

The First Government House project marked the beginning of what would become an accepted archaeological management approach, particularly in NSW, even though the occurrence of in situ consideration is still comparatively uncommon compared to the number of research excavations that occur each year. Tracy Ireland (2012b) has suggested several factors of influence for this proliferation of archaeological conservation projects, including: growing community support for heritage conservation; better management systems for heritage; the impact of both international and Australian heritage doctrine; the raised profile of historical archaeology; and of greatest importance in Ireland's view, changing public perceptions about the value and meaning of archaeological sites and a realisation that they can provide a desirable experience when retained in situ. I would add an increasing recognition of the multiple values attached to archaeological sites (such as historic, social and rarity value) and the associated management of these sites as heritage places, rather than simply as sources of information (Allen and North 2000; Clark 2005), because it is a necessary precursor to any decision to retain archaeological remains in situ that they have more than just research value.

Although these factors may explain an overall trend towards conservation of archaeological remains, decision-making about individual sites is subject to the vagaries of politics at the time and a complex set of non-heritage related factors. It is interesting to note that Andrew Andersons, Assistant NSW Government Architect at the time of the archaeological excavations at First Government House, suggested that the public campaign to retain the archaeological remains in situ played a limited role in the final decision made by government.

> … in the end, decisions are made by politicians who come to some sort of political judgement on whether a change of tack is worth it or not. I'm not so

9 Oral history interviews with Robert Eastoe (18 August 1994) and Andrew Andersons (15 November 1994). First Government House Oral History Transcripts, Caroline Simpson Research Library Collection, Sydney.

> sure that organisations like the Friends had much influence on people like Neville Wran [then Premier of NSW] at all. He was a person who I thought always tended to make up his own mind upon advice given by people whom he had respect for. I think John Whitehouse for instance, who was the author of the Heritage Act and the EP&A Act … a solicitor but also an archaeologist would have been possibly the most important influence, far more important than the Friends of First Government House … there was a man who had presided over the most important planning and heritage legislations ever enacted in NSW, a man whose credibility would be beyond question with people like Neville Wran and the fact that he felt that the development shouldn't proceed I think was probably the most influential piece of advice tendered during the project.[10]

The late 1990s brought another major and controversial archaeological conservation project, in the form the Sydney Conservatorium of Music Redevelopment. The discovery of archaeological remains of the 1790s-1820s landscape around the former government house stables sparked a public and political controversy that impacted the decision-making landscape for archaeological conservation projects from that point onwards. As noted by Mary Casey, the archaeologist for the project:

> Every time I meet a new client – whether public or private – the shadow of the Conservatorium site lives in their memories as a possible horror scenario for their project (Casey 2005: 157).

The "horror scenario" was the extensive redesign of the redevelopment to accommodate in situ retention of archaeological evidence that occurred after the project had been designed, commissioned and was under construction. As will be explored using interview data in Chapter 4, many archaeologists feel the conservation outcome wasn't worth the negative impact they perceived the project had on support for archaeology. Whether the nature of the archaeological remains themselves warranted this treatment is a matter of debate (Casey 2005).[11] But regardless of its success or failure as an archaeological conservation project, its impact on the practice of in situ retention in NSW has been significant. It made the NSW Heritage Council "well aware of the power of archaeology either to inspire the public and make them want to fire up and conserve things … but also the power for ill in the sense you

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10 Oral history interview with Andrew Andersons, 15 November 1994. First Government House Oral History Transcripts, Caroline Simpson Research Library Collection, Sydney.
11 The Conservatorium and First Government House sites are case studies for this thesis. Further background information about the sites is provided in Chapter 5.

could inadvertently make the Heritage Council look like it wasn't doing its job well, it wasn't achieving conservation outcomes. The public wanted more out of the heritage system or archaeology process than they were getting" (KI 1).[12] Archaeologist and interpretation specialist Natalie Vinton also considers that the Conservatorium prompted an intellectual shift in understanding the need to sometimes design around archaeological remains and the capacity of the heritage authorities to negotiate such outcomes: that "archaeologists should be advocates for conservation and not just investigation" (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018). As a direct response to the Conservatorium, the NSW Heritage Council undertook a review of archaeological management practice in the State and recommended that in situ conservation of State significant archaeological sites (either buried or exposed) be considered the default management option from then on (Allen and North 2000). Although this was never enshrined in legislation or official policy, it became a more common practice for the Heritage Council and its delegates to require in situ conservation and interpretation as an outcome of redevelopment.

The next major in situ conservation and presentation project had its inception before the Conservatorium project and represents a different approach. Located in The Rocks, Sydney and known as 'The Big Dig', the site had been identified as having significant archaeological potential in the early 1990s. Owned by the Sydney Cove Authority, there was an intention to conserve archaeological remains before any redevelopment was proposed for the site. Careful consideration of new uses for the site led to the current combination of a youth hostel and an archaeology education centre, housed in purpose-built structures that sought to enhance and interpret the archaeological remains (W. Johnson, 6 February 2018).

After the Conservatorium and the Big Dig the number of places in NSW with archaeological conservation and interpretation grew rapidly. There are now examples throughout Sydney's Central Business District, Parramatta and regional areas of NSW such as Albury, Orange, Armidale and Port Macquarie. Also at this time, the NSW Heritage Office commissioned an archaeological landscape management plan for Parramatta, an early center of colonial settlement in Sydney's west (Godden Mackay Logan 2000). In a point of difference from previous 'zoning' plans this plan sought to take a landscape approach to historical archaeological site management, looking beyond individual site boundaries to consider the contribution of archaeology to understanding traces of historic Parramatta across the

12 As will be explained in the method in Chapter 3, professional survey respondents were all anonymous and are referred to using their individual code numbers with the preface 'PS' for 'Professional Survey'. In depth professional interview participants (key informants) were given the option to be named in this thesis or to be anonymous. One of the key informants chose to remain anonymous and their interview was also given a code – KI1.

contemporary urban landscape. It also placed emphasis on proactively identifying sites with the potential to be retained in situ. It failed in its implementation because the local council chose not to incorporate the landscape aspects of the data into its land management system.

While the practice of in situ retention within the context of new development has proliferated in NSW, this has not been the case elsewhere in Australia. Discussions about in situ conservation have occurred over a number of years in Western Australia and Queensland but such a project has yet to be implemented (anonymous survey respondents PS8 and PS29).[13] Numerous examples of interpretation following archaeological excavation are evident in capital cities and regional areas throughout Australia, but Hobart is the only place outside NSW with substantial in situ archaeological remains conserved and presented to the public in the context of new development. This site, at the Medical Sciences Precinct of the University of Tasmania is a case study for this thesis and will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

That the Conservatorium project happened in Sydney may be partly responsible for the explosion of in situ conservation projects in NSW, but it is not the only reason. There may have been underlying colonial narratives stemming from Sydney's status as the first permanent non-Indigenous settlement in Australia, that prompted an early focus on in situ conservation of colonial period archaeological remains in NSW (Ireland 2010). In more practical terms, Heritage Victoria's Senior Archaeologist Jeremy Smith pointed out that archaeological protections were only introduced in Victoria in 1995, nearly 20 years after NSW. The focus has therefore been on ensuring the occurrence of research excavations and it has only been recently that the Victorian Heritage Council has begun turning its attention to a policy for in situ conservation (J. Smith, 27 June 2018). Angie McGown, former archaeologist for Heritage Tasmania has suggested that attitudes to archaeology and the idea that heritage is a problem, have also limited the capacity to argue for in situ conservation in many jurisdictions (A. McGowan, 4 March 2019); supported by comments from anonymous survey respondents PS8 and PS29). This was an attitude that she found frustrating during her years working for the Tasmanian State government.

> They [the Heritage Council] have a booklet called 'Heritage Solutions' and I'm thinking, "Why is heritage the problem"? We're supposed to be celebrating and protecting this stuff, not setting the bar as low as possible so as not to annoy people with these pesky heritage requirements (A. McGowan, 4 March 2019).

At the present time in situ archaeological conservation projects are still occurring although perhaps at a less frantic pace than seen in the early 2000s. In NSW at least, the practice is well accepted and expected in both the archaeological and development communities (KI1). Alison Frappell, the manager of the Big Dig Archaeology Education Centre at the Sydney Harbour YHA suggested that there is an element of "archaeology green wash", where developers are using the community outcomes of conservation as social capital to generate positive responses to their projects and thereby their corporate identities (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018). This hasn't always meant that obvious candidates for in situ conservation have been retained. The KENS site in Sydney CBD, an extensive area of buried building remains with evidence of early foreshore and wharfage from the earliest days of colonial settlement, was destroyed in the mid-2000s. This outcome has been lamented by archaeologists including Wendy Thorp. Not normally a supporter of in situ conservation, Thorp saw this site as particularly distinctive and rare.

> You walked into it and everything was there. Lanes up to my shoulders. Plates sitting in the ovens were still in the bottom of houses. It was literally like they'd just walked out the door and we walked in…. I've never seen anything like that and I'll never see it again. Could we not have saved that? … That's really the beginning of where I got very, very cynical … I still have such a sense of anger about that site (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018).

She blamed a combination of an unsympathetic developer and a weak consent authority for the loss of the site - but Natalie Vinton who was the archaeologist advising the NSW Heritage Council at the time also harbours lingering regret that in situ conservation wasn't achieved at the KENS site (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018). This highlights some of the complexities around in situ conservation projects, where heritage-based arguments can become subsumed by political and economic ones. It also suggests that better data demonstrating the real-world outcomes and benefits of in situ archaeological conservation may make the task of keeping sites such as this easier.

Figure 1.2: The Parramatta Justice Precinct contains the remains of the second and third convict hospitals, which were built on the banks of the Parramatta River in 1792 and 1818 respectively. Excavated in the 2000s there are various sections of archaeological remains on display in glass pavilions along with interpretive signage and artefact displays (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2019).

The most recent large-scale in situ conservation projects to be completed in Australia are both in Parramatta in Sydney's west: the Parramatta Justice Precinct (Figure 1.2) and the V by Crown luxury apartments (Figure 1.3). V by Crown contains the most technologically advanced presentation of archaeology in Australia.[14] Remains on display include evidence of a Convict hut, the cellar of the c.1801 Wheatsheaf Hotel and footings of a colonial period cottage and well. This project required changes to the local planning scheme to allow the high-rise apartment block to have additional floors above the height regulations, as an offset for the floor space taken up by the archaeological remains (KI1). Like the KENS site, V by Crown demonstrates the complex negotiations and costs involved in in situ conservation projects, but this time with an outcome that preserved the archaeological remains.

14 www.vheritagecentre.com.au, viewed 21 March 2021

Figure 1.3: The V by Crown site in Parramatta, NSW. The archaeological remains sit below road level but can be seen from the footpath and entrance forecourt to the building. Patrons of the adjacent café can look at the remains while having their coffee and then visit the interpretation centre below ground (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2019).

CURRENT PROCESSES FOR DECISION-MAKING ABOUT IN-SITU ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSERVATION IN AUSTRALIA

There are currently no Australian guideline documents regarding the practice of conserving and presenting archaeological remains in situ. The unofficial criteria used by decision-makers include:

- *Significance:* a threshold of State heritage significance and above is generally considered important enough to warrant the expenditure and effort required to retain archaeological remains within the context of new development (either exposed or buried). A small number of archaeologists interviewed for this thesis indicated support for in situ conservation of locally significant archaeological remains, recognising that benefits to local communities do not necessarily rely on something being exceptionally significant.
- *Age:* colonial period sites are the most common, particularly those with convict associations. More recent conservation projects such the telegraph station in Albury and Fitzroy Ironworks site in Mittagong have extended the conservation timeframe into the mid to late nineteenth century.
- *Condition and conservability:* ephemeral archaeological remains are generally not conserved as practical conservation issues preclude their long-term survival. Even robust remains can suffer from the effects of in situ conservation, especially when they are put under glass. There is often criticism from archaeologists about the lack of thought given to ongoing management of conserved archaeological remains and the budgetary implications associated with this.
- *Interpretability:* this is the capacity of the public to understand the remains. Integrity is an issue here, as well as legibility. Some archaeological remains, particularly ephemeral or fragmentary ones can be difficult to interpret to the public. There is an aspect of aesthetics playing into this understanding of interpretability. Other functions of aesthetic value, beyond interpretability will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.
- *Practicality and convenience:* there can be an element of luck involved in in situ conservation outcomes. This is particularly the case for the many developments in which the design is pre-determined and minor adjustments are made to accommodate archaeological remains, rather than the remains being an inspiration for the design. In this sense, the decision about what to keep and how is dictated by the way the archaeological remains line up with key spaces in the new building. Tied to this is the willingness of the developer to deal with archaeology, or even the amount of money available for an individual project.[15]

15 This list has been drawn from interviews undertaken for this PhD with J. Smith, 27 June 2018; A. McGowan, 4 March 2019; C. Barker, 29 May 2018; E. Long, 19 November 2018; J. McMahon, 5 November 2018; M. Dunn, 21 March 2018; M. Casey, 1 February 2018; T. Higginbotham, 6 November 2018; and R. Mackay, 15 February 2018. Also, anonymous survey responses: PS1 and Anonymous professional survey 1.

Archaeological remains can be identified for in situ conservation in an archaeological assessment prepared for a specific place or for a larger area such as the Parramatta Historical Archaeological Landscape Management Study. There is also recognition that research value is not as relevant a criterion for decisions regarding in situ conservation and presentation of exposed remains as it is for assessing whether something should be excavated. Factors such as historic value and rarity are typically cited as important by archaeologists. As Tracy Ireland noted, once a decision for in situ conservation has been reached, archaeological remains stop being archaeological sites and become heritage places to which multiple criteria apply (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019). Notably however, social value is not usually discussed as a value relevant to decisions about in situ conservation.

Decision-making about retention of archaeological remains has been largely reactionary despite attempts at proactive identification on a city-wide scale in initiatives such as the previously mentioned Parramatta Historical Archaeological Landscape Management Study. An exception to this is The Rocks precinct in Sydney, which is managed by the NSW government via Place Management NSW. Here it has been possible to take a coordinated approach in which archaeological sites are considered contributors to an overarching place-based story (W. Johnson, 6 February 2018). Heritage Victoria's Senior Archaeologist Jeremy Smith indicates that a similar, strategic approach is proposed for Melbourne's CBD in the forthcoming in situ conservation strategy for Victoria (J. Smith, 27 June 2018).

Another notable perspective that has had currency in NSW for the last decade is that in situ conservation doesn't always mean presentation to the public with a preference for archaeological sites to remain undisturbed wherever possible (KI1). In this context, in situ archaeological conservation in the context of new development is only seen as a desirable option where impacts can't otherwise be avoided. In this sense, in situ conservation and presentation of archaeological remains becomes a by-product of site disturbance processes rather than a desirable outcome in its own right. It is also a philosophical approach in which potential archaeological evidence is best archived for future generations of archaeologists and communities to access and investigate. This idea of prolonging archaeological practice is a theme that arises in the scholarly literature on in situ conservation reviewed in Chapter 2.

REFLECTION

The development of a conservation ethic in archaeology, both in Australia and overseas can be traced through a circular shift in thinking: from Petrie's focus on the emotional and experiential aspects of archaeological places in the early twentieth century; through the influence of archaeological science and a sole focus on research values in the mid to late twentieth century; and then back to a more humanist approach that recognises once again that archaeological places are a form of heritage that can be conserved in situ for a range of values apart from the pursuit of knowledge. It is clear however, that in situ archaeological conservation and presentation is still a rarity rather than a common archaeological management response in Australia, particularly in jurisdictions outside NSW and that decisions about archaeological places are made largely based on research value.

The next chapter will turn to published literature on in situ archaeological conservation to explore these issues further. It will consider the attention, or lack of attention, given to in situ archaeological conservation as a subject of scholarly research and will explore some of the key themes arising from the literature about the perceived purpose of both archaeology as a practice and keeping archaeological remains and presenting them to the public.

CHAPTER 2

CURRENT CRITICAL THINKING ABOUT IN SITU ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSERVATION AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL VALUE

While there is an extensive international literature on the technology and techniques of archaeological conservation and preservation in situ, there has been only limited discussion of the meanings of the places created and the responses they evoke in visitors.

Tracy Ireland (2012a: 458)

This chapter turns to critical archaeology-related scholarship to understand the current state of research on in situ conservation and to provide a setting for the development of the specific research questions and methodologies that will be outlined in Chapter 3. Analysis of the literature begins by considering scholarly understandings of the value of archaeology and in situ archaeological conservation as a specific outcome of archaeological endeavour. Recent work that seeks to understand the public benefits of archaeology is then discussed followed by the small number of studies that consider public perceptions of in situ conservation and presentation.

It should be noted at this point that a search for perspectives on the value and benefits of archaeological conservation in the literature is challenging. Tracy Ireland's reflection at the beginning of this chapter on the state of scholarly writing on in situ conservation is still relevant ten years later (Ireland 2012a: 458). The body of work about physical conservation issues such as the treatment of materials, visitor impacts and monitoring of physical decay is extensive and includes: countless journal articles, books (such as Capel 2016), conference proceedings, guidelines and websites; a dedicated journal titled *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*; and an occasional symposium on the subject, *Preserving Archaeological Remains in Situ (PARIS)*, held on five occasions in various parts of Europe since 1996 (Willems 2008; Gregory and Matthiesen 2012; Leuzinger et.al. 2016). In contrast, there is a comparative paucity of literature on philosophical questions regarding in situ conservation of archaeological sites (Ireland 2012 (a); 2012 (b); Willems 2008). As a subject of specific study, discussions of the motivations, function, use and benefits of conserving archaeological sites in

situ are confined to a small number of journal articles, book chapters and conference papers by authors such as Tracy Ireland (2010; 2012a; 2012b; 105; 106), Frank Matero (2000; 2006), Kalliope Fouseki and Christian Sandes (2009); and Single and Davies (2021). As discussed later in this chapter, few of the papers about archaeological values or rationales for archaeology and archaeological conservation are based on research that seeks to understand public views. This is despite the increasing attention being given to understanding the public benefits of the discipline of archaeology and its output since I started this research in 2016. Such interest is evidenced by: a recent and marked increase in sessions on the public benefits of archaeology appearing at the annual conferences of organisations such as the European Archaeological Association, the Association of Critical Heritage Studies and the International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management; the funding of major research projects such as the Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) *Archaeology and Public Benefit Project*[16]*;* books such as Gabe Moshenska's 2017 volume *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology;* and a full volume of the journal *Internet Archaeology* (volume 57, 2021) based on a symposium about public benefits of archaeology at the 2020 meeting of the European Archaeology Council, held in Prague. Of the studies that have been undertaken, the research is largely focused on exploring the success of public archaeology products in disseminating an archaeological view of the past, ie: communicating research values. There is little exploration of whether the public and archaeologists attribute the same values to archaeological sites, or even within the professional sphere to understand what the range of views are.[17]

THE VALUE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSERVATION

Choosing to investigate and conserve archaeological places is in essence a values-based activity whereby societies attribute specific significance to places or objects from the past in the present (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016; Richmond and Bracker 2009). The basis on which archaeological sites may be valued, or even whether a values-based system should be used at all, is a source of debate in the archaeological literature. In practice there are unwritten rules and assumptions about value on the part of both heritage administrators and field practitioners, often different from one another (Johnson 2000). In a paper for the Getty

16 Funded under a UKRI Future Leaders Fellowship from 2019-2023 (https://www.mola.org.uk/archaeology-and-public-benefit-ukri-future-leaders-fellowship, accessed 29/12/20)

17 As an aside I should note that, in my view and in Burra Charter terms (Australia ICOMOS 2013), archaeological sites are also heritage places. Thus the vast body of literature about why different societies choose to conserve their cultural heritage and the meanings they attribute to it is applicable to archaeological sites too. This chapter focuses on literature specific to archaeology and in situ conservation, but where relevant throughout this thesis, I will draw on the broader cultural heritage literature along with writing from disciplines such as urban planning and psychology.

Institute in 2000 Martha Demas provided a useful explanation of her view on the range of values, in particular delineating between "professional" value and public or community values:

> Historical, artistic and research values are the traditional or core values, as defined by professionals who have long had an academic or professional stake in sites. Natural, social, spiritual, symbolic and economic values are championed by a more diverse and recent set of stakeholders, whose claims on archaeological sites are today a reality. It is these latter values that are often not sufficiently considered when assessing significance (Demas 2000).

In 2005 Antoni Marti wrote a position paper for the APPEAR Project, which sought to develop guidelines for the management of urban archaeological sites with a particular focus on conservation following excavation (Marti 2005).[18] Marti emphasised what Demas would term professional values as criteria for deciding which archaeological sites might be candidates for in situ conservation. These values included singularity (rarity); monumental value; education value/capacity to communicate; historic significance; and capacity for museum interpretation. Marti also recognised two areas of significance that could be categorised as community values: symbolic value, or ability to "stimulate or maintain the cultural or social identity of the community within which it is to be found"; and environmental impact, or the ways in which archaeological remains can "revitalise the social and economic dynamic of an urban area" (Marti 2005: 6-7). While it is not clear if these values and principles were ever widely adopted in Europe, the list provides a good summary of the commonly mentioned rationales for in situ conservation in the literature on archaeology and archaeological conservation.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS KNOWELDGE

As noted in Chapter 1, the Australian method for determining archaeological value has long been based on research interest and specifically an ability to reveal information not available from other sources (Bickford and Sullivan 1984; Bowdler 1984). The only mention of archaeology in the Australia ICOMOS *Burra Charter* (Australia ICOMOS 2013) is in Article 28, which states disturbance of significant fabric including archaeological excavation "should only be undertaken to provide data essential for decision on the conservation of the place or to obtain important evidence about to be lost". Or in the words of Australian archaeologist Graham Connah:

18 Otherwise known as the Accessibility Projects: Sustainable Preservation and Enhancement of Urban Subsoil Archaeological Remains (European Union 2006).

> We have to demonstrate in a public way that historical archaeology can tell us a lot more than we can learn from historical records, and can tell us different things, things that are both important and interesting (Connah 1998: 6).

This emphasis is not unique to Australia. In 1993, English archaeologist William Startin wrote a paper on assessing field remains for a volume on British archaeological resource management. He said:

> The principal reason why archaeological remains are important is for the information they contain about the past. Within archaeological resource management this can be termed 'academic value' since the remains will require examination and interpretation before their value can be made apparent to a wider audience (Startin 2003: 190).

In 1996 in his paper "On Archaeological Value" English archaeologist Martin Carver also argued against what he saw as monumentalism in archaeological heritage management in the United Kingdom. He sought to "champion the archaeological resource primarily as a research asset" (p 45), which should be investigated rather than retained as unexcavated monuments for some future generation. While admitting other values probably exist in some form, Carver suggested that in the end they must all derive from and depend upon archaeological research, which in turn requires archaeologists to set the agendas and do the interpreting (p 48). In the same year William Lipe supported this observation when he wrote "the primary social contribution of archaeology [is] the production and dissemination of new information about the past based on the systematic study of the archaeological record" (Lipe 1996: 23). Inherent in these views is an attitude that archaeology is only for the public once it has been translated for them by archaeologists. There is no recognition that the public might have their own expertise in relating directly with archaeological remains.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS ARCHIVE

In line with views that in situ conservation is a tool for communicating an archaeological view of the past to current and future generations, the conserved sites then act as a form of material archive for that knowledge (Temple 1987: 22; Pedregal and Diekmann 2004). Another type of archiving that hints at values beyond research value is that of keeping sites as cultural touchstones or physical reminders of the past (Temple 1987: 22). Often archaeological sites represent types of places that are rare or absent from the built heritage record, particularly in Australia where early buildings and works were ephemeral or have long since been

demolished. As noted by American archaeologist Ivor Noel Hume: "although the written word may not have endured, the material remains of the past often have survived. They are there, waiting to fill in the missing pages of history" (Hume 1978: 204). However, Hume questioned what gets chosen for the national archive of archaeological sites and he disliked the preference that he saw in the United States to keep them as shrines to the past rather than sources of information about the past (Hume 1978). Like Carver and Lipe (1996), Hume promoted the importance of archaeological resources as a source of historical truth that needed to be dealt with by trained professionals rather than places that might be made available to the public for other purposes.

PROMOTING AND PROTECTING THE FUTURE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

> Discovery, discovery – that's all you people seem to think about! Why? What's going to happen in a generation or two, when there is less and less to discover, to dig up? … (Fagan 2006: 336-337).

Conserving archaeological sites is often framed in archaeological literature as a means of promoting and prolonging the practice of archaeology. In the introduction to a 1984 volume of the journal *Australian Archaeology* dedicated to significance assessment, its co-editors Sharon Sullivan and Sandra Bowdler urged cultural resource managers to "reserve samples of sites for future research" (Sullivan and Bowdler 1984: vii). Bickford and Sullivan (1984), Bowdler (1984) and Temple (1986) also separate the "archaeological" values of sites and the "public values" as if scientific significance is for the archaeological community rather than the general public. These papers reflect William Lipe's comment that the objective of public education about archaeology is public support for the profession and that this in turn is a key objective of archaeological site conservation (Lipe 1977, 1994). As observed by Barbara Little:

> Anyone reading the literature on public archaeology will find that much of archaeologists' interest in public outreach stems from the need to protect and preserve archaeological resources. It should not be surprising then that the benefits of preserving archaeological sites are often couched in terms of benefit to archaeology through the creation of a public interested in and supportive of archaeology (Little 2007: 73).

Australian archaeologist and heritage specialist Helen Temple was an early advocate of in situ archaeological conservation in Australia. In a report prepared for a Churchill Fellowship on archaeology and communities Temple saw the promotion of archaeology through its

conservation and interpretation as necessary to the development of public knowledge about and thus support for archaeology as a practice. She asserted that a more successful advertising and marketing campaign for archaeology would support the realisation of public benefit from the practice (Temple 1986: 3). This was an unusual viewpoint at the time, particularly in Australia because as she noted "once the information has been retrieved from sites, many archaeologists see little advantage in conserving such legacies" (Temple 1986: 5).

Not all archaeologists see in situ conservation as a useful partner in understanding the past or in the protection of archaeological practice. In his paper "The Excavator: Creator or Destroyer?" David Frankel suggested: that the present is as important as the future; that archaeological potential can only be released by excavation; and that it is through the process of archaeological investigation that archaeological sites themselves and archaeological views of the past are created (Frankel 1993). He rejected the notion of retaining archaeological sites in situ for any reason. Raimund Karl also argued against in situ conservation where sites are retained unexcavated, suggesting that this is a high risk strategy leaving sites open to degradation and information loss. In his view, increasing the amount excavated preserves the sites by record and "the likely gains in archaeological information saved from total loss is massive and would benefit the study of archaeology immensely" (2018: 21). In 2012, Karl's approach was supported by Willem Willems who suggested that policies supporting in situ conservation in Europe were "highly dubious" and "too problematic… to be acceptable as an ethical principle with broad validity". He criticised use of in situ conservation as a way of deferring the costs of excavation and felt that "research and other objectives might have been better served by proper investigation" (Willems 2012 5-7). These approaches of course, assume that the information value of archaeological sites is the overriding value needing to be managed.

BROADER HERITAGE VALUES

In recent years there has been a significant increase in critical heritage scholarship, not only about the nature of heritage but also ways of conceptualising heritage value (see Ireland, Brown and Schofield 2020 for an overview). These debates have ranged from critiques of narrowly fabric focused values systems and a preference for humanist approaches that see heritage valuation as a social process (Smith 2006, 2020; Smith and Waterton 2009), to post-humanist approaches that see the material, social and spiritual aspects of heritage as integrally entangled (Harrison 2016; Brown 2015; Byrne 2020). The latter urges consideration of the full range of heritage values that can be attached to cultural practices, places and things

(Fredheim and Khalaf 2016). Others have proposed frameworks that move away from values-based decision-making such as Poulios' living heritage approach, which focuses on "creative engagements with place, narratives and materials" (Ireland, Brown & Schofield 2020: 832; Poulios 2011) and Pocock, Collet and Baulach's calls for stories-based approaches arising from their work with Indigenous communities in Australia (2015, discussed in Ireland, Brown & Schofield 2020).

Although many of the scholars engaging in these broader debates have professional grounding in archaeology, archaeology as a discipline has been largely absent from the discussion with little examination of values-based systems as they relate to archaeological places. Nevertheless, there have been some moves to broaden concepts of how archaeological heritage can be valued. The first iteration of the *Burra Charter* was written in 1979 but it was not until 2000 that the problem of managing archaeological sites on the basis of research value only was raised in a *Review of Historical Archaeology Planning Systems and Practice in New South Wales* prepared for the NSW Heritage Council (Allen and North 2000). This was one of the first formal acknowledgements that once decisions are taken to retain archaeological sites in situ following research excavation, these places become heritage places requiring recognition of a broader set of values (Allen and North 2000). In a follow up review in 2006, Tracy Ireland noted that for decisions to conserve archaeological sites in situ, compelling arguments would include high historic, social, aesthetic, rarity and research potential (Ireland 2006). Ireland also distinguished between values-based motivations for conservation of excavated versus unexcavated sites. As she noted, there is an important distinction to be made between:

> … conserving an intact 'site' as an important research resource for the future, or preserving various excavated remains in situ…. In the latter scenario, research potential is unlikely to form the rationale for in situ conservation – rather aspects of social and historical significance are likely to be paramount (Ireland 2006: 38).

In 2009, formal guidelines were written requiring archaeologists to use the full range of NSW Heritage Council endorsed heritage values to assess archaeological sites including historic, associative, aesthetic, social and technical values along with rarity and representativeness (Heritage Branch of the NSW Department of Planning 2009).

In the 2000s the recognition that archaeological sites have multiple heritage values and not just research values had also begun to receive some level of acceptance in the UK and the US

(Clark 2005; Demas 2000). American archaeologist Frank Matero suggested the need to recognise scientific and aesthetic values and that archaeological sites are places that inspire emotional responses and support memory work (Matero 2006). He drew on Tilley's *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994) to describe them as "contexts for human experience, constructed in movement, memory, encounter and association" (Matero 2006: 57). As reflected in the opening paragraphs of this chapter Demas (2000) and Marti (2005) have also sought to broaden concepts of archaeological value. Current assessment guidelines in New Zealand recognise a range of values apart from research or "archaeological value", including rarity, contextual value, amenity value, community cultural associations and condition (Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga 2019).

There have also been volumes like Janet Spector's 1993 book *What This Awl Means* that take a narrative and more emotionally embedded approach to understanding the relationships between people and things and the social values of the work of archaeologists. These include: Denis Byrne's *Surface Collection* (2007); the work of Sally Foster and Siân Jones on attachments to object replicas in Scotland (Jones and Foster 2020); and a series of meditations written by archaeologists about their own emotional encounters and engagements with objects in *Object Stories* (Brown, Clarke & Fredericks, 2015). Although no longer described as a niche "feminist archaeology" approach, this sort of empathetic work still sits on the edges of mainstream archaeological discourse.

SOCIAL VALUES AND FORMS OF EXPERTISE

Despite these global discussions, research value is still the primary catalyst for archaeological management decisions in Australian jurisdictions (Lavelle 2017; Ireland 2006). Social or community values are rarely assessed for archaeological places, nor in fact for the majority of heritage places. Where social value statements exist they are usually the best guess of the archaeologist rather than identified by communities themselves through qualitative methods including focus groups and surveys (Byrne et.al. 2003). As pointed out by Clark (2005: 110) and Hamilakis (2010:442) many archaeologists see stakeholder involvement as a top-down process in which communities are told, made aware or "educated" about what matters by professionals. As noted above, where community or social values are recognised they are often described in relation to the ability of the public to appreciate the knowledge produced by archaeology. Given the recognition of social value was an innovation of the Burra Charter and acknowledged since the 1970s it is not a novelty, so why has it been ignored by Australian archaeologists outside (and often within) the realm of Indigenous heritage management?

Archaeology is a discipline where understanding human behaviour is a core focus, but this seems to be exclusive to understanding humans in the past not in the present.

The patronising view that the public cannot have a relationship with archaeological places without archaeologists interpreting what they see (Pedregal and Diekmann 2004) is exemplified by Giorgio Buccellati's comment: "When presenting and interpreting, the archaeologist must be like an orchestra conductor: few if any people in the audience may be able to read the score" (Buccellati 2006). Buccellati adds that common ground between archaeological knowledge and public readiness needs to be gauged, not to ensure archaeologists understand and respect the ways the public value archaeology, but so that the archaeological values of a site can be "truly appropriated" by the public. This theme is echoed in volumes such as *Sharing Archaeology: Academe, Practice and the Public* (Stone and Zhaou 2015) where the title alone reflects an underlying assumption that the public is invited to share archaeology rather than being legitimate owners, consumers and interpreters of archaeology in their own right. This attitude frustrated Christopher Tilley who was critical of the primary focus on archaeology as a discipline that promotes excavation and the endless quest for information without deep thought about the public product that would ensue. He saw the archaeological profession as out of touch with the public, turning them into "helpless spectators", suggesting it would be preferable to have "a public consisting of cultural producers, not cultural consumers, people who discuss and interpret rather than people who are talked to and are told" (Tilley 1989: 28).

PUBLIC OUTCOMES AND BENEFITS[19]

Since the commencement of this PhD research in 2016, public benefit has been receiving increasing attention in critical heritage studies. American archaeologist Barbara Little has long championed in situ archaeological conservation as an essential element of a socially responsible heritage practice that preserves and interprets an inclusive and wide-ranging breadth of history (Little 2006: 73-74). It is a theme that recurs in recent critical heritage literature as a rationale for archaeological work more broadly, although the concept of "benefit" is often nebulous, involving vague references to intergenerational equity and social sustainability without any sense of what this means or how it is delivered by heritage

19 It is noted that public benefit and public archaeology, while linked, are treated as separate subjects of inquiry in this literature review. Public archaeology is considered the practice of presenting archaeological data and interpretations of that data to the public and also the involvement of communities in the practice of archaeology. Public benefit is the public outcomes that are achieved by the practice of archaeology, including public archaeology. There is much literature on "public archaeology" and far less on the public benefits that flow from it. This thesis and this literature review are concerned with public benefit.

conservation. For example, in a series of papers for an APPEAR project forum in Belgium in 2005, "social profitability" as Jean-Louis Luxen calls it is mentioned several times by a number of authors but not clearly defined (Luxen 2005: 69; European Union Committee of the Regions 2005).

In Australia, the notion that archaeology delivers direct benefits to both the public and the archaeological profession has, in my experience, underpinned the increasing requirements for in situ conservation of archaeological sites. However, it is questionable how much more than a vague sense of doing public good is at the forefront of thinking in daily decision-making, which is often occurring in a process and development-driven context. In a system so dominated by the Burra Charter's concern for heritage fabric its conservation frequently becomes a goal in itself without consideration of what happens beyond that, a phenomenon noted by British geographer Graham Fairclough when he wrote:

> …the remains of the past…seem to exist only to be preserved. The wide range of how the past is used by society has been reduced to the literal act of preserving its fabric (Fairclough 2009: 158).

Frank Matero also expressed this view in an earlier paper, suggesting that "the primary objective of conservation is to protect cultural heritage from loss and depletion" (Matero 2006: 55). Such an approach seems far removed from Barbara Little's preferred model of socially responsible archaeological practice.

Where public involvement in and public outcomes from archaeological practice are discussed in the literature it is often conceptualised as a public outreach activity. In this top-down approach, professionals welcome the public into certain activities such as visiting or participating in a professionally run excavation or engaging with educational materials about archaeology and its research outputs (van Os et.al. 2016; Thomas 2017; Grima 2017; Orange and Perring 2017; Benetti et.al. 2021). The aims of such activity are often defined in terms of increasing public understanding of the past based on archaeological research - for example Hurley (2021) writing about Ireland; Gill (2021) writing about Sweden; Aitchison (2021) writing about infrastructure projects in the UK - or in terms of generating public understanding of the importance of professional archaeological activity (Egloff and Comer 2009).

There have been attempts to broaden concepts of one-way public outreach to approaches that rely more on partnership and recognising community agency and expertise. In the introduction to the volume *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology,* Gabe Moshenska suggests the

public outcomes of archaeology sit where archaeological practice and scholarship meets the world (Moshenska ed. 2017:3) and that:

> …public archaeology in the broadest sense is that part of the discipline concerned with studying and critiquing the processes of production and consumption of archaeological commodities (Moshenska 2009a: 47).

Moshenska defines seven common types of public archaeology, which also touch on public outcomes or benefits from archaeology: archaeologists working with the public - often referred to as community archaeology; archaeology by the public; public sector archaeology, ie: the archaeology of public assets; archaeological education; open archaeology – excavation work that is made publicly accessible through viewing platforms, interpretation etc; popular culture products such as movies, books, exhibitions etc.; and academic public archaeology, which concerns itself with the legal and political contexts of archaeological practice. While there is space for in situ conservation to be considered as a product of archaeological practice, it is not specifically mentioned by Moshenska. Similarly, research for the Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) unit's *Archaeology and Public Benefit Project* is currently considering the public output of developer-funded archaeology in the UK.[20] This includes public engagement programs during excavation, interpretation and publication but it does not specifically consider in situ conservation.

Nor is in situ conservation often the focus of papers in journals such as the *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* where, as already noted above, the public contribution of archaeology is generally still conceptualised in relation to research outcomes and seen as a top-down flow of information from expert to community. A survey of British, German and Italian archaeologists undertaken in 2021 and published in that journal, illustrates that the top-down and professionally focused approach to public archaeology and public benefit is still prevalent despite efforts from scholars such as Moshenska to change professional narratives (Benetti, Möller & Ripant 2021; see also Orange and Perring 2017). This survey shows that public participation in archaeology was generally framed in terms of visiting or participating in an excavation, undertaking an educational activity related to archaeology, visiting a museum display and other similar activities. Occasionally this activity was framed as collaboration between archaeologists and the public, but often it was framed as public

20 https://www.mola.org.uk/archaeology-and-public-benefit-ukri-future-leaders-fellowship, accessed 29/12/20. This is occurring as part of a broader British government initiative seeking to develop a policy framework for measuring and evaluating positive social impacts associated with heritage conservation aimed at improving value derived from public spending and ways of measuring and delivering positive public outcomes. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/sir-michael-barber-report-into-improving-value-in-public-spending-published, accessed 24/08/22.

participation in professional activities. The perceived benefits to the public from this activity were largely framed as educational outcomes and increased interest in archaeology, which was ultimately seen as a benefit to archaeology itself. An exception was a small percentage of archaeologists from the United Kingdom who suggested improved sense of public ownership as an outcome along with a small percentage from Germany who noted inclusion of community expertise in archaeological processes as a benefit of public outreach.

Scholars and practitioners who recognise a potential range of public benefits beyond education and promoting the survival of the archaeological profession include Egloff and Comer (2009) who highlight the contribution of archaeological conservation projects to local economies. They suggest that returns from heritage tourism, including archaeological sites, sustains a considerable proportion of the world's population. Lefert has gone further, urging that boosting tourism should be a key aim of conserving archaeological sites (2005). In an Australian context Siobhan Lavelle, a senior archaeologist with the NSW State government, referenced the potential economic and tourism benefits of archaeological conservation alongside educational and cultural benefits as a driver for increasing requirements for archaeological site interpretation from 2003 onwards (Lavelle 2017).

Beyond economic benefits Monique H. Van den Dries (2021) and Linda Monkton (2021) have both suggested that the contribution of archaeology to society extends to wellbeing and health outcomes. There has been work undertaken on community archaeology outcomes in Wales under the remit of the *Wellbeing of Future Generations Act (Wales) 2015*, which has recognised that where the public are collaborators rather than participants archaeology has:

> … a unique potential to deliver opportunities to develop an extraordinary range of transferable skills, to draw communities together in establishing meaningful links to pasts and place, and to affect physical and mental well- being through fieldwork and collaborative projects (Belford and Foreman 2021:73).

The European Archaeological Council (Monkton 2021) has proposed a framework for defining public value in archaeology, outlining eight areas.

1. Shared history (meaning making and identity, part of something bigger).
2. Artistic cultural treasures (stories, media interest, ways into the subject of the history of people derived from outputs).
3. Local values (local pride and engagement with benefits for the project and the community).

4. Place-making and social cohesion (messages and stories from outputs to creation and recreation of places or assets).
5. Educational value (broad cultural education from outputs).
6. Science and Innovation (research as a result of finds, especially human, plant and climate science).
7. Wellbeing (therapeutic intervention through the practice of archaeology).
8. Added value to developers (direct economic benefit resulting from the archaeological element).

Sloane (2021) adds other benefits to this list including: producing information that can help to counter racism; providing long-term perspectives on the modern age; and tourism. While this framework for defining public value in archaeology is fairly broad, there is still an emphasis on archaeological research and the educational outputs of such work. Wellbeing outcomes are associated with participation in archaeological practice rather than experience of archaeological places and while place-making is mentioned it also appears to relate to place making through research-based outputs.

Taking a different approach, Single and Davies (2021) highlight public access to archaeological remains as a public benefit when discussing the in situ retention of remains of two Elizabethan-era theatres, in London - The Theatre and The Boar's Head. The authors suggest that heritage may be introduced to people who "might not seek out an Elizabethan playhouse for their entertainment and edification" and that such sites have the potential to draw people to the area, creating a loop where the archaeology triggers a "wider cultural and public benefit that extends beyond the archaeology itself but which feeds back into improved public understanding and enjoyment of the archaeological heritage". What this wider cultural and public benefit is, is not articulated, but it hints at public benefits that reach beyond research and educative value.

While archaeological practice has the potential to deliver the range of public outcomes outlined above, Australian heritage practitioner Richard Mackay has questioned whether archaeology achieves any public good in practice. In his view this is because of both professional archaeological approaches and the statutory frameworks in which practice occurs. He notes:

> The discipline tends to focus on physical evidence as the data set, rather than on other values that the place may have for its constituent stakeholder communities. Archaeologists have long trumpeted the potential of the

> discipline to contribute to history. But does archaeological analysis and investigation enrich the community? Is it a public good? Is there not a real danger that in fulfilling obligations that may arise from statutory controls or in pursuing evolving technology and science, archaeology can become introspective, derivative and little more than self-serving, rather than providing a wider public or community benefit? (Mackay 2006: 132).

As already noted, archaeological work in Australia occurs primarily in development-driven contexts and has been since the establishment of heritage legislation in the 1970s. James Flexner (2020) and Nicholas Zorzin (2015a; 2015b; 2021) might suggest that the challenges outlined by Mackay are related to the economic context in which archaeological work occurs. Both have been critical of commercial frameworks for archaeological practice in Australia and other jurisdictions such as Canada and the United Kingdom. While the emphasis of this work tends to be the negative impacts of capitalist ideologies on archaeologists and archaeological knowledge production both have acknowledged ancillary impacts on communities and called for practice that pursues social and environmental justice.[21] Zorzin notes:

> This type of commercial archaeology represents an extreme fetishization of the profession, an illusion of progress while… archaeology is in fact often empty of any scientific and social significance. As such, these types of archaeologies have become dystopian because they dehumanize and technicalize archaeological practice, which becomes inaccessible and unrelated to the contemporary challenges, preoccupations and questionings of humankind (Zorzin 2015a:807).

It could however, be argued that the disenfranchisement of communities by the professionalisation of archaeology and the dehumanising of archaeological practice was occurring long before it became a commercially driven exercise. Conversely, many of the gains in terms of a more socially responsible archaeological practice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in Australia has occurred over the last three decades within the confines of commercial archaeology. Desirable shifts in Australian archaeological practice such as "taking time to talk to the public" (Zorzin 2021:9) could equally occur within a capitalist framework. Social factors have significant influence on the ways that societies value and produce heritage, including archaeology, over time (Harrison 2015; Smith 2006) and changing theoretical standpoints in academic

21 This is a similar emphasis to the work of Mate and Ulm (2021) who used survey responses from professional archaeologists to examine the difficulties with commercial practice in Australian archaeology.

archaeology have influenced the way archaeological practice is framed and taught. While it is the case that all of this activity in western contexts has occurred against a capitalist backdrop, it could also be argued that the extensive output and high-quality research outcomes of archaeological research under anti-capitalist regimes (such as that produced by the Russian Academy of Sciences, Engovatova 2019) has done little to promote a socially or environmentally aware archaeological practice (Broka-Lace 2019; Karabaich 2019; Wurst 2021). While the commericalisation of archaeological practice undoubtedly influences its capacity to produce public benefits, contemporary barriers to the delivery of such benefits are likely deeper and more complex than capitalist ideology alone. Pursuing a social justice framework in archaeology would seem to require tackling all the social, economic, theoretical and discourse-related barriers that currently undermine equitable and public focused outcomes (Watson 2021). I would also suggest that a significant reason for the perception that archaeology fails to produce public benefit is because it too narrowly defines the aims and values of archaeology.

STUDIES OF PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND IN SITU CONSERVATION

Museums and other dedicated historic sites often survey their visitors to develop audience profiles and to assess audience engagement and the success of programs or exhibitions. In the last two decades however, as critical heritage scholars have started turning their attention to the work that heritage does in society, seminal works such as Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage* (2006) and her 2020 volume *Emotional Heritage* have cast the net wider to include visitor interviews and surveys across cultural landscapes and including a diverse range of communities. Smith's work has made a significant evidence-based contribution to discussion about the role of the historic environment in supporting and challenging notions of community and national identity. It is worth noting however that the case study sites were dedicated historic places rather than heritage places that are experienced in the general community and the visitors were therefore likely to be predisposed to an interest in heritage. Few studies have focused on conserved archaeological sites as a specific type of heritage place. Where place-based archaeological programs or interpretations have been assessed, they tend to consider the success or failure of that public offering in educating the public about the site (eg. Paardekooper 2013). Rarely does anyone seek to understand public experiences of these places and the impact these experiences have on individuals and communities.

A key exception is a series of papers undertaken by Tracy Ireland between 2003 and 2016, that considered the use and meaning of urban historical archaeological sites with a particular focus on the settler colonial contexts of Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand and Canada. Based on survey work undertaken at a number of conserved archaeological sites Ireland considered: the motivations for in situ conservation and presentation in urban areas; the socio-cultural role the sites play in the life of communities; the ways the meaning of the sites change over time; and how the archaeological remains transmit meaning about the past (Ireland 2003; 2010; 2012a; 2012b; 2015; 2016). The surveys provided valuable insights into the opinions of specific audiences about the conservation of colonial era archaeological remains and issues of interpretation, authenticity, enjoyment and experience within 19 sites in the study group across Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. The respondents were from a broad age-range and tended to be people who were well travelled and highly educated and who worked or were studying in a heritage related area. Other respondents were drawn from heritage interest groups and in a similar fashion to the interview subjects of Laurajane Smith's work in *Uses of Heritage* (2006) were most likely predisposed to an interest in heritage. Key issues highlighted in Ireland's survey responses included: the importance of seeing original or authentic fabric; the importance of being able to actually understand what is being presented; the pros and cons of including artefact displays; the different experiences provided by conserved archaeological sites inside and outside museum contexts, including a feeling of the non-museum experience being freer and less mediated; feelings of connection to the past engendered by the sites being in their original location; the affective nature of archaeological sites; and the perception that archaeological sites can provide a direct insight into the past (Ireland 2012a).

Using this data Ireland makes a convincing argument for understanding conserved archaeological sites as places that engender place-based memory-making. As her research often focuses on the connections between archaeology and collective identity, particularly national identity, Ireland interprets her survey results in this context. She sees the conserved archaeological remains in her study group as "a distinctive form of urban design or place making" that can "reinforce neo-colonial narratives of identity and history, seeking continuing connection with a European origin" (Ireland 2012b: 20-21). She goes on to observe the significant function that the materiality of archaeological remains performs in bringing forgotten or suppressed pasts into contemporary consciousness and into the experiences of locals, visitors and tourists.

Alazaizeh (et.al) (2020) have also highlighted the potential role of conserved archaeological sites in enhancing a sense of place. Respondents to their visitor surveys at Petra in Jordan identified that they valued Petra as a place for leisure and enjoyment as well as for its 'untouched' nature. While this study was undertaken through a particular lens of assessing the value of Petra in tourism terms, like Ireland's work it conceptualises Petra as an archaeological place not just as an archaeological resource and explores value attachment accordingly. Similar place attachments were shown in local communities surveyed about their perceptions towards archaeological sites in South Iraq by Zaina, Proserpio and Scazzosi (2021). The community primarily perceived archaeological sites as physical places, local landmarks and potential economic assets, rather than resources of information.

As already noted, there has been increased interest in the public benefits of archaeology in the last decade, particularly in Europe and the United Kingdom. In 2015, the first detailed survey on the public values of archaeology across Europe was conducted by the NEARCH research project funded by the European Commission. It was not specific to in situ conservation but used quantitative data from 4,516 survey respondents and a number of focused case studies, to understand how archaeology affects people's lives and what they experience as public benefits from developer-led archaeological practice (Van den Dries 2021). Many respondents considered archaeology primarily as an academic endeavour and identified knowledge as a prime benefit. One of the researchers, Monique Van den Dries, suggested that benefits apart from 'gaining knowledge' seemed less obvious to the public because very few people linked archaeology to economic and social values. Only 8 percent thought it contributes to identity and even less identified links to sustainability or quality of life. These results are somewhat different to the results of Tracy Ireland's research discussed above, but this could relate to Ireland's work being focused on conserved archaeological sites, which are a type of heritage place, rather than the focus of the NEARCH research on the archaeological process and research outcomes as a public benefit. Van den Dries suggests that the public focus on education may happen because that is the messaging embedded in the public-facing products offered by archaeologists and highlighted in the media.

In an Australian context when Sarah Colley surveyed 53 second and third-year undergraduate archaeology students at The University of Sydney about their perspectives on the public benefits of archaeology, their responses included: the contribution of archaeology to understandings of origins, identity and socio-politics; linking the past, present and future; archaeology as a material form of history (perceived by a number of respondents as more factual than history); and as a producer of knowledge about the past and a support to public

education. Public enjoyment and economic benefits were only mentioned by one and three respondents respectively (Colley 2007: 31). Colley's students had already received some archaeological training, yet the author describes their views as "a more accurate and realistic understanding of the subject" (2007:30). This comment seems to be underpinned by the assumption discussed earlier in this chapter that an accurate understanding is an archaeological one and that an important role of archaeological education (including interpretation of archaeological sites) is to bring the uneducated to a place of higher archaeological understanding. The focus of students on the benefits derived from archaeological knowledge rather than an experience of archaeological places or the practice of archaeology is interesting to note. Colley acknowledges that this reflects poorly on an academic understanding that excludes the experiential aspects of archaeology that "make the past human and attractive to wider publics" (2007: 34). She contrasts this with an earlier survey she had undertaken with undergraduate level archaeology students about their motivations to study archaeology. In this study, while some students identified archaeological knowledge as a driver the majority identified processes and experiences such as "discovery, solving mysteries, adventure, travel … seeing and touching old objects and imagining themselves living in past cultures" as key drivers (2007: 34). This provides an interesting contrast between the views of the students as members of the public entering their studies and their views once influenced by archaeological training. It echoes Van den Dries' observations about the influence of an archaeological emphasis on research values on public perceptions of archaeology after participation in public archaeology programs or through exposure to archaeology through the media – archaeological training has a similar impact on students.

REFLECTION

This exploration of the literature has shown that while there is increasing recognition of multiple values associated with archaeology and archaeological sites and recognition that public benefits can arise from their conservation, research value is still the primary value attached to the practice of archaeology and public benefit arising from the conservation of these values is poorly defined. This skewing towards research value impacts the development of public policy about archaeology and the assessment of those programs. Existing research that seeks to understand public views is limited and commonly focuses on remains retained in museum or dedicated historic site contexts or considers public outcomes associated with the research outcomes of archaeological work rather than archaeological remains as a type of

heritage place. This understanding of key themes and gaps in current literature about archaeological practice will be used in Chapter 3 to develop a research framework and methodology for this PhD, which seeks to both explore public perceptions about and experiences of conserved archaeological places and to explore the views of Australian archaeologists on the ground.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND METHOD

Interviewing as a method can be particularly useful for investigating a values-based practice such as heritage and its "complex and abstract ideas".

Marie Louise Stig Sorensen (2009)

The introductory chapters of this thesis traced the development of a conservation ethic in Australian archaeology, considered scholarly literature on the ways value is attributed in current archaeological practice and discussed professional concepts of public benefit in archaeology. This has highlighted gaps and limitations in an evidence-based understanding of the work that in situ archaeological conservation and presentation does in society. This is particularly the case for research that captures public responses to archaeology outside museums and dedicated historic places, of which there is very little. This in turn gives rise to a range of questions that form the basis for further empirical consideration in this thesis of public experiences of conserved archaeological remains and the work that they do in communities. This chapter outlines these research questions and places them within a theoretical context that draws on recent thinking about the nature of relationships between people and things and the role of the past in the present and future. In particular, it uses Heidegger's philosophy of phenomenology and post-humanist entanglement theory based on the Actor-Network thinking of Bruno Latour. The methodology is then developed based on qualitative methods that suit phenomenological inquiry.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In his influential book *Heritage: Critical Approaches,* Rodney Harrison suggested that the role of critical heritage studies is to "interrogate the work of heritage" (Harrison 2013: 581). As established in the literature review in Chapter 2, until recently much of the scholarly analysis has focused on the what and how rather than the why of archaeological conservation including outcomes for the public. Where the why has been considered there has been an emphasis on research and education and benefits for the archaeological profession. This thesis

offers a contribution to the project of interrogating and understanding the 'work' of conserved archaeological sites as a particular type of heritage place. It is framed in relation to David Lowenthal's comment in his 1985 book *The Past is a Foreign Country*, that "heritage is about creating something, not about preserving anything" (Lowenthal 1985). This thesis asks:

- what are the public values attached to archaeological remains?
- does the public benefit from interacting with these remains and how?
- do heritage professionals and the public users of conserved archaeological places share an understanding of their value and the work they do in communities?
- How does the *in situ* nature of the remains influence these outcomes? and
- what might an evidence-based understanding of these perspectives, values and benefits offer for the future of both archaeological management practice and the communities that encounter and experience conserved archaeological remains?

THE NEED FOR A STUDY OF THE MEANINGS OF CONSERVED ARCHAEOLOGICAL PLACES IN MODERN LIFE

There is a current push for futures thinking in critical heritage studies. In 2017, some of the key voices in heritage futures thinking published a paper called "No Future in Archaeological Heritage Management?", which was critical of a perceived absence of effort in the professional archaeological community to consider the future and in turn what that might mean for the public benefits arising from archaeological practice. In particular, they highlighted an absence of effort:

> …to understand how the future will differ from today and how it therefore requires decisions and strategies in the present that differ from what we would think is best for our own society now… As a consequence, present-day archaeology and heritage management may be much less beneficial for the future than we commonly expect (Höberg, Holtorf, May & Wollentz, 2017: 640).

Because the specific needs of future societies can't really be known in the present, the best that archaeologists as members of society in the present can do is to lay the foundations for the future they want to create and to consider how archaeology and archaeological places might contribute to that future (Bork 2018). This requires an understanding of the capacity of archaeology to produce public outcomes in the present and based on the literature review in

Chapter 2 is questionable whether most archaeologists and heritage practitioners have this understanding or know what "is best for our own society now". This thesis offers a contribution to this understanding.

As noted in Chapter 1, despite increasing requirements for in situ conservation and presentation of historical archaeological sites from Australian regulators, there are no official policies to guide that practice, although the need for them has been acknowledged for many years (Allen and North 2000). As such there has been no consistency in the regulation and implementation of in situ retention in Australian jurisdictions, meaning decision-making can be ad-hoc and outcomes variable (Iacono 2002; 2005; Ireland 2006). The lack of clarity about what the practice is trying to achieve, apart from a nebulous concept of public benefit for current and future generations, fails to articulate a clear rationale for heritage conservation and presents a challenge to public policy makers. Ireland and Blair (2015) have gone as far as suggesting that the lack of meaningful data on the impact of heritage activities is perhaps one of the most significant issues for the future of heritage conservation in Australia.

As noted in chapter 2, there has been much written internationally about in situ conservation and presentation of archaeological sites, but this has largely focused on physical conservation issues such as managing physical deterioration. There has been little critical analysis of the aims and outcomes of the practice and there is much scope for increasing understanding about both the meanings attached to and the public benefits of archaeological conservation. Jeremy Wells has been critical of a lack appreciation for and use of phenomenological inquiry methods to explore what he terms 'heritage psychology' – the "physical perceptions, experiences and feelings that increasingly appear to be fundamental as to *why people value historic places"* (Wells 2021: 31-2, emphasis from original). He suggests primary research into the psychologies of heritage might lead to more effective conservation related decision making based on the level of feeling that people have for a place (Wells 2021: 32).

The professional focus on research value discussed in Chapter 2, has skewed public policy for archaeology and overlooked the potential range of values and outcomes associated with archaeological places. In a paper for the 2020 European Archaeological Council symposium on archaeology and public benefit Monique H. Van den Dries noted: "While the knowledge creation benefits of archaeology are widely understood, there is less awareness or assessment of other potential benefits" (Van den Dries 2021). At the same symposium, Sadie Watson the lead investigator for the MOLA Archaeology and Public Benefit Project, acknowledged:

> We should be willing to collaborate with audiences who have no interest at all in archaeology, but who instead could benefit through other allied provision of public benefit that might occur as an indirect result of funding for archaeology, for example urban design or public art. It will be crucial to acknowledge and listen to what we are told – we have become a conservative sector, but we need to open up to new ideas and approaches, and to be prepared to hear what the public have to say – even though it might be challenging to some of us (Watson 2021).

Wilkins et.al. (2021) have suggested that while the practice of archaeology may benefit from broadening understandings of values and outcomes, they question whether the public itself benefits because the discipline of archaeology "lacks a satisfactory frame of reference around which it can express and design for these additional social values". Therefore, once the nature of public value and benefit is understood more clearly, the development of frameworks for achieving such outcomes seems to be a necessary next step. Even where communication of research value is a priority, academics such as Sarah Colley have suggested that effective public archaeology education programs require deeper understandings of people's attitudes to archaeology (Colley 2007:30). Yannis Hamilakis (2015) who has long been a champion of what he calls alternative archaeologies highlights a need to examine the links between archaeology and local people and to recognise the existence of archaeological relationships outside the professional sphere. This conceptualisation requires re-framing archaeology "as a way to create collective benefits … and as a tool for activism" (Atalay et.al. 2014: 8). As noted by Atalay:

> Too often, practicing archaeology under prevailing current principles and precepts disconnects people from their past through highly constrained knowledge production, interpretation, and dissemination processes that are, with few exceptions, dictated by and meaningful to archaeologists and archaeologists alone… Assuming a self-appointed, sole stewardship role over the archaeological record, creating knowledge for knowledge's sake, and foregrounding data over people, all contribute to larger contemporary problems (Atalay et.al. 2016: 9).

The field of heritage conservation in Australia is now well established and is facing a new set of challenges derived from a period of comfortable, prescribed practice. It is an ideal time for renewed analysis and reimagining within the profession and to undertake in depth research to

contribute to thinking and debate. The Australia ICOMOS conference in 2013, *Imagined Pasts …, Imagined Futures*, highlighted some of the key issues and possible futures for heritage practice in Australia (Ireland & Blair 2015; Johnston 2015; Sullivan 2015). Commonly recurring themes included the need to:

- be less complacent and process driven and more reflexive and critical of heritage practice;
- rethink what heritage conservation means including embracing multiple types of attachment to and ways of creating meaning associated with heritage places and practices; and
- better understand and articulate the benefits of heritage conservation as a way of increasing support for and interest and participation.

Other academics such as Harrison (2012) and Smith (2006) have urged a rethinking of the nature of heritage and a better understanding of the affective nature of material "things" and English academic Gregory Ashworth has suggested:

> A preservation paradigm that focuses only on the intrinsic values of the structures with no essential concern for their functioning within the contemporary city would be a real threat to the continued existence of urban life itself (Gregory Ashworth 2011).

POTENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This PhD thesis directly contributes to the gaps in understanding outlined above and in Chapter 2, by seeking to explore the meaning of conserved archaeological places for the communities who live with them and to consider their future conservation in terms of a definable and achievable public benefit. As noted by Sloane (2021), developing a nuanced understanding of public benefit allows these outcomes to be anticipated within the governing mechanisms of formalised heritage management. With an increasing focus on the delivery of public benefit from heritage and archaeology, there is increasing need to understand how the products of archaeology are received by the public and how public benefit is perceived and experienced. As well as contributing to an understudied area in archaeological heritage management, this research on in situ retention of archaeological places will sit within and contribute to current analysis and reimagining of heritage conservation practice more generally.

While this research is focused on conserved archaeological sites, once the decision has been taken to keep rather than destroy an archaeological site it becomes a form of heritage place just like any other. In her work on in situ archaeological conservation Tracy Ireland found that people don't distinguish between types of heritage as professionals do, it is all just 'heritage' (Ireland 2012a). So, while the results of this work have specific implications for archaeology, they are also relevant to the practice of heritage management as a whole.

The body of data presented in this thesis challenges assumptions about the nature of heritage value, particularly social or community value. It offers some insights into the specific kinds of public benefits that flow from the practice of archaeological conservation as articulated by members of the public. In turn this creates opportunities to contribute to the development of evidence-based policy and decision-making for the management of historical archaeological places, in particular the range of public benefits that experiences of such places can deliver and how those benefits can be realised.

THEORETCIAL CONSIDERATIONS - THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLE AND THINGS

Traditional western views of heritage that led to the development of formalised management systems in countries such as Australia, the UK, Europe and North America place primary importance on heritage as a physical entity. Here, heritage is a series of things from the past, with inherent or fixed values that are conserved or 'saved' in the present for the future and framed as a series of binaries including: natural and cultural; intangible and tangible; professionals and community; local and universal (Smith 2006; Harrison 2013; Logan et.al. 2016; Kosiba 2019; Sterling and Harrison 2020). But as early as the 1980s, writers such as David Lowenthal were suggesting that heritage is more about the present than the past and that there is more to it than its material manifestations. Lowenthal noted: "We may fancy an exotic past that contrasts with a humdrum or unhappy present, but we forge it with modern tools" (Lowenthal 1985:xvii). He went on to suggest that the surviving past plays an active role in contemporary society by making the present familiar, validating the ways things are done based on tradition and continuity and giving meaning and purpose to current life (Lowenthal 1994).

In the early 2000s some heritage scholars, particularly those who had been working with Indigenous communities and others with non-western backgrounds, began to turn away from the material aspects of heritage and push to its extreme the concept that heritage is of the present, often discounting the material aspects of heritage altogether. In this 'ontological' or

'discursive turn' as Harrison calls it (2013), natural or human-made objects or places provide a fixed backdrop to changing human ideas and values. One of the most influential scholars to take this approach, Laurajane Smith (2006) emphasised heritage as a social and cultural process rather than a series of things. She characterised heritage as an interaction between people, place and memory where the heritage fabric acts as support to the 'real work' of creating heritage in the present. She suggested that the activities that go on at heritage places can be more important than the places themselves and that conservation occurs primarily to support social processes of heritage production.

This humanising approach to heritage provides space for its social, emotional and affective qualities to be recognised and studied in ways that more traditional thinking about heritage does not allow for. It opens consideration of the why of heritage, rather than simply looking at the what and the how. Following her interview work with visitors to historic sites in the UK for her book *Uses of Heritage* (Smith 2006), Laurajane Smith and Gary Campbell undertook additional work at museums and heritage sites in England, Australia and the United States and concluded that visitor experiences could only be explained by considering the emotional aspects of their visit (Smith and Campbell 2016; Smith 2021). They use the term "registers of engagement" to capture the agency of individuals in understanding and responding to heritage places and they see those responses as contextual, not only in terms of the site itself but also factors that are personal to the visitor. Such experiences are formed from a mix of autonomic bodily processes and subjective cognitive processes. Tolia-Kelly et al. (2017:1) refer to this as the "embodied aspects of heritage experiences". These emotional responses are key to the role of heritage in affecting social attitudes and behaviours. In this way emotions and affect are vehicles of influence and have consequences in society (Wetherell et.al 2018). They are also tied intricately to the ways people form attachments to places and a sense of belonging in their everyday experience (Yarker 2016). Such emotional responses are at odds with heritage management systems that are based on professional judgements of heritage value and assessed according to defined and 'objective' criteria. This prompts a need to analyse not only what emotion and affect does in defining meaning in the practice of heritage, but also the consequences for contemporary aspirations and needs (Wetherell et.al. 2018).

The work of LauraJane Smith in promoting the 'heritage as process' model, has undoubtedly had a significant impact on current concepts of what heritage is. Her human-centred approach has prompted an undeniably important shift away from a sole focus on the material and notions of fixed or inherent heritage value and has supported a broadening of concepts of what heritage is, the work that it does in communities and why it is important (Harrison 2013).

However, her downplaying of the role of the material in the practice of heritage has also drawn criticism in recent years. Such concerns are based in a realist approach that material things exist and have their own affective qualities that shape human perceptions of them and they ways people cohabit with them (Olsen 2010; Edgeworth 2016; Harmon 2016). These realist approaches assert that things matter, or to put it simply in the words of Sterling and Harrison (2020: 28), that "heritage should not be reduced to a human construct".

When calling on archaeologists to accept that they are not the exclusive producers of archaeological knowledge and practice and to develop a more nuanced understanding of the links between archaeology and local people, Yannis Hamilakis suggested that alternative (non-professional) archaeologies might have "a much deeper understanding and appreciation of materiality and its multisensory properties" (Hamilakis 2010: 442). Hamilakis has written extensively on archaeology and the senses, both in terms of interpreting the past and in understanding the relationships between people and the past in the present (Hamilakis 2013; 2017). He suggests that the rise of concern for the sensorial in heritage is related to the emergence of the philosophical movement of phenomenology. Although it has its foundations in the work of Edmund Husserl in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and has been further explored by philosophers such as Martin Heidegger, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Max Scheler (Engelland 2020), phenomenology has been a focus of attention in heritage writing in the last three decades. It is the study of the ways people experience the world around them. Such an approach is central to a research project that seeks to understand people's experience and perceptions of conserved archaeological places. This thesis could simply consider these experiences through a lens of heritage as a process only of human ideas and values, but the reality of the material aspects of the in situ archaeological remains being studied requires a philosophical model that considers both the human experience and the influence of the material in that experience. It is an approach much in the spirit of Heidegger's maxim "to the things themselves" and Engelland's assertion that the object of phenomenology is to reject theoretical reconstructions of experience and to turn to the experience of "things in their truth*"* (Engelland 2020).

Some of the critics of the human-centred ontological turn have sought to apply philosopher Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory to understanding people's relationships to heritage. This is a theory in which people and things relate to one another through a series of interconnected nodes (Latour 1993, 2005) where both are equal actors or "co-working entities" in their interactions with one another (Olsen 2010). Although as noted by Antczak and Beaudry (2019), human-thing relations are rarely symmetrical with the balance of dependency

and subserviency swinging between people and things depending on the context. This moves away from Cartesian thinking where matter is seen as inert and humans are forces for action and creation, to a more dynamic view of matter and its relationships with humans (Olsen 2010). Drawing on Actor-Network theory, as well as Manuel DeLander's (2016) assemblage theory, entanglement theory further claims that humans and things don't simply relate to one another but depend on one another in ways which constrain and direct behaviour. These interactions are messy and complex and in order to understand what drives them it is necessary to "look away from what is the immediate object of study… to trace the threads that spread out from each action, entangling that action within wider socio-cultural realms" (Hodder 2017: 9).

Antczak and Beaudry (2019) have suggested that every entanglement begins with a knot where the lifelines of humans and the itineraries of things come together to either tangle with each other and then go on to splay and create new entanglements, or to disentangle and reach a dead end. These knots then group as a product of the practices of everyday life to form a mesh of human/human, human/thing and thing/thing entanglements (Ingold 2010). Over the long-term these countless knots form meshwork that can absorb local, regional and global scales of meaning and activity. Antczak and Beaudry argue that such a framework goes to the core of understanding the roles of local human and thing agency and their implications for the universal. In archaeological or heritage terms, these entanglements give rise to assemblages of practices and things that need to be studied from the bottom up: situated first in their local contexts of meaning and then seen more broadly across time and space.

In these world views "things" are dynamic rather than static entities. Like the mutability of people's attitudes and cultural beliefs, things are also changeable, being subject to forces of biological, chemical and physical change and decay (Hodder 2017: 4). They also exhibit "restless and ever-iterating 'lives' as they move through different social, cultural, economic and ideological regimes of value" being re-used, re-imagined and re-valued (Antczak and Beaudry 2019: 90). This is relevant in the context of this thesis, because heritage systems that rely on categorising, listing, conserving and maintaining the materiality of heritage do not cope well with emotions or flux in values, attitudes and cultural practices, or even changes in materiality. An entanglement approach challenges binary categories such as intangible and tangible in current heritage management practice and allow for the non-human or natural processes of loss and decay to be embraced (DeSilvey and Harrison 2020; DeSilvey 2017; Holtorf 2015).

Of course, post-human or more than human theoretical positions are also not immune from critical analysis especially from those positions that have a post-anthropocentricism emphasis, which de-centres the human altogether (Sterling 2020). Such approaches focus on materiality or processes that transcend or subvert human agency and pose a direct challenge to the people-centred concepts of heritage and approaches to conservation discussed above. The post-human theories that seek to place people and things on a more even footing, such as Actor-Network Theory and entanglement theories, also attract criticism when they don't acknowledge that their foundations intersect with Indigenous world views or the problem that most of the scholars writing about them are not Indigenous. This, it has been argued by Canadian Metis First Nation anthropologist Zoe Todd, is a form of continuing colonialism in itself (Todd 2016). But despite these criticisms the swinging pendulum, which has moved from a 'traditional' materials-focused view of heritage to the opposite end of the spectrum where social process is key, seems to have arrived for the moment in a more central position. As expressed by Rodney Harrison in his book *Heritage: Critical Approaches*:

> I see the material aspects of heritage, and the various physical relationships that are part of our 'being in the world', as integral to understanding our relationships with the objects, places and practices of heritage… So while I see the discursive turn in heritage studies as very important … [ie:] heritage is not simply a collection of things, but instead constitutes the social 'work' that individuals and societies' undertake to produce the past in the present… this process is not one that occurs only in the minds of humans, or one that functions solely in a discursive manner, but involves a range of material beings who co-produce heritage as a result of their own affordances or material capabilities (Harrison 2013: 113).

Like Harrison, I work from a position that heritage is both process and materiality and that people develop and apply their individual or collective beliefs and social values in response to the physical reality of the world around them. In this way heritage is a co-creation of interrelated and indivisible 'tangible' and 'intangible' actors.[22] Regarding archaeological sites that have been conserved in situ, I recognise them as places that have been constructed in the present, through a process of investigation and conscious selection regarding conservation and presentation. I also consider that the physical remains, while they don't – and can never -

22 The term "non-human actors" in place of "things" more readily encompasses landscapes, places, built forms, organisation and nature as well as objects (Harrison 2013; Harrison and Sterling 2020). Where for the sake of readability I use the term "things" rather than "non-human actors" in this thesis it is imbued with this broader meaning.

exist now in the way they did in the past, are still "of the past" in that they were physically created and used before the present time. Even though they may no longer exist in their past reality, a sense of "pastness" (Lowenthal 1989; Holtorf 2015) is a significant element in the ways people respond to and create connections with historic places, such as conserved archaeological places.

DESIGN OF STUDY

This thesis seeks to understand the relationships between people and in situ archaeological remains thought the experiences and perceptions of the people who create them and engage with them as visitors. This focus is fundamental to the selection of qualitative analysis methods for this study. The aim is to access the intentions of the creators and responses of the users of conserved archaeological remains. Understanding aspects of human experience including people's interactions with the past in the present, requires research methods that can access people's thoughts, opinions and perspectives in order to reveal the meanings that their experiences have for them.

Phenomenological studies often use a combination of oral, documentary and visual data sources along with immersive site-based work in order to understand the lived and embodied experience of research participants (Wells 2021; Adler & Adler 1994). They can be particularly useful in understanding emotional relationships between people and place (Wells 2021). Data collection techniques include small group discussions, semi-structured interviews (both brief and in-depth) and analysis of texts and documents (Leavy 2020). Like other qualitative methods the research doesn't usually begin with a well-formed hypothesis but rather seeks to interrogate a focussed topic in an open-ended way (Denzin et al 2017). Indeed, while the design of this thesis is guided by a set of questions to explore, it is open to the perceptions of the research participants and based on an understanding that the unexpected can often yield the most insightful information.

This type of research is not factual or objective and is not amenable to counting or measuring (Leavy 2020). It relies on the interactions of the researcher and research participants to co-create understanding of the phenomenon in question. Unlike research using data that can be counted or measured, qualitative data does not need to be replicable. This recognises that phenomena are culturally situated and subject to change over time, as well as subject to diverse experience depending on the context. As noted by Leavy (2020), this does not make

the research invalid, rather it offers insight into diversity and "adds a piece to the puzzle to which other researchers also contribute".

The data collection methods for this research were largely chosen for their ability to allow engagement with people's thoughts and attitudes towards in situ conservation of archaeological remains and the work they do in communities once they are in use. Open-ended interview and survey approaches were used to allow people to express their thoughts and ideas around several themes relating to the research questions and to allow them to introduce new ideas on the subject.[23] That would not have been possible using quantitative research methods or more fixed survey formats with multiple choice or closed response questions. As noted by Sorensen:

> …we must recognise that when little is known about a phenomenon it is important we make sure that our methods do not dictate what our results will be … In order to collect rich qualitative data, and to improve on how we explore new links and associations, approaches to interviews that see them essentially as travels of discovery will be helpful. In such approaches, the interviews should aim to become dynamic, for the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee to become collaborative, and for objects to become mediators of meaning and important signifiers in their own right (Sorensen 2009: 176).

Sorensen also encourages bravery in moving away from "slavishly following the data collecting procedures commonly presented" (Sorensen 2009: 166). A more flexible approach she argues, allows the researcher to not only understand what is said but also to investigate the nuances of what falls through the cracks and is only discovered accidentally and informally. In other words, "…the theory of research does not always relate to its practical application" (Palmer 2009: 133). Although the research methods did not change substantially through the course of this project, Sorensen and Palmer's approaches provided me confidence to mix methodological frameworks in a way that suited my working style and research questions and to make small changes in response to in-field experience at each case study site. These adaptations are discussed further below.

[23] While surveys can be both quantitative and qualitative this thesis draws primarily on qualitative data using open-ended survey questions. The only qualitative data collected is in regard to demographic information such as age.

QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

Interview and survey were initially selected as the data collection methods for all participants in this research. Because this research seeks to explore both the professional intentions for conserved archaeological places and their public reception, data collection methods were implemented differently for professional heritage practitioners and public user groups.

For the heritage professionals, the aim was to access people involved with the specific case study sites through targeted interviews while also offering an opportunity for the broader profession to contribute to the study through an online survey. For the members of the public, the focus was on people visiting five case study sites located in the Australian states of NSW and Tasmania: the Museum of Sydney; the Sydney conservatorium of Music; the Sydney harbour YHA; the Highlands Market place in Mittagong NSW; and the Medical Sciences Precinct of the University of Tasmania in Hobart. While online survey was originally considered the easiest way to collect a large number of public responses, it was quickly apparent that the uptake of the online survey was limited. Not being able to interact with the respondents also reduced the richness of the data compared to data from the interviews because it was not possible to explore people's views in depth. While the online survey option was maintained at some of the case study sites, the conversational interviews became the primary vehicle for data collection on public viewpoints. To further support the richness of the analysis and to better contextualise the results the survey and interview data was supplemented with written material from existing media reports, archaeological reports and some basic observation of people interacting with the places used as case studies. This mix of data sources also recognised that people express themselves differently in conversation and when writing.

Both the professional and public participants were recruited using purposive sampling strategies. Purposive sampling targets participants in order to increase the potential to yield rich data. It aims to involve people from whom the researcher can learn the most about the central issues of importance in a particular study (Merriam et.al 2016). A mix of sampling strategies was employed depending on the cohort in question. Maximum variation sampling was largely used for the public interviews and surveys and the professional surveys. Maximum variation sampling is commonly used for grounded theory research to capture widely varying instances in the phenomenon (Merriam et.al. 2016; Glaser and Strauss 1967). The data is then analysed for emerging patterns, which can capture the core experience of a phenomenon as well as identify outliers to that experience (Patton 2015: 283). While this research is not

grounded theory in its true sense, as it uses areas of focussed interest and the selection of case study sites to frame the data collection, the broad approach to recruitment and the open-ended nature of the interviews and surveys drew on some of the open and free-form intention of grounded theory. A combination of targeted sampling and snowball sampling was used for the professional in-depth interviews. Snowball sampling occurs where some key participants are selected and then they refer the researcher to other, relevant participants (Miles et.al 2014). In all cases, convenience sampling also played a role in participant selection, which is common for most sampling strategies. This takes account of practical constraints such as availability of sites and respondents, time and money (Merriam et.al. 2016).

The rationale for recruitment numbers is explained against each data collection method below, but in general terms when deciding the number of participants to recruit in qualitative research, there is no meaningful number or statistical requirement as there might be for quantitative research work. Merriam (1995) has noted that a sample size of one can be meaningful in qualitative research depending on the context and aims of the work. What is needed is "an adequate number of participants, sites, or activities to answer the question posed at the beginning of the study" (Merriam et.al. 2017). Because the aim of purposeful sampling is to maximise information, the sampling is most productively terminated when redundancy or saturation is created. In other words, when no new information is forthcoming and the researcher can hear the same responses repeated and observes the same themes arising (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Such decisions can only be made while collecting the data and while data analysis is occurring concurrently with data collection. This was the approach used to determine the sample sizes at each case study site. The sample sizes for the online surveys were self-determined by the number of people who chose to participate.

CASE STUDY SELECTION

The five case study sites selected for this research are all located in urban areas in Australia (Table 3.1). A key aim of this research, arising from gaps identified in the literature review in Chapter 2, is to understand the reception of archaeological conservation where it occurs outside dedicated museum or historic site contexts and to access people who experience archaeological conservation during their daily lives. Most conserved archaeological places in Australia also occur outside dedicated museum or historic site contexts, in the foyers and public spaces of development with non-heritage related primary purposes. It was necessary to focus on such sites in order to study the phenomenon of in situ conservation and its impacts in society more generally. Four of the five case study sites therefore occur in this context.

One museum was included to provide a contrast and to determine if there is difference in visitor experience between museum and non-museum contexts. The geographic location of the sites is biased to NSW simply because this is the region of Australia in which most in situ conservation projects occur. It was originally proposed to include a case study in Melbourne that has on-site archaeological interpretation without in situ conservation in order to balance the geographic spread and also test what happens when there are no in situ structural remains. However, access to this site (Commonwealth Place) was denied by the building owner.

Place Name and Location	Nature of Remains	Extent of In Situ Display and Interpretation	Context
Sydney Conservatorium of Music, Sydney, NSW	Late eighteenth and nineteenth century evidence of British Colonial occupation including: footings and deposits from a bakehouse (c1800 – 1813); evidence of quarrying c1800; remnants of the road and drainage system for the government stables (1817-21); and a rubbish dump associated with NSW Government House (c1840-1913).	Indoor displays in public and non-public areas within the Conservatorium extension. Three large displays of in situ drainage and road surfaces behind glass in public areas and two smaller displays in non-public areas with minimal associated signage. Large area of archaeological remains associated with the bakery under the stage of the Verbrugghen Hall, access for maintenance only. Large Artefact display and interpretation signage in the lower foyer.	Non-Museum Music School and Concert Venue
Museum of Sydney, Sydney, NSW	Footings, surfaces, drainage and deposits associated with First Government House, the first permanent British Colonial building in Australia (1788-1845).	Large area of buried archaeological remains conserved underneath the museum building and public forecourt on Hunter Street. Two small areas of in situ archaeological remains displayed under glass in the museum foyer and the public forecourt. Artefact displays and limited interpretation signage/video within the museum.	Museum Public open space
Sydney Harbour Youth Hostel, and 'Big Dig' Archaeology Education Centre, The Rocks, Sydney, NSW	Extensive remains of several neighbourhood blocks and internal laneways from domestic and commercial occupation of the The Rocks from 1788 – 1900. Evidence includes	Large areas of open archaeological remains (not under glass) in the external areas of the YHA and under the YHA buildings. Artefact displays and interpretation signage throughout the public areas of the YHA. "The Big	Non-Museum Youth Hostel and Education Centre

	building footings and cellars, yard surfaces, deposits, wells, privvies, ovens and drainage.	Dig" Archaeology Education Centre.	
Highlands Marketplace Shopping Centre, Mittagong, NSW	Extensive remains of nineteenth century Fitzroy Ironworks (operated 1848-1910) including evidence of the rolling mills, puddling furnaces, boiler houses, chimney bases, cupola furnaces and other ancillary structures	Large area of open remains (not under glass) and associated interpretation signage in the carpark area of the shopping centre, directly underneath Woolworths supermarket. Displays of artefacts at the carpark entrance and outside Aldi supermarket.	Non-Museum Shopping Centre
Medical Sciences Precinct of the University of Tasmania, Hobart, Tasmania	Substantial building remains and deposits associated with upper/elite class housing and commercial enterprise dating from the mid 1820s to the early Twentieth Century.	Four areas showing the in situ-remains under glass in public areas of the building. Including building footings, drainage and a large ovoid privy. Other areas of in situ archaeological remains exist buried beneath the building.	Non-Museum University

Table 3.1: Case Study contexts and selection criteria

INTERVIEW AND SURVEY METHODS

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

In depth interviews were conducted with what the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007* calls 'key informants'. These are interviews with individuals with specific knowledge or expertise about the issue being investigated. In this case they are professionals who have been involved in situ conservation of archaeological places. They were selected to reflect the range of skills and perspectives involved in the creation and management of conserved archaeological places including: archaeologists, architects; interpreters; historians; and those tasked with managing the sites once in use. In most cases they had specific knowledge of the site-based case studies being investigated in this project as well as broader perspectives on the practice of in situ archaeological conservation in general. The target list was initially developed through my own knowledge of the case study sites and the key players in the professional practice of in situ conservation of archaeological places: knowledge I had gained in over twenty years working as a professional archaeologist including many in situ conservation projects in Australia. During the process of these interviews other

potential interview subjects were identified or were referred at a later date by people already interviewed (snowball recruitment). Interviewees could choose to be named in the thesis or remain anonymous. The rationale behind identifying them is that it provides a context for the reader regarding their professional knowledge and experience.

The duration of the interviews varied widely from 50 minutes to three hours. Due to the rich nature of the interview data, the number of interviewees was kept to 23. The number of participants was aimed at gathering enough data to represent the key types of professionals involved at each case study site while being mindful of the practicalities of transcription, data coding and analysis.

The interviews were held in varying locations as suited the interviewee and to create a comfortable and safe environment to talk. Venues included offices, cafes and homes. The interviews were semi-structured around a series of pre-determined questions (included in Appendix A). Not all questions were asked of each participant but were selected as the interview progressed based on their expertise and the issues that emerged during the interview. Other questions were also asked to explore subjects raised by the participants.

Audio recordings and transcriptions were used to ensure accurate data capture from these lengthy discussions and to support effective analysis. In recognising that contexts, emotions and non-verbal communication such as gestures can be revealing of meaning (Sorensen 2009: 174-176; Adler & Adler 1994), I took notes immediately after each interview of my observations associated with each discussion.

WRITTEN SURVEYS

Written online surveys were advertised to self-selected participants from two target groups and the sample size was dependant on that self-selection process. The surveys largely function as open-ended questionnaires, much like written semi-structured interviews. One survey was targeted to professional heritage practitioners involved in the creation or ongoing management of conserved archaeological places. The second was designed for members of the public who visit the case study sites. Copies of the surveys are included in Appendix A. Both surveys asked basic demographic questions about age, gender, place of residence, country of origin, reason for visit and first time or repeat visit followed by a series of questions about people's attitudes to in situ conservation and their views on its public benefits. The survey for professionals included additional questions about challenges in achieving in situ conservation.

The survey was advertised to heritage professionals via social media and email networks or advertised at conferences as seminars using posters and flyers. Email and social media contact was generally made via archaeological and heritage organisations to their members. These included Australia ICOMOS, Interpretation Australia, the Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology, the Australian Association of Consulting Archaeologists and the Australian Archaeological Association. For the case study sites materials were circulated by the main site contact to their internal email or social networks (for example the Facilities Manager at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music circulated material to staff and students). Posters and flyers were also placed at each case study site, except for the Museum of Sydney. The surveys were hosted on Sydney University's REDCap platform, a secure, Australian-based online survey platform.

Figure 3.1: Examples of a flyer and social media graphic advertising the survey for heritage professionals. These were distributed at seminars and conferences, including the Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology (ASHA) conference 2018 and the Sydney Historical Archaeology Practitioners workshop 2018, as well as through professional email and social media networks of ASHA, ICOMOS, the Australian Archaeological Association (AAA) and Interpretation Australia (IA) (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2018).

Figure 3.2: Examples of a postcard, poster/flyer and social media graphic advertising the public user survey. These were adapted to each site and circulated at three of the case study sites, the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, the Sydney Harbour YHA and The Highlands Marketplace Shopping Centre, Mittagong (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2018).

BRIEF CONVERSATIONAL INTERVIEWS

The final group of participants were members of the public approached during field sessions at the case study sites. These interviews occurred on site, generally over a three-day period of consecutive or non-consecutive days. Three days appeared to be a sufficient amount of time to gather a wide range of opinions and to reach a point of 'saturation' where the same views were consistently coming up. The days of the week varied and depended on my availability and site

access. In Sydney where I live I tended to split the days on site and when travelling to visit the sites I did them consecutively.

People were invited to participate in brief conversational interviews about their experiences of the site on that day and their experiences at conserved archaeological places in general. They were approached from the available people at the site in each field session. Because a key aim of this research is to include participants who might not be predisposed to seeking out a heritage experience by visiting a museum or dedicated heritage place, I set myself up in each place in a way that did not require people to be interested enough to approach me (such as at a fixed table or interview point), rather I moved through each place and approached people arbitrarily. I hoped this would open access to people who might not be interested in heritage or were indifferent to in situ conservation practice in order to better represent a range of public views on the practice. The only factors for choosing people that were used was to avoid people who looked like they were in a hurry or who would be otherwise difficult to intercept. I also attempted to find a range of ages and genders.

Open-ended questions were used to allow people to express their thoughts and ideas around a number of themes relevant to the research questions and to allow them to introduce new ideas on the subject in a way that would not be possible using quantitative research methods or more fixed survey formats with multiple choice or closed response options. The open-ended questions explored whether people had seen the archaeological displays, what they felt about them, what they thought the public benefits of keeping and displaying archaeological remains in situ are and what the 'insituness' of the remains contributes to their experiences of the place, if anything. In some cases the interviews were undertaken in small groups. Each individual was treated as a separate interview subject in the data analysis and are numbered a, b etc, in addition to the digit reference.

The conversational interviews were all undertaken anonymously and were audio recorded with permission from each participant. As is allowable by the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007*, consent for the interview and recording was given verbally. They were then transcribed to aid the process of data coding and analysis.

Case Study Site	Collection Methods	No. of Participants	Notes
Sydney Conservatorium of Music	Conversational Interviews Online survey	69 Students, staff, visitors, concert goers	The interviews were conducted over a series of three non-consecutive days in May 2018. The dates were selected in the early part of the Conservatorium's first study semester to ensure a mix of students and staff would be present and during a period in which lunch time concerts were being held in order to access casual visitors to the site. All the interviews took place within the public foyer areas of the building (both the upper and lower levels of the foyer) adjacent to the in situ displays. People were approached arbitrarily as they moved through the foyer or paused to chat with friends, or to wait for class or concerts to commence. The interviews occurred in conjunction with an online survey that had been circulated by Conservatorium administrators through social media and promoted via posters and postcards spread throughout the site itself. The survey was open throughout May and June 2018.
Museum of Sydney	Conversational Interviews	52 Visitors and volunteers	The interviews were undertaken on three non-consecutive days in July 2018 both inside and outside the Winter school holiday period. The interviews were all conducted in the entry foyer of the museum near the in situ display of archaeological remains adjacent to the ticket desk. People were approached arbitrarily as they moved through the foyer to exit the museum or to view the displays. At the request of museum managers there was no online survey for this case study site.
The 'Big Dig' at Sydney Harbour YHA	Conversational Interviews Online survey	47 Resident visitors (staying at the YHA), staff, casual visitors (passing through the outdoors areas of the site)	On site interviews were undertaken on a series of three non-consecutive days in July and August 2018. The interviews were conducted in public spaces of the YHA including the communal lounge/dining/reception area of the hostel and outside in the historic laneways running through the centre of the site. People were approached arbitrarily as they used the lounge and dining area or as they walked through the outdoor areas of the site.

Medical Sciences Precinct, University of Tasmania, Hobart	Conversational Interviews	65 Staff, students, visitors and works contractors	Data from site users was collected at the site in April 2019 over a period of three consecutive days. The dates were selected towards the middle of first semester to ensure a mix of students, staff and researchers would be present. The short, conversational interviews were conducted within the upper level of the public foyer of the building adjacent to the in situ displays. It quickly became apparent that while this was a productive place to talk to students, the interviews were not capturing many staff or researcher perspectives. So access was granted by the University to undertake some interviews in the staff and researcher common room on an upper level of the building. Because of the low uptake of the online survey at other case study sites, it was decided not to provide an online survey option at this site.
Highlands Marketplace Shopping Centre, Mittagong	Conversational Interviews Online survey	63 Visitors, retail shop staff	Interviews were conducted over three consecutive days in March 2019. All the interviews occurred on the main shopping floor of the complex within the food court and surrounding areas at the entrance to Woolworths. People were approached arbitrarily, largely while they were at leisure in the food court and invited to participate in an interview. A table was also set up nearby with a poster and postcards advertising the research project and inviting people to undertake the online survey. Because the interviews were conducted away from the in situ display, images of the archaeological remains were shown to each participant as a reminder/prompt of the display in the carpark.

Table 3.2: Site specific data collection methods

DATA ANALYSIS

Thematic analysis of the interview and survey transcriptions was used to identify the key issues. Because the data was collected by one person, broad-scale themes regarding the core research questions about attitudes to in situ conservation and the specific contributions or public benefits of the practice became apparent as the interviews progressed. Thus, the broad-scale theming of the data was initially done without computer assistance. As the data

sets grew and to support fine-grained analysis and discussion (see Chapters 4 and 5 in this thesis), the complete dataset was then coded using computer-aided analysis. Quirkos was used for its user-friendly interface and because its analysis tools suited the text-based data set and simple analysis requirements. No pre-determined codes were applied to the data. The codes were developed from the data, as is done for grounded theory research, and were then organised into groups to make the data easier to work with and write about. This exercise was done separately for each case study site and the data maintained in separate databases until all the coding and analysis on each site had been completed. A full list of codes is included in Appendix D. The characterisation and discussion of the data for each case study site is presented in Chapter 4. A combined dataset was then created to allow for cross-checking and comparisons. Key themes from this analysis are presented in Chapter 5.

Statistical analysis of the data was confined to the basic demographic and participant information collected including age, gender, place of residence, country of origin, reason for visit and first time or repeat visit. Each interview/survey was then also allocated attributes according to the participants' responses on the following matters: general support for in situ conservation; whether they engaged with the archaeological display and to what degree; whether they are happy with the presentation of the archaeological remains; and perspectives on the interpretation signage. The tables of attributes are presented in Appendix C.

RESEARCH ETHICS

This work was conducted according to the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007) and a Human Research Ethics approval from The University of Sydney (approval number 2017/765). This required the work to be undertaken with consideration of potential harm to research participants and to ensure participant privacy and data security. Permission for the in-depth key informant interviews was obtained in writing (as allowed by Section 2.2.5 of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007*). The potential participants were all briefed regarding: the aims of the research; what is expected of them; how their privacy is protected; their right to withdraw; what happens with the data collected; and how it will be disseminated.[24] Any emails sent to invite interview participants

24 For the Key Informants, this briefing was provided via a Participant Information Statement (PIS) that was provided in advance of the interview and before they were asked to give written consent. For the online surveys the briefing was included in the introduction and the PIS was made available to download. Consent was implied by returning the survey. The PIS is included in Appendix B. For the brief conversational interviews with people at the case study sites, people were briefed verbally and consent was given verbally.

or advertise the surveys were not commercial in nature and thus did not breach the provisions of the *Spam Act,* 2003. Permission was obtained from all email list and social media account managers before notifications of the survey were posted publicly. Participants can access the results of the data in this completed PhD thesis, which will be made available in the University of Sydney thesis collection. Several conference papers and public talks have also been presented, as well as briefings to the NSW Heritage Council and the Victorian Heritage Council Archaeological Advisory Panel.

During the project, all study materials were stored digitally on the Sydney University Data Store. This is a password protected, Australian-based data store that is backed up each day and has a disaster management plan. On advice from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, hard copy materials such as consent forms and field notes were scanned for storage with the rest of the digital project data at the University of Sydney for a statutory period of five years. Only data collected from key informants has accompanying identifiers and these were only stored where participants have opted for this to occur. It was not anticipated the research would result in any harm to participants and no participants have reported such harm to the University. Most of the data collected and reported was anonymous. Where interview data identifies named individuals, this information was de-identified in the dataset. As is allowable by the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research 2007*, consent for the conversational interviews was given verbally. The online surveys, which were also anonymous, contained a statement regarding consent and noted that consent was given when the survey was completed and submitted."

REFLECTION

This chapter has drawn on post-humanist relational ontologies including Actor-Network and entanglement theories to establish a philosophical framework for this research in which people, places and things work together to create heritage and heritage values in the present. The selection of qualitative research methods including interview and survey allows the phenomenon of in situ archaeological conservation and the relationships between people and archaeological places in daily life to be understood through interrogating experience. Such understandings can then provide insight into the work of creation that archaeological places, as a specific type of heritage, do in communities and can challenge current understandings of social values and how these are dealt with in current heritage management systems.

The next two chapters, begin the core work of this thesis by introducing, characterising and analysing the data collected in the interviews and surveys. In Chapter 4 the exploration of the data is arranged by case study site. After a brief background to each site and the development of its in situ displays, the experiences of both heritage professionals and public visitors and site users are explored along with their perspectives on the public benefits of the practice of in situ conservation as a whole. In Chapter 5 the data is brought together and themes across all five case study sites are compared.

CHAPTER 4

INTRODUCING THE CASE STUDY SITES

I knew the response of other people [non-archaeologists] to the site was more of an emotional one to do with the power of being able to see things … the ability to use the imagination that looking at something provides.

Meredith Walker [25]

The methodology for this thesis outlined in Chapter 3 uses qualitative research methods including interviews and surveys to explore the phenomenon of conserving in situ archaeological remains and presenting them to the public within new developments in Australia. Five case study sites, predominantly in non-museum contexts were chosen to investigate of the relationships between people and archaeological places in daily life. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, most of the studies investigating the work that heritage and archaeological conservation does in communities has been undertaken in museum or dedicated historic site contexts. While this is important in assessing the delivery of public programs in such contexts, in broader terms it highlights the experience of a specific group within society, within a specific "heritage" context. It does not capture people who are experiencing heritage and archaeological remains incidentally as they move through the course of their day, going to work or study, attending a concert or doing their grocery shopping. Therefore, the choice of case studies for this research has been deliberate in its attempt to access a more representative sample of the broader population. This chapter introduces the sites and the data collected from heritage professionals and members of the public about each location, including the nature of people's engagement with the remains.

All five case study sites contain archaeological remains retained in situ in the context of new development. Three of the case study sites are in the Central Business District of Sydney, NSW: the Sydney Conservatorium of Music (education facility and concert venue); "The Big Dig" at the Sydney Harbour Youth Hostel (accommodation provider and archaeology education centre); and the Museum of Sydney on the site of First Government House (museum). One site is in regional NSW, at the Highlands Marketplace Shopping Centre, Mittagong (retail centre). The final site is the Medical Sciences Precinct of the University

25 Oral history interview by Joy Hughes, 27 January, 1995. Transcript held at the Caroline Simpson Research Library.

Tasmania (education facility and medical research institute) in Hobart, Tasmania in Hobart, Tasmania (Table 3.2). The sites are presented below in the order in which they were redeveloped, beginning in the late 1980s with the Museum of Sydney and ending in 2007 with the Medical Sciences Precinct. There are varying levels of background information available about each site and accordingly the background materials presented here vary in length and detail. In some cases, due to a lack of published information, the accounts of the redevelopment rely on oral history information embedded in interview data with the various professionals involved in each project.

Figure 4.1: Case study locations (Base maps: FreePowerPointMaps.com and Vecteezy.com, annotated by Caitlin Allen 2022).

While the methodology for the data collection has been outlined in detail in Chapter 3, it is relevant to note again here that 276 anonymous conversational interviews of 5-25 minutes each were conducted at the case study sites with members of the public aged between 18 and 92. There was a good balance of representation from local residents and visitors and repeat and first-time visitors. Online survey responses were received from 20 users of the Conservatorium of Music. In-depth interviews ranging between 30 minutes and three hours long were conducted with 23 heritage practitioners and other professionals involved in the creation and management of in situ archaeological displays in Australia. With their permission, these individuals have been identified. Anonymous online survey responses were received from a further 32 heritage professionals.

The anonymous interviews and surveys are identified by codes. The public interviews and surveys each have a unique identifier that designates the case study site and the individual interview number, eg. MOS 31b or Mittagong 5. The anonymous professional surveys are designated PS (Professional Survey) with a following individual identifying number, eg. PS15. A full list of individual interview and survey identifiers with associated interview properties, such as gender and age, are contained in Appendix C.

THE MUSEUM OF SYDNEY ON THE SITE OF FIRST GOVERNMENT HOUSE – SYDNEY, NSW

Governor Arthur Phillip's two-story brick and stone residence in Sydney was completed in 1789, just a year after the British landed its First Fleet on Australian soil. It was the first permanent British building in the colony and would be both the Governor's home and the administrative seat of the colonial government of NSW for the next 57 years. When Government House and its outbuildings were demolished in 1846 the site was variously used as an engineer's store, carter's yard, government offices and then a car park (Department of Planning n/d). In 1983 a major development proposal for the site led to a landmark archaeological investigation that found footings and associated material evidence of the government house complex. It was in the lead up to the 1988 Bicentennial of the arrival of the British in Australia and a robust public debate about the future of the site erupted. The Conservation Management Plan prepared for the site in 1986 established that the archaeological remains "must be permanently preserved in-situ" and that the site should be managed "to ensure that it is presented in such a way that visitors will be able to interpret those elements in an efficient and attractive manner" (Conybeare Morrison & Partners 1986:69 and 96).

Even at the time the site was being excavated it became apparent there were a range of sometimes conflicting values attached to it (Bickford and Sullivan 1984: 22). These differing perspectives are demonstrated through oral histories collected just prior to the opening of the Museum of Sydney, the transcripts of which are now housed in the Caroline Simpson Research Library of Sydney Living Museums. The differences in attitude between the archaeological team and the community groups actively seeking to have the site retained was best expressed by heritage consultant Meredith Walker who said:

> … It was clearly explained to me … that for an archaeologist it is the retrieval of the information and the turning of that information into a document that was important. It didn't matter to them whether these things were kept [in situ] or not – it was the information that counted. I knew the response of other people [non-archaeologists] to the site was more of an emotional one to do with the power of being able to see things – of being able to see stones … the ability to use the imagination that looking at something provides and a bit of knowledge.[26]

There were also the differing views of those who saw the remains of First Government House as symbolic of the British arrival in Australia: either a colonisation to be celebrated or an invasion to be mourned (Conybeare Morrison & Partners 1986).

The museum that eventuated on the site was not, as originally envisaged by the community activist groups, a museum telling the story of First Government House with extensive areas of the archaeological remains exposed for viewing. It was instead a museum of Sydney on the site of First Government House. An issues paper on the Museum published in 1982 promoted the museum as a space to "explore changing attitudes to our colonial past by Australians today" (First Government House Project Group 1992).

Designed by Australian architect Richard Johnson, the museum building was set back from the street frontage so that most of the extensive in situ archaeological remains now sit under a public forecourt space. As Johnson reflected in 2019, his approach in designing the Museum of Sydney was to break the competition rules and set the new building back so the majority of the archaeological remains were unencumbered by new built forms and different sections of it could be re-exposed and displayed over time while others were re-covered (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018). Interpretation of the archaeological remains includes: two viewing windows

26 Oral history interview by Joy Hughes, 27 January, 1995. Transcript held at the Caroline Simpson Research Library.

allowing visitors to see sections of the in situ archaeological remains; the use of coloured paving on the forecourt and inside the building foyer, outlining both the building footings below and the archaeological grid used during excavations; interpretation signage at various points through the museum and in the forecourt; a replica section of the front façade of First Government House; and objects from the excavations. The building itself also acts as an interpretive device, if you know where to look.

> The building defines the space… The sandstone wall itself is a symbol of stratification… it has stone tooling relating to the earliest convict method of stone tooling to the most contemporary method and it gives us the richness that's needed to fit into the urban context… it's a metaphor for the archaeology. Also the stainless steel inlays in the facade and also in the pavement, relate to the scale of the original room. We looked for every conceivable connection to make reference to the importance of what was there. And it seemed to me the last great indignity of the site to build over it, because then you're saying that the enclosure is more important than then what you're interpreting (R. Johnson, 12 November 2018).

The interior dimensions of the gallery spaces also reflect the dimensions of the rooms within First Government House.

When you visit the museum today there is little mention of First Government House and indeed there are few reflections on the meaning of the colonial past to modern Australians. The archaeological remains play a minor role in the visitor experience. The current curator of the museum Susan Sedgewick is aware of the uneasy tension created by the location of the museum on the site of First Government House and its role as the Museum of Sydney. This role has meant less focus on the archaeological remains and permanent collections and more on temporary exhibitions, which have been perceived as an important draw card and revenue earner (S.Sedgewick, 7 August 2018). There are however, plans to reinvigorate the archaeological interpretation and to draw more attention to the First Government House story, which as Sedgewick notes is "integral to the whole museum. The museum wouldn't exist without the archaeology that was found on site".

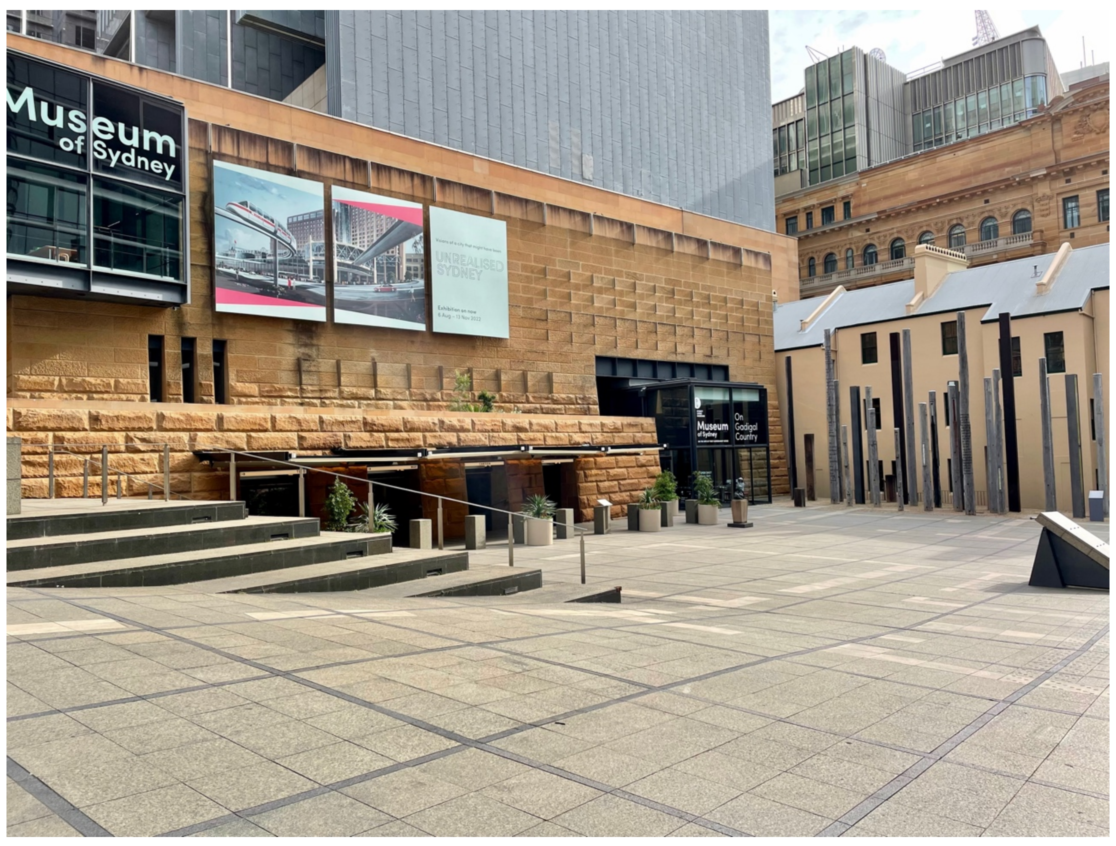


Figure 4.2: Museum of Sydney on the Site of First Government House (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2022).

Figure 4.3: In situ archaeological displays inside the Museum of Sydney (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2022).

PROFESSIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE MUSEUM OF SYDNEY

Current views of the place amongst heritage professionals are mixed, but there is an overarching sense of disappointment about the way the place deals with its archaeological foundations, both literally and metaphorically. While the original scheme by Richard Johnson is recognised as innovative the changes made to the museum to move it away from a focus on the First Government House remains to a more broadly focused Museum of Sydney are generally seen as an unsuccessful compromise. While perhaps more strongly worded than others' views, Australian archaeologist and museum-based educator Craig Barker's view that the Museum of Sydney is "the biggest compromise in the history of archaeology, heritage and museums in this country" (Craig Barker, 29 May 2018), reflects the sentiments of many of the heritage professionals surveyed and interviewed for this research. Chief among the criticisms is that the interpretation embedded in the built form of the museum is too subtle, the presentation of the First Government House story is disjointed and the place "does not successfully tell the story of the First Government House" (PS27). Archaeologist and educator Helen Nicholson expressed her "despair at the way the forecourt's been done … It's too subtle to get that message across" (Helen Nicholson, 18 June 2018). A sentiment supported by an anonymous online survey respondent who commented:

> The Museum of Sydney is a building [for which] designers have made abstract and creative choices to express historic meaning but no-one knows about it, so it's pointless and unsuccessful. Instead of making it a museum about itself (as the first government house in Sydney) it has revolving exhibitions attempting to be Sydney-specific but with no real connection (PS17).

The sense that visitors do not connect to the First Government House story, or even notice the archaeological remains is shared by Susan Sedgewick. She recognises the subtle and disjointed nature of the interpretation, suggesting it is a difficulty with postmodern museums that expect visitors to connect the dots with little supportive information. She also dislikes the didactic nature of much archaeological interpretation, suggesting it's "boring" and that there isn't a "nice cohesive narrative across the site" (S.Sedgewick, 7 August 2018). Part of the answer, in her mind, is to reinvigorate the forecourt space to highlight the presence of the First Government House archaeological remains through a "contemporary re-imagining", perhaps using a combination of lightweight interpretive structures with light displays to give the sense of walking through the house and its outbuildings. She emphasised this could be done in way that did not overpower the space, but noted challenges in dealing with the living

architect, Richard Johnson who, in her words, “feels very strongly about it and doesn’t really want change to happen, despite evidence that we might have that shows some of it isn’t as successful as we would like it to be, or as it should be given that it’s a site of National significance” (S.Sedgewick, 7 August 2018). In response, Johnson asserted that he would embrace changes that applied the same degree of thought and care as he had in the original scheme, recognised what was there and improved it. However, “…if it’s reacting to themes of the moment or marketing ideas of the moment, I’ll be violently against it” (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

Archaeologists Tracy Ireland and Wayne Johnson both suggest the difficulties the Museum has had in developing a compelling interpretation around First Government House stem partly from the lack of research at the time of the archaeological investigation in the 1980s and subsequently (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019; W. Johnson, 6 February 2018). They both draw a comparison between the lack of information at the Museum of Sydney and the “Big Dig” site at the Sydney Harbour YHA, where historian Grace Karskens did wide-ranging research, drawing together historical research and archaeological findings to create a “rich and diverse” narrative. While the small area of archaeological remains on display at the Museum of Sydney isn’t necessarily criticised, some archaeologists expressed a desire for the remains of the house itself to be more extensively investigated and more clearly highlighted. This included excavation and interpretation beyond the current site boundaries and into Bridge Street, the adjacent public roadway (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018; T. Higginbotham, 6 November 2018).

Although many heritage professionals consider that issues with the Museum resulted from the philosophical direction taken during the original fitout of the exhibition spaces, some like heritage architect Elisha Long see issues with the museum design itself. In her view, the decision to leave the archaeological remains largely unencumbered by built forms led to an urban forecourt that is unappealing to spend time in and a museum building that lacks the necessary space for flexible and engaging interpretation (E. Long, 19 November 2018). Historian Mark Dunn expressed doubts about the ability of the building to relate to the remains suggesting it is “ambiguous and architectural” (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018). Long and Dunn also reflected on the symbolic value of the place as one of national memory about the “massive, cataclysmic change” of British invasion and the ensuing conflicted history. As Dunn noted:

> …maybe these sites actually reflect what we want to say about the past itself … the big, important, power decision-making places are uncomfortable places.

> The decisions made in First Government House about Aboriginal people in Sydney still resonate. It's not an easy story to actually talk about (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018).

Susan Sedgewick highlighted this as one of the great, lost opportunities of the museum to date, but one that she hopes to change with the planned reinvigoration of the interpretation of the First Government House site. Included in this vision is a desire to tell a stronger story about Aboriginal dispossession and a future for reconciliation based on what happened there. "In particular, all the decisions that were made on that site and those ramifications across the country and all the different people, Aboriginal people in particular, who are affected by that" (S.Sedgewick, 7 August 2018). Tracy Ireland sees that the Museum of Sydney has already started to experiment with this aim. She is a published critic of the role, in her view, of in situ conservation perpetuating neo-colonial narratives through the choice of remains that celebrate colonisation (Ireland 2015). However, she notes that while she wasn't enthusiastic about the place when it first opened, the museum has begun to unsettle the colonial narrative, with installations such as the Indigenous sculpture Edge of the Trees and a narrative that suggests Sydney was a complex place in the colonial period. "There were Americans and Maoris and all these people were mingling together in a way that didn't predict the White Australia policy at all" (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019). Ireland's views on Australian in situ archaeological conservation and questions of identity are explored further in Chapter 5.

VISITOR PERSPECTIVES ON THE MUSEUM OF SYDNEY

Many of the negative views about forms of presentation within the Museum of Sydney were echoed by the 52 people interviewed at the Museum including visitors, volunteers and staff aged between 20 and 80. The summary data presented in Table 4.1 shows that most visitors were on their first visit to the museum and were largely a mix of Australians from Sydney and regional NSW, with a few from interstate. Visitors from overseas made up seventeen percent of the interviews. All of the people interviewed were coming to the Museum either to visit a specific exhibit or to have a general look around. None of them had come to see the archaeological remains or because they wanted to visit the site of First Government House, most not being aware that it was the site of First Government House before their visit. Once there, only one person said they were aware of the viewing window down into the archaeological remains in the forecourt and that was because they had been told about it on a previous visit. Although eighty-one percent of people interviewed had looked at the archaeological viewing window in the foyer of the museum, only thirty-three percent had read

the signage in any detail, despite the fact they had to walk directly past or over it to get to the ticket desk. One staff member who had visited the museum many times before they worked there had not known about the archaeological remains until they were pointed out after they commenced their job, saying:

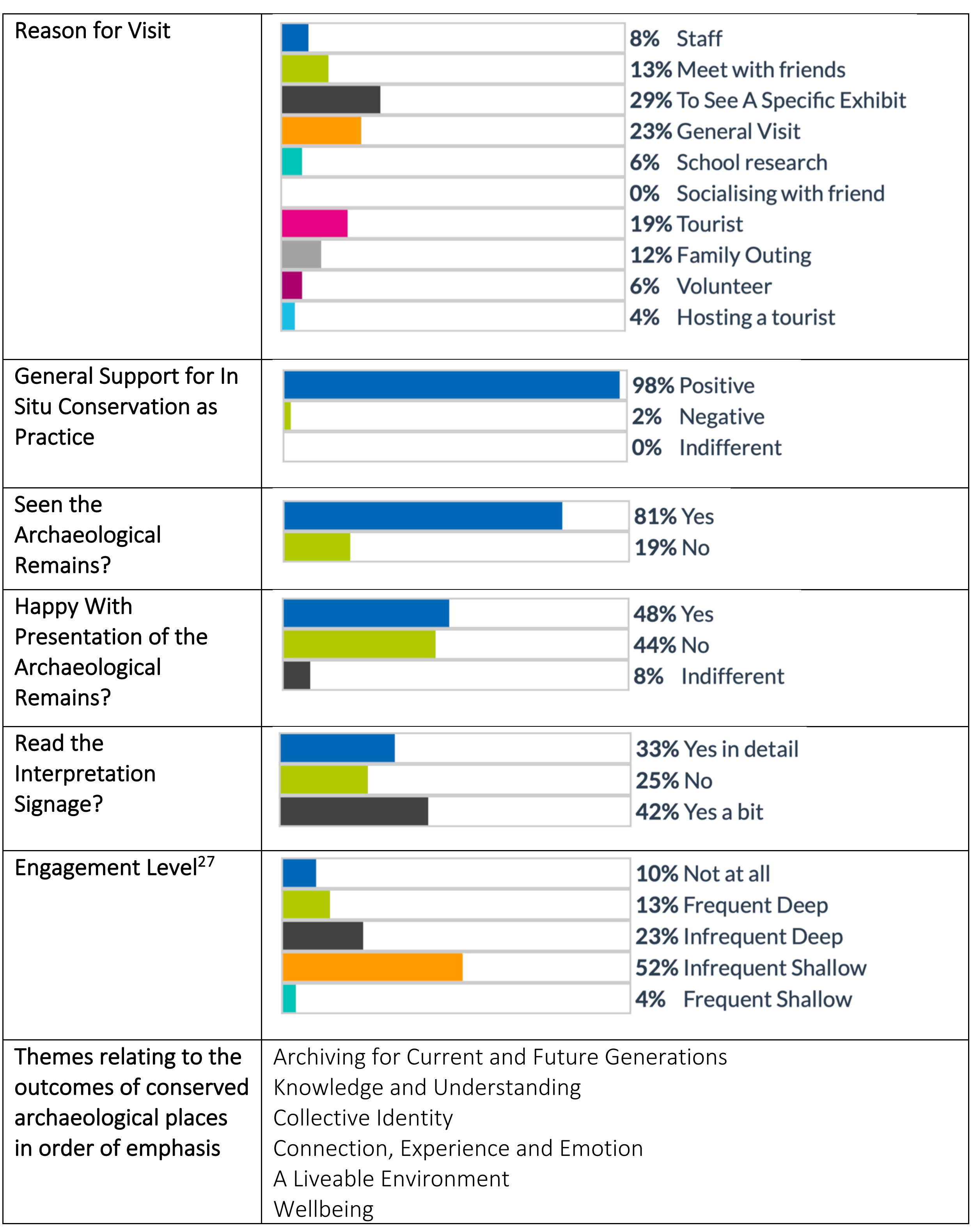
> I had never gone on a tour to find that out, but I don't think you should have to go on a tour to have that explained to you. I think there should be something more obvious to explain it to you… I don't think it captures many people's attention (MOS 6).

Some visitors attributed this to the display being too small and difficult to get a sense of scale. One visitor suggested it would be "so amazing" if the entire floor was glass so people could walk over large areas of the archaeological remains below (MOS 35b). Another said, "I want to see more uncovered to know what on earth is going on down there" (MOS 14). "If you opened it up more I think it would be fascinating" (MOS 8). Others commented on completely missing the visual cues and coloured paving in the building and forecourt, only seeing the interpretation outlines of the archaeological remains below when they were pointed on a tour. This view was supported by one of the volunteer guides who indicated that no-one really understood the paving at ground level even when it was pointed out to them (MOS 6). In her view it is easier to understand the outlines from a height at the top floor viewing window, but only once explained. While many people came into the museum to ask about the meaning of the Edge of the Trees art installation adjacent to the front entrance, she said "nobody really asks 'are these colours on the forecourt significant?'" (MOS 6). One visitor suggested that by making more of the archaeological remains under the forecourt, it might make passers' by want to come into the museum and explore (MOS 15).

Complaints about the small display were not a universal response, with some visitors suggesting it made the archaeological remains feel more like a hidden treasure and enhanced their understanding of it. One said "With a big dig that's just left open, it's sort of left to your own imagination. I actually like to see little bits of things incorporated into a new building" (MOS 29). Another compared it with the Big Dig site in The Rocks (discussed later in this chapter), suggesting the open interpretation of a large area of archaeological remains was problematic as it was overwhelming having so much on display and difficult to read the remains without assistance. There were also positive responses to the combination of new architecture and archaeological remains with comments such as "I think it's clever. I'm a big

fan of modern buildings but it's always nice to see what was here originally and then about the history" (MOS 28).

Number of Interview Subjects	52
Age Range	6% 18-29 23% 30-39 25% 40-49 27% 50-59 12% 60-69 6% 70-79 0% 80-89 0% 90-99 2% Not Identified
Gender	46% Male 54% Female
Current Residence	58% Local 25% Visitor - Australian 17% Visitor - International
Place of Origin	27% Australia - Elsewhere 13% UK 17% Australia - local to site 6% Europe 4% South America 0% Asia 2% North America 0% Pacific Islands 29% Not identified 4% Not Defined
First Visit to the Place?	62% Yes 38% No
Aware of Archaeological Remains Before Visit	40% Yes 60% No



Reason for Visit	8% Staff 13% Meet with friends 29% To See A Specific Exhibit 23% General Visit 6% School research 0% Socialising with friend 19% Tourist 12% Family Outing 6% Volunteer 4% Hosting a tourist
General Support for In Situ Conservation as Practice	98% Positive 2% Negative 0% Indifferent
Seen the Archaeological Remains?	81% Yes 19% No
Happy With Presentation of the Archaeological Remains?	48% Yes 44% No 8% Indifferent
Read the Interpretation Signage?	33% Yes in detail 25% No 42% Yes a bit
Engagement Level[27]	10% Not at all 13% Frequent Deep 23% Infrequent Deep 52% Infrequent Shallow 4% Frequent Shallow
Themes relating to the outcomes of conserved archaeological places in order of emphasis	Archiving for Current and Future Generations Knowledge and Understanding Collective Identity Connection, Experience and Emotion A Liveable Environment Wellbeing

Table 4.1: Public interview properties - Museum of Sydney, NSW

[27] Engagement level was allocated to each individual based on what they said about their level of interaction with the archaeological remains and their ability to answer my questions about the remains and their presentation. How often they looked at them, whether they had read the signage and their demonstrated enthusiasm for the remains and their presentation. Deep engagement included reading signs in depth and spending time observing the remains. Shallow engagement included only a cursory or quick viewing without reading signage at all or only quickly glancing at it.

Few people understood that the archaeological remains of Fist Government House extend over a large area of the forecourt and under the roadway. This was mainly understood by people who had been on a site tour. Having things explained by a tour guide was talked about favourably by several visitors, with one describing it as "essential" (MOS 16). Some visitors had difficulty understanding that the displays show archaeological remains in situ, rather than a cleverly reconstructed or mocked up 'archaeology display' with comments such as "I would have thought it was a display and not real… it doesn't tell me it's original anywhere. I would have thought it was a very well-made exhibition" (MOS 24a). Similarly, some people thought the interpretive reconstruction of part of the façade of First Government House in the foyer of the Museum was a real section of the original house. One visitor questioned the choice of areas of drainage and footings for display saying, "none of this stuff was designed to be on show, it was designed to be used obviously" (MOS 9).

Of the visitors who had actively engaged with the First Government House-related displays, most commented that they found the presentation disjointed with bits of information spread throughout the Museum without a logical flow or narrative. As one visitor pointed out "… it's very broken up. There's a piece as you come in the entrance, there's a piece here there's a piece up the stairs … there's nothing to tell me where I can find all these things if I want to find more information" (MOS 29). This aligns with curator Susan Sedgewick's view of the current interpretation of the place. Several people expressed a desire for a key plan to tie the in situ areas into an understanding of the archaeological remains. Others found the information presented difficult to interpret describing it as 'esoteric' and meaning you must "work it out by osmosis" (MOS 6). One visitor indicated they had seen the information about Government House in the upstairs galleries, but thought it was referring to Admiralty House, the Prime Minister's residence on the north shore of Sydney Harbour (MOS 21). Technology was often mentioned as a desired vehicle for the delivery of information about the place (eg. via an app or other touch screen device). There were numerous comments about the in situ displays being difficult to see at certain times of the day due to reflections on the glass and the writing on the glass being difficult to read.

There were also questions and comments about why the remains had been built over with one visitor describing it as a "dodgy decision" (MOS 10). Architect Richard Johnson has said he deliberately didn't design the new museum building over the remains as it would be the "last great indignity" for the site (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018). Nevertheless, some visitor perceptions are that the archaeological remains are locked away: "you've got to wonder why

Sydney chose to build over their archaeological memories in the first place" (MOS 10); "I just feel like it's not really valued here because they just built over the top of it" (MOS 11b). Linked to these views is a concern that the archaeological remains aren't promoted enough. Visitors who hadn't seen the displays until they were pointed out indicated the archaeological remains would be an attraction for them to come to the Museum and in some cases, this was seen as a stronger drawcard than the current exhibitions.

> It doesn't look like it's important enough… That's crazy… This is probably the most important thing in the whole museum… if I knew that was First Government House that would make me want to come more (MOS 4b).

When shown the in situ archaeological display at their feet in the Museum foyer, many visitors echoed the sentiment "So it's actually here? This is the site?" (MOS 20). For some visitors the minor role the archaeological remains play in the Museum was seen as disrespectful to a place of this level of importance, describing it as "token" (MOS 6). One visitor remarked, "…it seems a little bit insignificant for what it is" (MOS 32b). Another said:

> I think it would be better to make more of it. I think if they drew a little more attention to it, rather than… I mean let's look… it's something that you're walking across to get to the ticket counter. It's a rather odd way to draw everyone's attention to something important isn't it? (MOS 10).

Even though these issues with the display meant that quite a few of the participants had a low degree of engagement with the archaeological remains or hadn't engaged with them at all until it was pointed out to them, this didn't translate to negative feelings about the practice of in situ conservation, which clearly has a very high level of support. All of the interview participants were able to reflect on the practice of archaeological in situ conservation more generally, and the contributions they felt it can make to them individually and to society as a whole. These responses were overwhelmingly positive, with ninety-eight percent of interviewees indicating they thought in situ conservation of archaeological remains was important and had positive outcomes for the public (Table 4.1).

About half the interviewees said they were able to understand the place better through experiencing the archaeological remains. For some this was related to learning about the history of Australia, but for most it was about feeling they were experiencing history. This is perhaps surprising given the difficulties many visitors experienced with the methods of display. The perceived "authentic" and "untouched" nature of the archaeological remains,

regardless of the small window of remains visible, allowed most visitors to generate a strong sense of connection to the key historical figures associated with First Government House and spark the imagination to see past the surrounding high-rise office blocks and visualise the place as it was. This was expressed through comments such as: "It's amazing, I'm standing where it started!" (MOS 5a); "seeing it is just like whoa – this is actually where he [Governor Phillip] lived" (MOS 22); and "It's so exciting. It's one thing to see a picture, but to actually see the bricks and how they constructed it and where it was. It definitely is an emotional thing for me" (MOS 17).

For some visitors this sense of connection and imagining extended to the impact of colonisation on Aboriginal communities and the early interactions of British invaders with Aboriginal people. It is perhaps unsurprising given the fact the Museum actively addresses Aboriginal people in Sydney that the immediacy of the archaeological remains prompted some visitors to connect to the decisions taken at First Government House, the people involved and the consequences of those decisions. This echoes historian Mark Dunn's views about the potential for the place to explore the difficult themes associated with the invasion of Australia by the British. There was an appetite amongst visitors to do so, with one remarking:

> It is historically significant because for better or worse, the coming of Europeans to Australia, to deny it as a significant event is just idiotic and this is one of the most tangible designs of that first instant (MOS 9).

It is however, important to note that despite some awareness of Aboriginal and colonial relationships at this place and cognisance of the deep time history of Aboriginal people in Australia, "we don't have much history" was a common comment from visitors to the Museum. In some cases this was a perception that "Australia doesn't have much culture" (MOS 30) and "we're only a young country compared to Europe" (MOS 8b). This was echoed by some of the overseas visitors.

> I come from England so I find it slightly amusing that we're classing things that are less than 200 years old as archaeologically valuable. I mean I've lived in houses that are older than that myself (MOS 10).

> The first European building in Australia is younger than the house my parents live in (MOS 9).

For others it was less that Australia doesn't have much history and more that Australia isn't good at keeping evidence of its history. "We've got so little history in Sydney" (MOS 15), "we

seem hellbent on destroying the bit we have got" (MOS 38). "I don't think we actually value enough of our history in Australia" (MOS 27a), "the rest is skyscrapers and development" (MOS 15). These attitudes were expressed to some degree at all the case study sites, as will be discussed below.

THE SYDNEY CONSERVATORIUM OF MUSIC ON THE SITE OF FIRST GOVERNMENT HOUSE STABLES, SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES

The Sydney Conservatorium of Music sits in a commanding position on the foreshores of Sydney Harbour, nestled in the edge of the Sydney Royal Botanic Gardens and at the northern end of Macquarie Street. Prior to 1802 the area was used by the British government for quarrying and the establishment of a bakery (Ireland 1998; Casey and Lowe 1998). The first substantial building on the site was the Francis Greenway designed Government House stables, completed in 1820. The use as a stables continued until the early nineteenth century when the place was converted to use as a conservatorium of music, which opened in 1915. By 1997 the Conservatorium required a major upgrade and expansion to its teaching and performance spaces. The redevelopment plans included major, multiple-storey deep excavation into the bedrock surrounding the stables building to accommodate teaching spaces, rehearsal rooms, performance spaces and a new library.

Archaeological remains from the early colonial uses of the place for quarrying, the bakery and stables were expected to be found during the redevelopment. Archaeological excavation permit applications (submitted pursuant to s139 of the *NSW Heritage Act*, 1977) had suggested such remains should be retained where possible, leading to consent conditions requiring in situ conservation.[28] As excavation for the new underground wing of the Conservatorium progressed, the predicted archaeological remains began to appear. Much of the evidence was related to the forecourt to the stables building, including former road surfaces and drainage. Evidence of quarrying was exposed and remains of the bakery revealed within the internal courtyard of the stables building itself. Unsurprisingly, retention of these discoveries was problematic in the context of the extensive excavation required to construct the largely underground new wing of the Conservatorium.

The NSW National Trust expressed concern about the proposed redevelopment due to perceived negative impacts on the historic stables building, the adjacent Royal Botanic

28 Excavation Permit number B583500 issued pursuant to s140 of the NSW Heritage Act, 1977, dated 28/4/1998, NSW Heritage Office file, s97/00190/001

Gardens and the historic precinct of Macquarie Street. The Conservatorium of Music was concerned that its nearly 100-year occupation of the place would be discontinued due to the questions raised about the suitability of the site for the planned expansion. The stables building was not heritage listed, even though it met the required heritage value thresholds for State heritage listing. This meant that the archaeological provisions of the *NSW Heritage Act*, 1977 became the only legal mechanism for the NSW Heritage Council to exercise any level of control over the outcomes of the project (Casey 2005: 152). This was seized upon by the National Trust as a mechanism to have the development stopped, not because of any particular concern for the archaeological remains but due to concerns about potential impacts of the new building on the historic stables and the Royal Botanic Gardens. The National Trust pushed for substantial redesign of the redevelopment - an approach that former NSW Government Architect Chris Johnson described as "vandalistic" (C. Johnson, 22 November 2018).

The NSW Heritage Council required sections of the archaeological remains to be retained and the redevelopment to be redesigned to the extent required to achieve in situ retention.[29] This didn't necessarily address the broader concerns of the National Trust about the redevelopment, but the Trust used the media attention to try and swing public sentiment against the project as a whole. As noted in Chapter 1, the controversy over the redevelopment and its archaeological findings was featured in the major metropolitan papers for many weeks[30]. The National Trust organised an on-site public rally on 2nd July 1998 under the catch cry "Help Save Our Colonial Heritage" (*Daily Telegraph* 3/7/98). The Liberal Opposition leader Peter Collins also promoted the rally and joined the National Trust's call to stop the redevelopment completely. He later described the building as "a size sixteen building going into a size eight site".[31] The Friends of First Government House Site who had been instrumental in the retention of the First Government House remains at the Museum of Sydney wrote to NSW Premier Bob Carr, suggesting the road remains at the Conservatorium were "the most significant early colonial discovery since relics of the nearby 1788 Government House Site were uncovered in 1983" and that even if they were put on display within the redeveloped Conservatorium they would have limited exposure to the public.[32] The Chair of

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29 NSW Minister for Public Works and Services, "*Media Release: Win-win proposal for Conservatorium site*", 2/7/98, NSW Heritage Council File s97/00190/004; Heritage Council of NSW, "Media Release: Uncovered 1920s Road – The Heritage Council Decides", 12/8/1998, NSW Heritage Council file s97/00190/004
30 *Sydney Morning Herald*, page 1, 25/6/98; page 6, 26/6/98; page 18, 29/6/98; page 12, 1/7/98; page 4, 3/7/98
31 Peter Collins, Interview with Philip Clark on Radio 2BL, 7.34AM, 9th September, 1998, REHAME Australia Monitoring Services Transcript, on NSW Heritage Office file, s97/00190/005
32 Nell Sansom OAM, Chair of the Friends of First Government House Site (inc), Letter to Premier Bob Carr, 20 July, 1998, NSW Heritage Office file, s97/00190/006

the Australian Heritage Commission even weighed into the debate, writing to Hazel Hawke, Chair of the NSW Heritage Council to urge conservation of the archaeological remains "given the national importance of the remains, both in terms of antiquity and historical associations".[33] Other commentators questioned the National Trust's call to halt the redevelopment, particularly those who saw the Conservatorium's ties to the place as equally if not more important than the evidence of its colonial past (*Sydney Morning Herald*, opinion column and letters, 29/6/98; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3/7/98, p4; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24/12/89, p 13).

The removal of some of the archaeological remains without approval led to a stop work order from the NSW Heritage Council and a Green Ban by the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) enacted on 24th November, 1998 (The Australian, 23/12/89, p 4)[34]. The Union had been approached by the National Trust to implement the first Green Ban in Sydney since the 1970s and the Union agreed, indicating it believed that "the development was pushed through without adequate preparation. We don't think there has been adequate consultation with all stakeholders. The development is too big and will have a disastrous effect" (*City of Sydney Times,* 9/12/98, p 3). The ban was lifted in mid-December 1998 after negotiations to reduce the size of the development and retain additional areas of archaeological remains in situ were successful (*The Daily Telegraph* 23/12/98, p 3; *Sydney Morning Herald* 23/12/98, p 3).

The CMFEU's comment about the need for community consultation raises a matter of particular interest regarding this research: that is the debate about the social values of the archaeological remains that occurred at this point in the redevelopment project. The only mention of social value in the 1997 draft Conservation Management Plan for the Sydney Conservatorium of Music (Heritage Group State Projects 1997) was the reputation of the Conservatorium as a place of musical education. Following archaeological investigations during the redevelopment, the July 1998 draft Archaeological Conservation Management Plan (Casey and Lowe 1998) noted the public interest in the place but suggested this interest had not been well informed (in terms of historical and archaeological evidence) due to the controversial nature of the redevelopment and associated media reporting. In comments

33 Peter King, Cairman of the Australian Heritage Commission, Letter to Hazel Hawke, Chair of the NSW Heritage Council, 26/6/98, NSW Heritage Council File, s97/00190/003

34 Robert Garling, "Advice Notice: Redevelopment of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music and Conservatorium High School 'Green Ban'", 24/11/98, NSW Heritage Office file, s97/00190/006; Australian Industrial Relations Commission Decision by Commissioner Jones, s99 notification of industrial disputes: P Ward Civil Engineering Pty Ltd and Others and Construction Forestry, Mining and Energy Union, Dispute at the Conservatorium of Music Sydney, 17/12/98, NO122 Dec 1516/98 S Print R0084

responding to the NSW Heritage Council's suggested statement of social significance in August 1998, project archaeologist Mary Casey suggested that it was not sufficient to base social values assessment on National Trust activism and articles and letters in the major metropolitan newspapers and that any social attachment to the place in reaction to the redevelopment was not logical.[35] This approach to the social values assessment of the place was robustly refuted by the NSW Heritage Council, which noted that community attachment is not always based on logic (Greer et.al. 2002). In a book chapter some eight years after the controversy, Mary Casey (2005) again argued that social value would be more properly expressed regarding the historic linkages the place has to Governor Macquarie and his wife, architect Francis Greenway and the historic record of the development and use of the place during the colonial period provided by the surrounding cultural landscapes of the Domain and Botanic Gardens. The heightened attachments to the place, driven by concerns about the redevelopment were, in her view, questionable as a basis for decision-making about the future of the archaeological remains. This is still a source of frustration for Tracy Ireland, who did the initial archaeological assessment.

> I still get frustrated by the fact that what people said they were doing and what they thought they were doing was not what they did. They said they were preserving social values in doing that work at the Conservatorium and I still don't think the research stacks up around that. I don't think they were (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019).

The very political process of decision-making led to redesign of the extension and a suite of interpretation installations, designed to retain elements of the colonial period landscape surrounding the former government stables building. The practical impact of this decision to retain archaeological remains in situ in what was essentially an underground building, is eloquently highlighted by the photograph in Figure 4.3.

Whether the nature of the archaeological remains themselves (primarily drainage) warranted this treatment is a matter of debate. But regardless of its success or failure as an archaeological conservation project, as outlined in Chapter 1, its impact on the practice of in situ retention in NSW was profound.

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35 Mary Casey, *Comments on Annexure to Heritage Council Resolutions*, 13/8/98, NSW Heritage Office file, s97/00190/004; NSW Heritage Council, *Suggested Statement of Social Significance: Conservatorium of Music Site*, NSW Heritage Office file, s97/00190/004

Figure 4.4: The pillar of rock on the right-hand side of the image is supporting an area of in situ archaeological remains that would eventually become one of the key archaeological displays inside the main foyer of the new underground extension of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music. This presented a logistical and engineering challenge, which significantly increased the construction costs. It was one of five areas of in situ archaeological remains retained within the new building (Image Credit: Caitlin Allen 1999).

Figure 4.5: Archaeological displays inside the Sydney Conservatorium of Music. Some sections are in situ on their bedrock footings and conserved behind glass (top left and bottom). The top-right image shows a section of a well, removed from the bedrock and displayed part way up the stairs in the main foyer (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2018).

PROFESSIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE CONSERVATORIUM

At the time of the redevelopment and since it reopened in 2001, the reaction to the Conservatorium in the archaeological community has been generally dismissive, with many archaeologists commenting how much they dislike the outcome, suggesting the archaeological remains weren't significant enough to retain and the presentation is too decontextualized to make sense (W. Johnson, 6 Feb 2018; R. Mackay, 15 February 2018). This view is highlighted in comments such as: "It seems like this bit of drain stuck in the middle of nowhere" (H. Nicholson, 18 June 2018); "forget about the setting, we'll just pay lip service by preserving this bit here … does it really mean something?" (W. Johnson, 6 February 2018); and the more extreme "personally I think the Conservatorium of Music was ridiculous" (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018). Negative comment was particularly focused on the cistern or well, originally a hole carved in bedrock, which was cut out as a doughnut of rock during construction and then reinstated "in situ" on the lower-ground floor stair landing (Figure 4.4). Interestingly, as demonstrated below, this was one of the features that attracted a particularly positive response from students at the Conservatorium.

Although former NSW Government Architect Chris Johnson, who was involved in the design of the new building, feels that the approach taken to incorporating the archaeological remains into the redevelopment was successful even has suggested, "I don't think it's a great hit with everyone as they go in and out of the building, to think 'gosh that's fabulous'" (C. Johnson, 22 November 2018). Others such as archaeologist and interpreter Natalie Vinton have concerns about public access to the remains. Even though most of the in situ archaeological remains are within the public foyers the most significant remains, those of the c.1800-1813 bakery, are under the stage of the Verbrugghen Hall and only accessible through a crawl space (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018). Archaeologist and heritage specialist Richard Mackay suggests the outcome at the Conservatorium is due to the lack of a values-based decision-making process.

> It got caught up in a political process. I think if it was known that stuff was there up front and there had been good, values-based decision-making there would have been a different design solution and a different conservation outcome (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018).

There was an occasional positive comment about the Conservatorium by the heritage professionals interviewed. Interpreter Peter Tonkin liked that it is an "unexpected space" and Curator of the Museum of Sydney, Susan Sedgewick noted that its "visually striking" nature prompts questions about what is on display (P. Tonkin, 15 February 2018; S. Sedgewick, 7

August 2018). Richard Mackay and Natalie Vinton both see hope for the Conservatorium with some careful rethinking and updating of the interpretation using current technology including lighting and soundscapes (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018; R. Mackay, 15 February 2018).

STUDENT, STAFF AND VISITOR PERSPECTIVES OF THE CONSERVATORIUM OF MUSIC

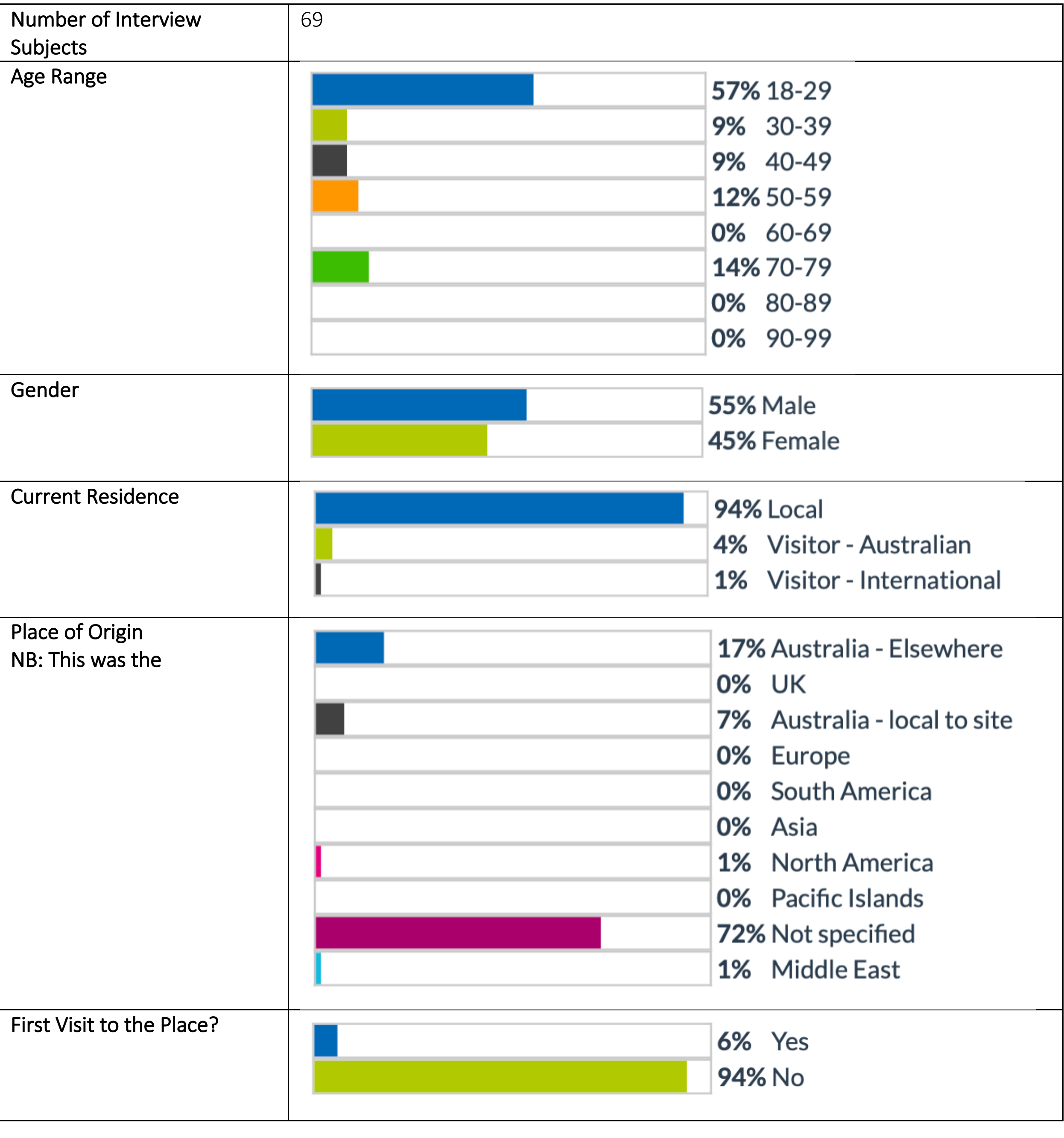
My views on the Conservatorium reflected many of the negative views outlined above, until I returned there to interview current visitors and users. I had been expecting a similar degree of negative sentiment or at least indifference from the staff, students and visitors to the Conservatorium that had been so abundant in interviews with professional colleagues. Instead, the response was strikingly different. There was overwhelming support, not only for in situ archaeological conservation as a practice, but for the way the archaeological remains at the Conservatorium had been incorporated into the redevelopment. The daily experience of the remains was largely one of pleasure in the unique environment they create, along with a sense of wellbeing derived from a tangible connection to the past in the present. Over a period of three non-consecutive days 69 people were interviewed, fifty-seven percent of whom were undergraduate and postgraduate university students in the 18-29 age category (Table 4.2). The others ranged between 30 and 80 years of age and included Conservatorium staff and people attending concerts, the latter being largely retirees but also including the parents and families of students. Two of the interviews were with tourists who had wandered in off the street to have a look at the archaeological remains.

A small number of students expressed bemusement at the conservation of remains that they considered to be 'young'.

> I think it will be more effective in a couple of hundred years. I mean my friend's violins are older than this site. So we have these beautiful things behind glass cases and my mates have all their belongings that actually predate it. So it's a bit jarring (Con 8b).
>
> To be honest the archaeology here is not super amazing. The concept is cool but it's not a particularly amazing collection (Con 13a).

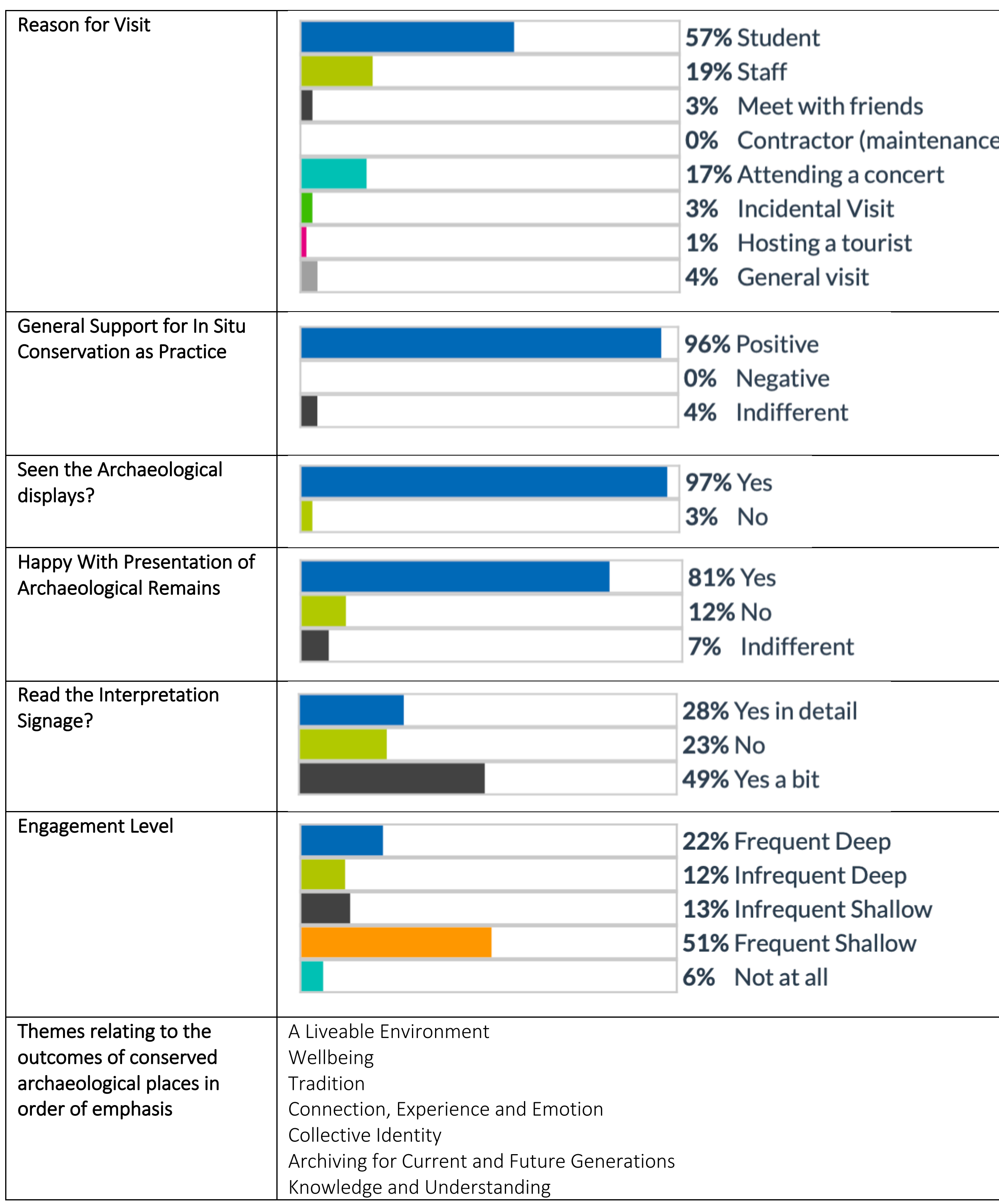
These views were however, in the minority. In contrast to the negative views held by the archaeologists and heritage professionals, most of the users of the Conservatorium have a very high degree of attachment to the archaeological remains. It is not however, in the way that might be expected. When asked, 'have you looked at the archaeological displays?' a very common response amongst the tertiary students was along the lines of "Oh, that thing in the

glass box over there, I've walked past it every day for four years. I have no idea what it is. But I really like that it's there".[36] This is a particularly interesting response, given that knowledge transmission is a key aim of archaeological interpretation. While some students identified an interest in the content of the interpretation, many were simply happy to know the archaeological displays were there without understanding what it was.



Number of Interview Subjects	69
Age Range	57% 18-29 9% 30-39 9% 40-49 12% 50-59 0% 60-69 14% 70-79 0% 80-89 0% 90-99
Gender	55% Male 45% Female
Current Residence	94% Local 4% Visitor - Australian 1% Visitor - International
Place of Origin NB: This was the	17% Australia - Elsewhere 0% UK 7% Australia - local to site 0% Europe 0% South America 0% Asia 1% North America 0% Pacific Islands 72% Not specified 1% Middle East
First Visit to the Place?	6% Yes 94% No

[36] This is not a direct quote, rather it paraphrases numerous comments from students such as "I don't know a lot about it but I love the idea of keeping it" (Con 11b).



Reason for Visit	57% Student 19% Staff 3% Meet with friends 0% Contractor (maintenance 17% Attending a concert 3% Incidental Visit 1% Hosting a tourist 4% General visit
General Support for In Situ Conservation as Practice	96% Positive 0% Negative 4% Indifferent
Seen the Archaeological displays?	97% Yes 3% No
Happy With Presentation of Archaeological Remains	81% Yes 12% No 7% Indifferent
Read the Interpretation Signage?	28% Yes in detail 23% No 49% Yes a bit
Engagement Level	22% Frequent Deep 12% Infrequent Deep 13% Infrequent Shallow 51% Frequent Shallow 6% Not at all
Themes relating to the outcomes of conserved archaeological places in order of emphasis	A Liveable Environment Wellbeing Tradition Connection, Experience and Emotion Collective Identity Archiving for Current and Future Generations Knowledge and Understanding

Table 4.2: Public interview properties for the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, NSW

Learning as an outcome of engaging with the archaeological remains was only mentioned by a few of the older interview subjects who were visiting to attend concerts and some of the students who said the remains had prompted them to learn more about the history of the place: “there are things you see that might trigger you to read a book about how it was” (Con 7b); “I feel I am learning a lot more about the location I am studying in” (Con 32). But while

there was a lack of emphasis on learning about the past, students who indicated a lack of interest in history or in the written material accompanying the interpretation were still supportive of in situ archaeological conservation, both as a general practice and more specifically at the Conservatorium. "There's a lot of reasons as to why you should keep it even though I don't have that kind of affinity for history or archaeology, but I can really buy the idea" (Con 11b). This is not to say that the students didn't connect the presence of the archaeological remains to their education, but for the interviewees it wasn't always to do with learning about history. The environment created by the inclusion of the archaeological remains into the building was seen as inspirational to the work of the musicians there. "It's very beneficial for musicians in general or for me at least, for inspiration studying or just for performance. It's a very vibrant place to be" (Con 11a). This was supported by facilities manager Guy McEwan.

> The funny thing about the Conservatorium is that it actually teaches ancient practices. When you think about a violinist, that's a very crazy thing to do these days when you can actually get a digital violin and a digital orchestra, so we are about conserving ancient practices. In the context of a building that has different histories, that's really interesting because our practice, our music practice reflects the building (G. McEwan, 25 June 2018).

One of the lecturers also noted:

> For me it definitely works. In this building, most people's thoughts are with music, except the music they are thinking about didn't happen here. So they're all thinking externally beyond Australia all the time. Their own personalities are contextualised as being relative to people that aren't alive anymore… So it's just a momentary reminder that there's something here to think about. So they [the remains] are really important for this sense of questioning, especially in universities, self-questioning. Even if it's not conscious. They really get to reflect on being Australian (Con 1).

There was also a feeling that the conservation of the archaeological remains and the combination of new and old had synergies with creating and performing music.

> The old and new pays homage to what went before (Con 16b).

> It feels more respectful to have history on display. Because it's not like 'Oh yeah, we're here now and that's what's important'. It's taking into account everything that's been, which is really important in music (Con 8b).

> I guess knowing the history of a place adds to your time here. So it's not just like a building that you come into. It used to be stables and then it was only classical and then there was jazz added and it comes to be part of, I guess, a narrative (Con 10b).

This perceived synergy between heritage conservation and custodianship of musical history and ritual is perhaps one of the reasons that "a feeling of tradition" was one of the striking themes from the interviews at the Conservatorium that was not present at the other case study sites apart from the Medical Sciences Precinct in Hobart. It was initially surprising to hear the number of students who identified that having a sense of time-depth provided by the archaeological remains made them feel that the Conservatorium as an institution had a tradition behind it, a sense of prestige and distinction. Even though, as the students readily recognised, the archaeological remains has nothing to do with the history of the Conservatorium. This was important to the students because it allowed them to see the Conservatorium as a viable and distinctive player on a world stage populated by conservatoriums with far longer histories. For some students it also lent a feeling of security in the quality of the education they are receiving.

> I think a lot of music schools around the world have more of a history and more of a culture in terms of music … because we are relatively new, we don't have that so it is quite nice to have a bit of history attached to the Con as well. (Con 8a).

> It sort of made me feel like there was a bit of a legacy here (Con 10).

> You feel grateful they kept all of it around instead of taking away the history. It's something that's just so distinct about the Con that not a lot of other Conservatoriums in Australia have (Con 8d).

> It sets the tone. It's on a significant site. It's not just some modern building that's popped up (Con 21).

> It kind of adds a feeling of tradition as well, which I think is important for a Conservatorium (Con 10b).

If something has history and has a past behind it, it makes it seem more trustworthy (Con 4).

Australian music doesn't really have a sense of identity. We don't have tradition here because we are so new to the scene. Europe has hundreds of years of tradition (Con 19b).

It characterises our institution as one which values our history (Con 17b).

Facilities manager Guy McEwan also reflected on the role the archaeological remains play in supporting the sense of identity at the Conservatorium. "That's a very important thing. It's part of the cache of the school… being in an historic building and on an historic site adds gravitas not only to the building and the institution but to the people who attend it" (G. McEwan 25 June 2018). This is perhaps one of the reasons that the Conservatorium staff and students fought so hard to stay on the site rather than being moved to a completely new facility with more space for growth.

Another key emphasis of people interviewed, particularly students, was their overwhelmingly positive reaction to the environment created by incorporation of the archaeological remains into the new architecture of the redevelopment. It was not simply added on as an afterthought but designed "as part of the building" (Con 10a). The words "unique" and "cool" and phrases like "it's something you don't really see anywhere else" (Con 18a) were used repeatedly to describe the Conservatorium extension.

It has story and presence and meaning beyond what it does today (MOS 14).[37]

It shows history, effort, art, personality. Things aren't mass produced in a way… It's a very unique building. It's the one place in Sydney that looks like this, whereas all the other skyscrapers look like one another (Con 11a).

I believe the way the building has been massaged around the pieces that are in situ is ingenious. I think, architecturally, those challenges produce extraordinary results…They're not problems, they're opportunities to shine (Conservatorium facilities manager Guy McEwan, 25 June 2018).

This combination of new and old creates a "vibe" (Con 9c), another commonly used word, that some people found it difficult to define apart from a sense that it makes them feel good to

[37] This interview was conducted at the Museum of Sydney, but the interview subject also reflected on their experiences at the Conservatorium.

spend time there. "I just like it because it's old stuff that they didn't destroy and kept it on display" (Con 25a). Others said that the archaeological remains add interest to what would otherwise be a characterless "bland" modern space (Con 22c, Con 22a). "It's nice to have something rather than just grey walls to look at" (Con 14), and "it's not a chore to come in here, it adds character to the building, it's nice to be here" (Con 18a) were common views. One student described it as a "warmer" environment with the archaeological remains present (Con 17a). Another said it's one of their favourite things about coming to the Conservatorium (Con 10a) and the archaeological remains are so much a part of the experience of being there that if the remains were removed "the building would feel like there are body parts missing" (Con 19c). There was also a high degree of appreciation for the thought put into the design.

> It's nice being in a place that was thoughtfully built (Con 8b).
>
> The architecture is more exciting and challenging (Con 40).
>
> It is seriously one of the most graceful archaeological displays incorporated into normal building functions in Sydney (Con 33).
>
> It makes really nice architecture because it means the architects have to get really creative, so it makes the space really interesting instead of just clinical. They had to get really creative with this (Con 8a).

Another aspect of appreciation for the design of the redevelopment was a sense that it respects the past and makes use of what was there before.

> It shows that we built around the environment that we're in. We don't just come in and chuck up a box. We can build around the landscape that's provided to us. And I think that's a very special thing. (Con 11a).
>
> The Con should be proud because the way we display our artefacts is superb (Con 33).
>
> I think we are often tunnelled into this idea of today and we don't look back onto yesterday. I think this just serves as a reminder of OK, this is music school now but beforehand it used to be the stables for the convicts and the transformation that's happened, particularly for something that's so historical, it would be almost rude to just completely get rid of it and build something over the top of it. So to pay homage to where it's come from is really cool (Con 14).

By extension, the students felt this respect for the place boosted respect for the Conservatorium as a special place to study. "It makes me feel that the building has more worth. It's not just one of the buildings in Sydney. It has history. To be honest it's an amazing campus" (Con 4). There was also a strong preference for the incorporation of the archaeological remains into an otherwise functional building, that is not a museum but a place for music education. The fact that the displays are "well integrated" (Con 44) and "don't affect the purpose of the building" (Con 18a) allowing balance of function and conservation was seen as important.

Associated with having a liveable and enjoyable environment was the distinct sense of wellbeing that the students derived from the presence of the archaeological remains in their everyday experience of the place. For some students this sense of happiness and pride derived directly from the environment that combines new and old.

> Sometimes I'll text all my friends from home and take a photo and say 'look at my school'… I think maintaining the old architecture and being able to preserve it is one of the best things that Councils and people can do. Rather than just knocking stuff down or building up things that are temporary and cheaply made (Con 11a).

For others the archaeological remains themselves lent a sense of perspective to their lives as students and "a sense of belonging" (Con 19b) and connecting to something "bigger than yourself" (Con 19c).

> It draws me out of being selfish and thinking my life, my path, my future, my present and think about the past. And sometimes stepping back and reflecting on that, kind of changes perspectives a bit (Con 14).

> It's kind of nice how it's not music related as well. It kind of reminds you that there's a lot out there bigger than yourself. Because it's really easy to get tunnel vision in a music degree. It's like 'Oh my God my whole life is music'. It's nice just to be able to take a break (Con 8b).

> It makes me feel like I'm part of a big jigsaw (Con 19a).

> It's a sense of place too. It puts everything into perspective and makes you feel like you're a part of something that's been before and is still going forward (Con 19a).

> Incorporating the history of an area with the modern makes me feel as if I am a part of the history and what this space is becoming as time goes on (Con 31).

Two students highlighted that this emotional connection to the archaeological remains provided a sense of comfort and a feeling of being grounded.

> It was a great feeling. I am I moved here from interstate to study and so seeing all this archaeological stuff made me feel really grounded. It sort of made me feel like there was a bit of legacy here (Con 8b).

> It's like when you used to visit your grandparents house. There's something very comforting about that. I'm not sure why but there is. The same feeling I get when I see these things (Con 19b).

One student even suggested that interacting with the archaeological remains was an antidote to an increasingly globalised world: "In our globalised, modernised society of today we tend to be surrounded by everything new and I think we like preserving tradition" (Con 17b). In contrast to a more connected and globalised world, the sense of connection and belonging fostered by the archaeological remains was specifically centred in a local context. As one visitor reflected "this may not be that special historically in terms of the history of Australia, but because it's our place, this is particularly special for us" (Con 13b).

Having the archaeological remains in situ and "untouched" was integral to the sense of emotional connection described above. People attached perceptions of authenticity to the remains, despite the fact that they have been excavated and carefully selected and prepared by archaeologists for presentation within the building. It made the remains "more legit, more authentic, more full on" (Con 24). There were some interesting comparisons drawn between the archaeological remains and the adjacent historic stables building with some students suggesting the building, while lovely, had been renovated and didn't provide the same direct window into the past that the archaeological remains did. The authenticity of the archaeological remains not only supported the emotional connections described above but also provided a "window into the past" (Con 41) that "brings history and the past to life" (Con 16b). Being able to enter the past of your own imagining was identified as an important outcome. Importantly this was not just about imagining the place itself but the lives of the people who lived and worked there making people "proud and in awe of the achievements of previous generations of people beforehand" (Con 34).

> It's like you are stepping into history. It's literally right there and you are walking past it (Con 8b).
>
> You can almost feel or smell the people that were there (Con 19c).
>
> You get a better feel of how life was when it's in the exact location. You can imagine yourself being there hundreds of years ago. So important to keep archaeological remains where they are (Con 38).
>
> It makes the people real and it makes the place real, because this place didn't pop up last month. It's been here for a period of time and before that it was something else. I think that's really important for people to grasp (Con 7b).

The fact the archaeological remains are in this everyday context "reminds you every day of the history of where you are. When it's right there you think about it a lot more" (Con 8a). Although learning about the past was not the goal for most people interacting with the remains as at the Museum of Sydney there was recognition that having them in situ supported understanding.

> It's more important if it's in its original location. Because if you're taking something out of its own location, it's not going to be special anymore. If you take it out of its context it's going to mean less to people. If you have it in its own context I think it's going to be easier for people to understand (Con 4).

Also like the Museum of Sydney, the archaeological remains prompted visitor reflections on Aboriginal historical narratives and the importance of acknowledging them and allowing space for them to be expressed.

> In a building where most students and staff are dealing with an abstracted colonial 'Eurocentric' musicological approach, it is great to be reminded that there are other histories too – less grand and less white in some cases. Archaeological multiplicitudes of interpretation are incredibly valuable in any building in Sydney (Con 35).

Such reflections are in contrast with scholars who perceive that the choice of colonial remains for in situ conservation perpetuates colonial narratives rather than providing opportunities for critical reflection.

In terms of the presentation of the archaeological remains, very few people had read the interpretation signage in detail but were comfortable with the level of knowledge they had.

Opinions about whether the in situ displays show enough archeological remains were divided between people who wanted to see much more and those who felt there was enough to see. Similarly, some people felt there was enough information available about the place and others wanted the option to find out more although the majority were happy with the amount of information available should they want it, despite the fact the displays hadn't been refreshed since they were installed. Many commented on liking the glass over the remains, both for its aesthetic appeal and for the ability to access the archaeological remains while they remain protected. One of the volunteer guides at the Museum of Sydney contrasted the Conservatorium's in situ displays favourably with the offering at the Museum, saying "it's much more sort of do it yourself. I think it's very accessible. It is well-signed and you can work out what things are. It's also just scale, [it's] got a lot more offered" (MOS 6).

Another popular aspect of the archaeological presentation are the tours that students take when they enrol. Although these are orientation tours, they include the archaeological displays and an outline of the history of the place.

> When we came we did a tour and it explained everything. If I had walked in before having that orientation I wouldn't have taken sentimental note of it, but now you have that story attached to it, it's like 'Oh that's actually really interesting'. It makes it all a bit more tangible (Con 8c).

At one point there were also public tours available. One of the lecturers stated that the tours were fantastic: "I am not sure why that stopped. It had people thinking about Australia, music, history all in one moment, which is very rare to get that combination of thoughts happening" (Con 1). Stopping the tours meant that some of the behind the scenes displays, outside the main public circulation spaces, are no longer accessible to members of the public. Other remains, such as the early bakery remains under the Verburgghen Hall are permanently off limits due to the low head height of the access space. Like archaeologist and interpreter Natalie Vinton, a number of staff and students at the Conservatorium lamented this lack of public accessibility.

Apart from accessibility, the main improvement suggestions were: to have more people-centred stories about the place in the interpretation (Con 40); more technology including the use of sound and light displays and interpretive phone apps; and perhaps a key plan or other device to tie the different, "random" (Con 8c), elements of the interpretation together (Con 19a). Others however, liked the process of discovery and unplanned interactions with interpretive elements. One of these surprise points of discovery was the 'floating cistern'

(Figure 4.4). Perched on the lower landing of the main foyer stairs on the way to the library and much maligned by archaeologists, it is a point of particular interest for the students. Although some of them avoid walking over it on the main entry-level of the foyer due to the fear factor of looking down through a metal grate to the void below, many indicated that its weirdness' makes them stop and think what on earth is it? Why is it here? I want to know more about it. As noted by Conservatorium facilities manager Guy McEwan, it has a "wonderful sense of presence" (G. McEwan, 25 June 2018). The political and 'non-values-based' process that Richard Mackay blamed for an unsatisfactory outcome, seems to have contributed to something unusual and appealing for current site users. This non-standard heritage response produced something people enthusiastically engage with on a daily basis.

SYDNEY HARBOUR YHA AND THE "BIG DIG" ARCHAEOLOGY EDUCATION CENTRE - THE ROCKS, SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES

From the invasion by the British in 1788 until the early twentieth century, the site currently occupied by the Sydney Harbour YHA (youth hostel) was home to a neighbourhood of cramped residences and small commercial operations including pubs, a bakery and a tannery separated by a network of small laneways (Karskens 1999). The archaeological investigation and subsequent analysis by consultants Godden Mackay Logan and historian Grace Karskens was hailed as ground-breaking for its challenge to previously held truths about life in this 'slum' area of Sydney. The decision to retain the archaeological remains in situ derived from the integrity of the remains across a large portion of a city block in concert with the richness of the archaeological analysis, providing ample material for interpretation. Unlike many in situ archaeological projects where the archaeological remains are incorporated into an existing building design, in the case of The Big Dig site the presence of archaeological remains was the driver for the design of the YHA. While the site is clearly not a museum and has to blend its archaeological outcomes with a commercial function, the presentation of the archaeological remains has always been a core consideration (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018). Here, the YHA buildings act as both protection for the archaeological site and interpretive device. The former laneways revealed by the archaeological investigations have been re-opened as public thoroughfares and the block pattern they form has been reinforced by the placement of the new structures, which sit lightly on the site (Figure 4.5). Screens providing perimeter security for the site also act as interpretive devices, indicating the form of the facades of the Whalers' Arms pub and adjoining terrace houses that existed on the site for much of the nineteenth

century (Figure 4.6). While most of the archaeological remains underneath the YHA building are in a stable condition, the areas that were left exposed to the elements have suffered erosion and biological growth. This has been so extreme that in 2019 parts of the site were reburied. The YHA uses one Australian dollar from every guest to put into a sinking fund for ongoing conservation of the site (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018).

Figure 4.6: Top and bottom images - Exposed archaeological remains of nineteenth century shops, houses and pubs at the 'Big Dig' site at Sydney Harbour YHA. The remains sit both underneath and next to the modern YHA buildings (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2019).

Figure 4.7: The Exterior of the Sydney Harbour YHA from Gloucester Street showing the interpretive screens designed to evoke the facades of the buildings that stood on the site in the nineteenth century (Imaae Credit: Caitlin Allen 2019).

The Rocks Precinct is managed as a holistic experience for visitors, with each place within The Rocks adding something different to the overall story being told (W. Johnson, 6 February 2018). The Big Dig site is an important component of this experience, as explained by Alison Frappell, Manager of The Big Dig Archaeology Education Centre:

> It's part of the puzzle of The Rocks… a very different part of the puzzle. What we have here is a site that's been left as the archaeologists left it… visitors can also go down to Dawes Point, to The Rocks Discovery Museum…do one of the Indigenous guided programs down at Sydney Learning Adventures. They get a sense of The Rocks as a place (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018).

According to archaeologist and educator Helen Nicholson, who runs field school weekends at the Big Dig site once a year, this combination of museum experiences including being able to see a standing house on one side of the street and then the open plan remains of the Big Dig

on the other is a key aspect of the area that supports visitors being able to understand the in situ remains (H. Nicholson, 18 June 2018).

PROFESSIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE BIG DIG SITE

Anecdotally the Big Dig is often cited as an outstanding example of in situ conservation in Australia and a number of archaeologists interviewed mentioned it when asked about in situ conservation projects they considered to be successful. "The Big Dig at the Rocks in Sydney is the best example I've seen in Australia and it compares highly with sites I've seen overseas" (PS27). Positive aspects of the presentation of the site include the amount of archaeological remains on display, the relationship between the archaeological remains and the new buildings and the inclusion of archaeological remains within a commercial development. Alison Frappell, Manager of The Big Dig Education Centre thinks that "the nature of the YHA as an organisation is an ingredient in why this collaboration was successful…we're not driven entirely by the bottom line". The YHA's beginnings as a provider of affordable accommodation for travelling students fits with the provision of an education centre as part of the redevelopment along with the integration of the archaeological remains as an added point of interest for guests (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018).

Susan Sedgewick, curator of the Museum of Sydney, spoke of the positive experience of such a large site for visitors saying,

> I think the expanse of the Big Dig site is really amazing and exciting for visitors. You can see little laneways and walk-through houses etc… I like the stainless steel structures that show the outline, so you can see the foundations and then you see where the house would have come up from that… to help people visualise what was there (S. Sedgewick, 7 August 2018).

Historian Mark Dunn felt that having a large area on display mean that you could "have it all out and you can tell the whole story of it".

> When you're looking at a place like Susannah Place or even down in Playfair Street… even though there's a lot of [those buildings] around, they are just individual bits sitting next to more modern developments. With the Big Dig site you can look across two blocks or three blocks of buildings and talk about the different scale, the different uses and see the layers of how buildings have been built over the to of each other. So you can really talk about the 19th

> century inner city neighbourhood of a big city and how these things work (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018).

Helen Nicolson also reflected that the open plan nature of the site provides a tactile learning experience that supports understanding and fires the imagination.

> Seeing how close the houses are together and imagining 'Oh these two sisters two doors apart have nineteen children between them'. We had ten people squashed in a front room and they're trying to imagine a family of eleven or something living in a house… I think the Big Dig gives that neighbourhood a sense of place and context (H. Nicholson, 18 June 2018).

Archaeologist Wendy Thorp echoed this view but suggested that the fact The Rocks is a "kind of Disneyland" and she's not sure if the site achieved its intended outcome:

> It's the idea of trying to conserve something other than one bit or one thing. It's to try and understand it as a living neighbourhood. I think that's what's successful. There's a sense of people in place. But it's still quite hard I think to connect to the fact that these actually were real places with real people who lived and died and had kids and got sick and birthdays and stuff. There's a sense of unreality about it even though I think they've tried very hard to make it not. But equally if you think of a place like Hyde Park Barracks, when you go do you have a sense of convicts in there? I don't (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018).

In contrast, were the heritage professionals who echoed interpreter Peter Tonkin's lukewarm view that "it's a reasonable result not an outstanding one" (P. Tonkin, 15 February 2018). He felt there is simply too much on display and not focused enough for people to make sense of. Heritage architect Elisa Long, is critical of in situ conservation as a practice in general and particularly dislikes the relationship between the archaeological remains and the new buildings at the Sydney Harbour YHA. She recalled when the design competition was announced that "the potential to do both, have the site and give it another use was exciting stuff". But reflecting on the outcome she lamented, "We all thought it was a good thing but looking at now, I'm sorry, I just fundamentally don't like it. I react negatively to the undercroft that I find dark. It just doesn't do anything for me to be there" (E. Long, 19 November 2018).

Helen Nicholson recognises some aspects of the interpretation might be too subtle for visitors, especially the use of the floors of the new YHA building as a form of stratigraphy through the

history of the site with the older pictures on lower floors and the more recent images, including of the archaeological excavation, on the top floor. "It's really smart but it's missed by most people" (H. Nicholson, 18 June 2018). Richard Mackay, whose company Godden Mackay Logan undertook the original archaeological investigation on the site and who was integral to the in situ conservation project has also acknowledged that the site is lacking research content and that many of the key artefacts associated with the site are at the nearby Rocks Discovery Museum when they should perhaps be at The Big Dig site (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018). Archaeologist and interpreter Natalie Vinton doesn't think the site is interactive enough.

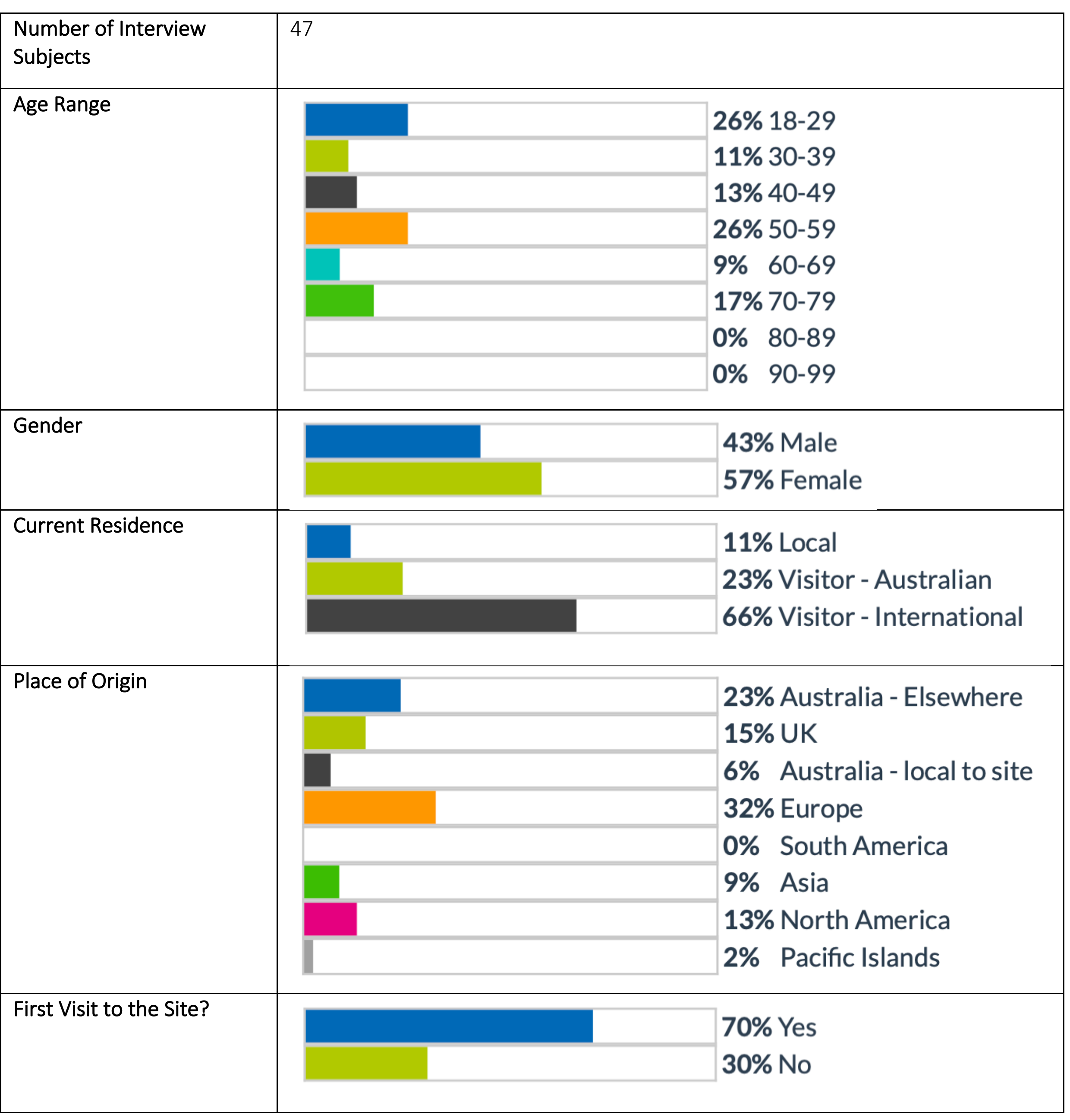
> It's reliant on someone telling you all of that information to get something out of it… I've taken my son there to try and engage him with it and it's so hard… I think people find it hard to visualise. I think too it's the social history. People aren't just interested in the size of the houses, they want to know how people used those spaces. I think it's a missed opportunity. I don't think it's been fully realised for the all the money and effort that went into it (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018).

Archaeologist and interpreter Jane McMahon doesn't understand the need for in situ conservation at all, suggesting the remains don't add anything to her understanding of the site and that some well told stories about the site supported by artefactual material would be sufficient to provide a better educational experience, rather than just expecting people to "feel the vibes of the old stuff" (J. McMahon, 5 November 2018).

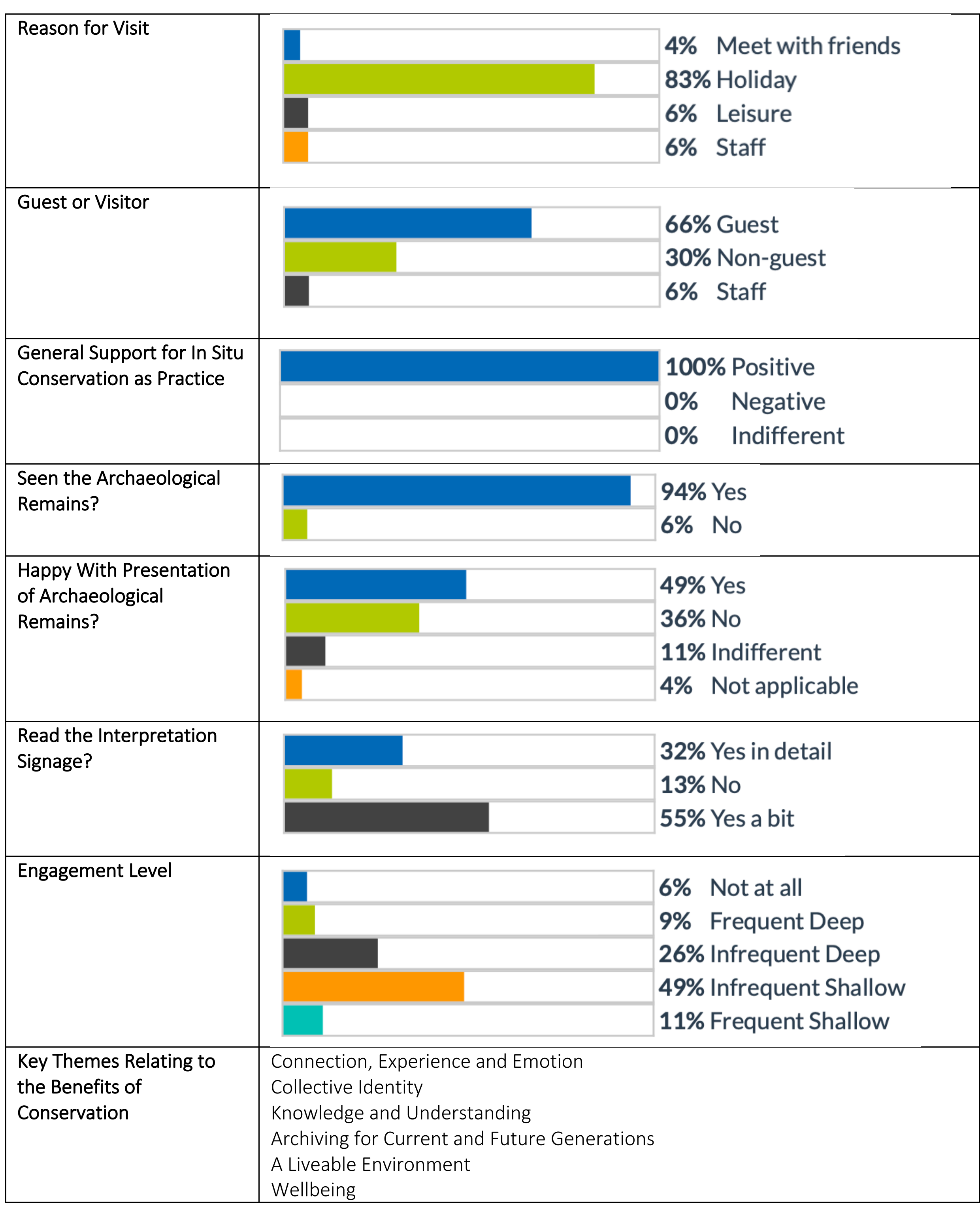
VISITOR PERSPECTIVES OF THE BIG DIG SITE

The demographic of visitors to the Big Dig is quite different to the other sites in regard to their place of origin and the reasons for their visit to the site. It provided an opportunity to access international visitors to Australia and their perspectives on in situ conservation. Sixty-six percent of people interviewed were from overseas, the other third from Australia. Well over half the international visitors were from Europe and UK with the remainder from the US, Asia and the Pacific Islands. Ninety percent of interviewees were there on holidays or as a leisure activity. Sixty-six percent were guests at the YHA with the remainder interviewed as they passed through the public areas of the site. Nearly ninety perecent of people had engaged with the archaeological remains to some degree although for the majority this was a brief or cursory interaction. While the Big Dig site was one of the more positively received sites by the

heritage professionals interviewed, it was one of the less successful with visitors in terms of the way the site is presented, with only forty-nine percent saying they were happy with the interpretation and presentation. As at the other case study sites, this did not translate to negative views on the value of in situ archaeological conservation with one hundred percent of people interviewed saying they thought it was an important thing to do. Words used to describe the practice included: 'fantastic', important', brilliant', 'excellent', 'cool' and 'neat'.



Number of Interview Subjects	47
Age Range	26% 18-29 11% 30-39 13% 40-49 26% 50-59 9% 60-69 17% 70-79 0% 80-89 0% 90-99
Gender	43% Male 57% Female
Current Residence	11% Local 23% Visitor - Australian 66% Visitor - International
Place of Origin	23% Australia - Elsewhere 15% UK 6% Australia - local to site 32% Europe 0% South America 9% Asia 13% North America 2% Pacific Islands
First Visit to the Site?	70% Yes 30% No



Reason for Visit	4% Meet with friends 83% Holiday 6% Leisure 6% Staff
Guest or Visitor	66% Guest 30% Non-guest 6% Staff
General Support for In Situ Conservation as Practice	100% Positive 0% Negative 0% Indifferent
Seen the Archaeological Remains?	94% Yes 6% No
Happy With Presentation of Archaeological Remains?	49% Yes 36% No 11% Indifferent 4% Not applicable
Read the Interpretation Signage?	32% Yes in detail 13% No 55% Yes a bit
Engagement Level	6% Not at all 9% Frequent Deep 26% Infrequent Deep 49% Infrequent Shallow 11% Frequent Shallow
Key Themes Relating to the Benefits of Conservation	Connection, Experience and Emotion Collective Identity Knowledge and Understanding Archiving for Current and Future Generations A Liveable Environment Wellbeing

Table 4.3: Public interview properties for the Big Dig at Sydney Harbour YHA.

The key reasons given for why in situ conservation was considered important were: the role the remains play in promoting a sense of connection to people and place and in supporting the imaginative journey to the past that people are able to go on; supporting understanding of the past through experiencing the place not just reading about it; and the creation of an

interesting and unique environment through the integration of the archaeological remains into a new setting with a new use. The incorporation of the remains into the youth hostel was highlighted as a creative and "imaginative" response to the dilemma of conserving the old while embracing new uses and supporting economic activity (Big Dig 28a).

"When I arrived and I saw it and thought 'Oh that's really cool', you know? There's the site and then there's a building above and it's nice" (Big Dig 5). "It's quite unusual really isn't it" (Big Dig 8a). "It's quite remarkable how well it's been done" (Big Dig 10a). "I've never stayed somewhere like this" (Big Dig 13a). Some visitors compared the experience favourably with more expensive generic hotels. "We stay in so many glitzy hotels and they're all basically the same. This is different" (Big Dig 28a). "It gives it depth. Otherwise you could have just stayed in a Travelodge or something" (Big Dig 8b). The re-use of the site was also seen as an effective combination of function and conservation. "It's the best of both worlds" (Big Dig 25).

> I think it's really cool how they were able to preserve the majority of the archaeological discovery, but at the same time to be able to utilize the area by building on top of it so you can still see it. I think it's brilliant (Big Dig 11).

> It's a great idea, they should do it more. I think a lot of sites are lost because they're buried under new buildings. You know they take records of them and all the rest of it but essentially you just lose them (Big Dig 8b).

The choice of a youth hostel for the site that allowed equitable public access to the archaeological remains was considered a particularly fitting re-use for the site.

> It's ideal for this kind of location. This is where people used to live. It was a real neighbourhood. It was a vibrant place and now you have people coming and going. I think the function of the youth hostel is a really good fit. Because you don't have a permanent residential body here. You actually have a lot of people coming and going. I think that makes it more interactive and a lot more people here to see and experience the site and find it interesting (Big Dig 10a).

Related to this was a high degree of support for retention of the archaeological remains in a non-museum setting, exposing the history of the place to people who would not otherwise seek out a heritage experience.

> I don't go to museums. I'd rather go to a place where I can actually see it was found there … I this it's actually more educational for people (Big Dig 7b).

> It will draw people in that originally might not have had any interest in it, or if someone didn't want to go to a museum but they're staying here and they'll see these things anyway and then their curiosity might be piqued (Big Dig 12).

> I think it forces a history lesson which is needed. Because let's say there's twenty percent of the population who are going to a museum and ten percent who are going to read about it, but that's not enough. So the people that are walking past, at the very least they are going to say 'What's that?' and have a look. Even more so this being a tourist hub. I think it's very good. There is a lot of added benefit of leaving it (Big Dig 18).

Many of the international visitors confessed they were not in Australia to have a heritage experience. While the history and culture of Australia was of interest to some, its natural landscapes, beach culture and social life were the main attractions. Many of the younger YHA guests said they would never visit a museum and having the archaeological remains at the place they were staying meant they would experience something they wouldn't otherwise see. For locals this meant the archaeological remains were accessible on a daily basis, not requiring a museum ticket to enter the site (Big Dig 27b) as "it's not exclusive for people staying at the YHA" (Big Dig 8a). While not actively promoted as a place to visit in Sydney, with the focus on providing an experience for guests of the YHA and the associated Education Centre, some of the visitors had wandered in as they found it "intriguing as we walked by" (Big Dig 19a).

Having the archaeological remains in situ was not only considered unique but also "more genuine" (Big Dig 21), "raw" (Big Dig 8a), "tangible", "reachable" (Big Dig 27a) and more "authentic" (Big Dig 21). This brought the site to life and supported a sense of connection and wonder about the people who lived there in the past and even a feeling of "being in the past" (Big Dig 4a). Removing the archaeological remains would remove the "connection to the place" and the ability to "think back to another time and imagine yourself in that place" (Big Dig 9).

> Well it's our past and people are interested in it … well I am anyway. I don't know about the younger generation but I think it's interesting to know what was here in the past. And to see those old steps and the bricks and you think how on earth did they build those? Because they wouldn't have had the equipment like they've got today to make those things. So it must have been really hard for them I'd imagine (Big Dig 2b).

> It connects within emotionally I suppose. These are the people that stated to make this country, among other people, the Aboriginal people being here too. It's exciting to see it in its original spot. I like to touch and see, so to see it was exciting. It really helped to connect back to however long ago it was (Big Dig 3b).

> I just love those stairs because you can imagine somebody who used to walk up (Big Dig 10a).

> I love trying to imagine who lived here and what it was like and smells and the feel of the place (Big Dig 15b).

> If it wasn't in situ, it wouldn't be worth looking at, at all (Big Dig 6).

> When you go underneath Notre Dame you see all of the layers of civilization on top of each other. That means nothing in a museum (Big Dig 15a).

> As a woman I look at these places and think gosh, what must that have been like? Imagine how hard life was and in those dresses in the heat (Big Dig 23).

The archaeological remains also promoted positive emotional experiences and feelings for many visitors. One reflected, "It's kind of a happy feeling. It's our past, it's where we've come from … it gives me kind of a nice feeling" (Big Dig 7b). For others it sparked a sense of personal connection and relationship to their own family history.

> You feel like you are peeking into the past. You always want to say 'I wonder what my ancestors did? If we could just take a little peek back there and see where did they live and did they live like this too?' (Big Dig 3b).

A specific question that I asked at the Big Dig site was whether people saw a difference between Susannah Place, the historic terrace house and shop across the road from the YHA, and the archaeological remains. This had been raised as an issue at the Conservatorium of Music in regard to the stables building and the colonial road remains where the archaeological remains was seen as more authentic and able to spark an emotional connection than the historic building. At the Big Dig people felt that the houses provided a different experience and that the wider area "floor plan" of the archaeological remains was like seeing the skeleton of a neighbourhood with the small room sizes and the interconnections between the various buildings and courtyard spaces more apparent (Big Dig 3a; 14a). This reflected the comments of archaeologist Helen Nicholson and historian Mark Dunn outlined earlier. There wasn't

however, any desire for reconstruction with one visitor pointing out "I don't like too much reconstruction, you have to have something left to the imagination" (Big Dig 19a).

Some of the overseas visitors thought that Australia's archaeological remains, as presented at the Big Dig site, were not old compared to sites retained in other parts of the world, particularly Europe. There was however recognition that Australian archaeological sites are of interest in a local context and therefore of interest to them as visitors. Australian visitors had a higher awareness of the deep history of Aboriginal people, but in some cases a sense of cultural cringe that overseas visitors might not appreciate it. One visitor expressing a commonly held view said: "We don't have much history in Australia, this stuff is not considered anything in Europe. Our buildings are not very old compared to other places" (Big Dig 6). There was however, a sense that keeping archaeological remains is important as a point of reflection for Australians: "I like that we always have a way to go back to our history and have something which is connected to it that is still there and you can touch it. Like proof that it's still there or that it's a part of us" (Big Dig 4b).

As noted above, a surprising aspect of interviews with the public were the negative responses to the interpretation given the overwhelmingly positive views of the site amongst heritage professionals. This was almost the polar opposite to the Conservatorium of Music, which is roundly criticised by heritage professionals and almost universally loved by the people who study and work there. A common issue at the Big Dig was having open areas of the archaeological remains on display without supporting information to allow visitors to make sense of the jumble of walls and paved surfaces (Big Dig 10b). Many people wanted better labelling of the different buildings so they could connect the remains to the stories and the objects on display. Similarly, while some people appreciated the unlabelled artefacts around the site as 'art', for many people there was a desire connect these objects to specific people and structures (Big Dig 22a).

> You need something to help give you that picture of what it would look like and then you can compare what it to what it currently looks like. You can think 'Oh this person lived in this house' (Big Dig 13a).

Several people suggested more information on the street frontages to "draw you in" and explain there is an archaeological site inside (Big Dig 2b; Big Dig 9). As one woman noted: "A friend of mine, when she came to stay here, her first impression was this was a construction site" (Big Dig 13a). A common complaint was the low lighting in the undercroft area: "It's all grey and dull. Where's the wow factor to draw people in?" (Big Dig 13b). There were multiple

suggestions, not only for better lighting but the use of light and sound as part of the interpretation along with opportunities for technology such as apps or touchscreens to convey more information (Big Dig 22a). There was also concern about the exposure of the areas of the site that are not undercover and are in poor condition (Big Dig 18).

Some people were content with the presentation and as reflected above, the context of the remains within the youth hostel was seen as a positive. Aspects of the presentation that people liked included the mesh building façade interpretations along Gloucester Street, "that kind of make you think what it would look like" (Big Dig 13a). Others felt there was enough information to satisfy most people's curiosity. "People walking through, they don't want to do archaeology 101, they just want a bit of an idea what the houses looked like, what they did in the houses" (Big Dig 25). There were a number positive comments about being able to look down on the archaeological remains from the upper floors of the youth hostel, to provide an overview of the site and make it easier to understand the layout of the neighbourhood, something that was considered quite difficult at ground level: "they get it from up there, but when you are on ground level it's like 'Oh what am I looking at?'" (Big Dig 10a). While archaeologist and interpreter Natalie Vinton criticised a lack of personal stories about people who lived there, numerous members of the public engaged with and recounted the stories told at the site, particularly during site tours.

> This must have been a real community. I like the story about the bread oven and people bringing their dinner in to be cooked (Big Dig 23).
>
> The story about the newspaper boy with the bubonic plague. So sad… but being here and looking at the foundations, it's like the people were here. They lived here. These things were found and there's a story with each of them (Big Dig 22a).
>
> When looking here at the bakery, it says about the brick ramp down to the cellar and the body stored in that previously. I loved that you know? Because death wasn't so separate in those days. People laid bodies out on dining tables so people could come and say goodbye. It's quite different from today. I love those comparisons (Big Dig 22a).

One visitor described why they saw this as important.

> I think that something I've always noticed with the difference between good archaeological sites and bad ones, is narrative. Because it's all well and good to

> be like ‘Here’s a pub and here’s a thing … but you need a story. ‘Who lived there and what did they do?’… Unless you know a story people just kind of tune out (Big Dig 18).

HIGHLANDS MARKETPLACE ON THE SITE OF FITZROY IRONWORKS - MITTAGONG, NEW SOUTH WALES

After discovery of iron deposits in 1833 at Mittagong, 100 km south of Sydney in NSW, the Fitz Roy Iron Works Company was formed as the first iron smelting venture in Australia in 1848 (Godden Mackay Logan 2007). By the 1860s the original cupola furnace was replaced with a large cold-blast furnace on an adjacent site. After failing to meet expectations the furnace was shut down in 1877 and demolished in 1922. Despite its underwhelming performance, the ironworks had a significant impact on the growth of the local community and its identity. The abandoned site remained popular for leisure outings for decades after its closure (*Southern Highland News* 8/1/2021). By the early 2000s only minor traces of the ironworks were visible in the local topography but its memory remained strong. Four days of community celebrations occurred in 1948 on the centenary of the ironworks’ opening and again in 2015 for its 150th anniversary (*Southern Highland News* 22/5/2015). Linda Emery from the Berrima and District Historical Society suggests this indicates an awareness of and pride in the role of Fitz Roy Ironworks (now known as Fitzroy Ironworks) as the birthplace of the Australian iron and steel industry, and that this has always fed the identity of Mittagong as a distinct council area within the NSW Southern Highlands (L. Emery, 1 March 2019). Sarah Farnese from the Southern Highlands Tourist centre disagrees. Having grown up in the area and not being aware of the ironworks she feels the collective community memory had forgotten the site because nothing was visible (S. Farnese, 1 March 2019). Nevertheless, when Woolworths Limited proposed to construct a shopping centre on the site in 2005, there was considerable community concern about the potential for remains of the ironworks to be uncovered and destroyed (Godden Mackay Logan 2015). At the urging of members of the local community, including the very active Berrima and District Historical Society, then Heritage Minister Diane Beamer put an Interim Heritage Order on the site to allow it to be properly assessed before consent for the shopping centre was given (*Southern Highland News* 20/4/2005).

Figure 4.8: The Fitzroy Ironworks Site at the Highlands Marketplace shopping centre in Mittagong, NSW (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2019).

The extensive remains of the iron works' first phase dating from 1848 that were uncovered during the archaeological investigations led to a requirement for their retention within the new development. Approximately 60 car spaces were removed from the development proposal to allow 45 square metres of in situ remains to be put on display. These include evidence of the former rolling mills, tilt hammer, pudding furnaces and boiler houses (Godden Mackay Logan 2007). The areas chosen for retention were the most physically impressive sections that "gave a sense of how the place operated" (KI1). The display is located at the eastern end of the car park, near the entrance to the adjacent Aldi supermarket but away from the main travelator to Woolworths and other specialty shops above (known as the Highlands Marketplace). The in situ display is supported by other resources such as the Fitz Roy Ironworks Heritage Circuit comprising signage and brochures, funded by Woolworths and launched by the Southern Highlands Tourist Centre and the Berrima District Historical

Society in 2015 for the sesqui-centenary of the first time the blast furnace was lit (*Southern Highlands News* 22/5/2015).

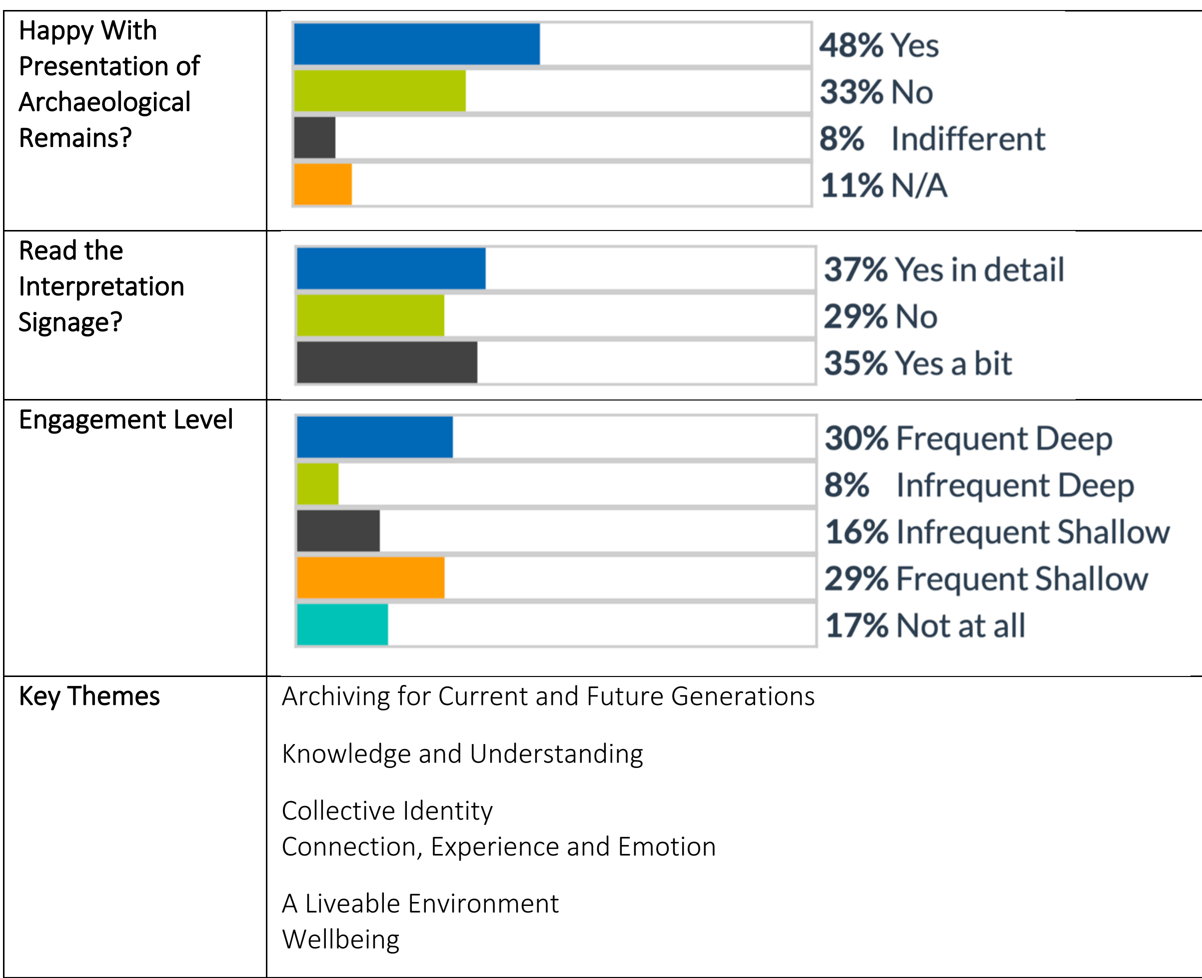
The NSW State Heritage Register significance assessment for the site emphasises its historic, technical and research values. It also notes values such as "its representation of pioneering spirit… ingenuity and resourcefulness". The social value of the site however, has not been formally assessed with the assessment of significance only noting possible value to specialist interest groups such as the local historical society and professional archaeologists and historians. Broader community interest is mentioned only in terms of community awareness of the history of the site.

VISITOR PERSPECTIVES OF THE FITZROY IRONWORKS REMAINS[38]

All the interview subjects bar one, were aware of the archaeological remains and most of them had engaged with the remains to some degree. The archaeological display had been seen by eighty-three percent of respondents, seventy-one percent had read the signage and thirty percent of people had a frequent and deep connection to the place, regularly visiting it and demonstrating a high degree of attachment to it (Table 4.5). Others deeply engaged with it when it first opened and then their interactions continued regularly but with a less intense focus (Mittagong 8b). Shopping and leisure are the main reasons that people visit this site and almost all the people interviewed were regular visitors. Apart from one man who said "I don't really care. It won't put food in your belly" (Mittagong 17), there was a very high degree of support for both the general practice of archaeological conservation and the specific conservation of the Fitzroy Ironworks with comments like: "It's vitally important" (Mittagong 39a); "If anybody doesn't want to have that they're nutty" (Mittagong 15a); "I think it's good, it's an important part of our history" (Mittagong 42b); "Stuff like that should be preserved" (Mittagong 23a); "I'm very happy they did keep it" (Mittagong 9); "We're very thankful" (Mittagong 27a); "I would be very, very upset if they took that away" (Mittagong 24a); and "Whoever made the decision to do what they did and preserve what they could and build around it, I take my hat off to them" (Mittagong 11b).

38 There is no separate section for 'Professional perspectives' for this case study site because there were few in the interviews and the ones there are have been incorporated into the text below.

Number of Interview Subjects	63
Age Range	21% 18-29 10% 30-39 19% 40-49 8% 50-59 13% 60-69 21% 70-79 8% 80-89 2% 90-99
Gender	52% Male 48% Female
Current Residence	95% Local 5% Visitor - Australian 0% Visitor - International
Place of Origin	33% Australia - Elsewhere 5% UK 60% Australia - local to site 0% Europe 0% South America 2% Asia 0% North America 0% Pacific Islands
First Visit to the Site?	5% Yes 95% No
Reason for Visit	13% Staff 13% Meet with friends 62% Shopping 35% Leisure
General Support for In Situ Conservation as Practice	89% Positive 0% Negative 11% Indifferent
Seen the Archaeological Remains?	83% Yes 17% No



Happy With Presentation of Archaeological Remains?	48% Yes 33% No 8% Indifferent 11% N/A
Read the Interpretation Signage?	37% Yes in detail 29% No 35% Yes a bit
Engagement Level	30% Frequent Deep 8% Infrequent Deep 16% Infrequent Shallow 29% Frequent Shallow 17% Not at all
Key Themes	Archiving for Current and Future Generations Knowledge and Understanding Collective Identity Connection, Experience and Emotion A Liveable Environment Wellbeing

Table 4.4: Public interview properties analysis for the Fitzroy Ironworks Site at the Highlands Marketplace Shopping Centre, Mittagong, NSW.

The most striking aspect of the interviews at this site was the high degree of public attachment to the archaeological remains and the strong sense that "you need to keep your local history where everyone can see it" (Mittagong 7a). Sarah Farnese's view that the project has brought the Ironworks back into the public consciousness is supported by the public interviews. When asked why it was important to keep it, one shopper replied, "it's got history and nobody wants to live without it" (Mittagong 38). Another reflected on the need to respect the past saying:

> It's priceless, it's heritage. A lot of people probably lost their lives doing it and all the work and effort and just to have someone come along and destroy it for some doctrine or some idea, it's just not on. No matter what you believe in no one should do that… I find that upsetting (Mittagong 4).

When asked if it would be the same if the remains were moved off site, one visitor remarked:

> You lose that connection with the past straight away. You lose how they did something, how it looked, what they may have believed in… You can walk into a certain area and you get a feeling. It means something… It's good for the locals. It's good for anybody that's coming through. It's good for people who are going to come down in the future (Mittagong 12).

The view that the site would lack meaning and feeling, it wouldn't be original or that it just wouldn't make sense if elements were transferred elsewhere was common. One person spoke of feeling "short changed" when viewing reconstructions or replicas (Mittagong 26a). Another said "I think museums are great. They are great for displaying artefacts, but how would you describe this on another site? You couldn't" (Mittagong 39a).

An overwhelming number of responses focused on the strong sense of connection that the archaeological remains facilitated. While some people professed an interest in the technical aspects of the site's operation, which is the focus of the interpterion signage at the site, the vast majority spoke of more personal connections. "It gives you a sense of connection to those workers" (Mittagong 2). The remains being in situ also supported an ability to imagine the past. They "sort of put you back in time" (Mittagong 27a).

> It gives me a perspective on what it must have been like at the time. If you see it in a museum you can still appreciate it but you don't get the historical feeling of being there in the same place that somebody set foot on. Then I imagine what life was like and their surroundings (Mittagong 8a).

> It's terrific to be able to see it. To be able to imagine what it must have been like (Mittagong 11a).

For some staff (particularly at the supermarket, the luggage shop and the hearing testing centre) this support to the imagination extended to a belief that the centre is haunted.

> You hear words sometimes in the fruit and vegetable section. When I started really early in the morning sometimes things just fly off the shelf. It's just something eerie (Mittagong 29c).

> I've been here seven years and a couple of times I've spoken to security that we think it's haunted here. He said I'm not the first person to say that. We have a baby in our store that we hear crying (Mittagong 8b).

> I had a lady come in and the bags kept falling off the shelves. She was a medium or something and she said, 'that's Arabella' and I said, 'what are you talking about?' She said 'there's a little girl in here, her name was Arabella'. I think she was around 8 and I believed it ever since. Every time something's come off the shelf I go 'there's Arabella' (Mittagong 29b).

There was a sense of strong local pride and interest in the development of the community, in which the ironworks were seen to play a pivotal role. "It's where we came from. It's a big deal in this town" (Mittagong 20). "It's our culture, it's our family, it's my inheritance" (Mittagong 13a). "Our life is not all acts and games. I want to learn something about my heart and my past and where I've come from" (Mittagong 13a). The importance of understanding the past in the present was explained by one woman in this way:

> I think that you need to know where you live. You need to get that picture of what was there at that time and how we progressed and why was that there? What difference did it make to our society now? (Mittagong 18a).

It was seen as important to keep evidence of the past for future generations so people can know "where they came from" (Mittagong 37) and also so that "the new generation coming through, they know exactly what's happened in the past [without having] to go through everybody else. They can have a look exactly how it was before" (Mittagong 34). This was coupled with an understanding of the finite nature of heritage places. "You only get one chance in life and once it's destroyed, it's destroyed forever" (Mittagong 11b). A number of people were critical of what they saw as an Australian tendency to "demolish our history instead of hanging onto it" (Mittagong 5).

Of particular interest in regard to the question of identity was a response from a woman and her daughter who regularly visit the centre to do their shopping and who identified as Aboriginal. The woman said: "I have a deep connection with Country because I'm Aboriginal and also, I have a deep connection with first settlers because I also have convicts in my family tree. I'm a coal miner's daughter, so things like that interest me" (Mittagong 13a). This highlighted an aspect of Australian heritage management that I have always found troubling. That is the common assumption that Aboriginal people can only have connection to what is narrowly defined as Aboriginal heritage and that even if this past post-dates British invasion it still needs to have a direct connection to an Aboriginal identity to be relevant or valuable. This ignores the fact that many Aboriginal people have ancestors from multiple cultural backgrounds. Why shouldn't they, like this woman, have deep personal connections to what

is categorised by formalised heritage management systems as non-Aboriginal heritage? Notions of identity and their relationship to conserved archaeological remains will be explored further in Chapter 5.

For some visitors, the sense of connection prompted by the archaeological remains resulted in feelings of wellbeing. The coal miner's daughter, mentioned above, said she suffered from anxiety and goes to visit the remains as a retreat from the shopping centre to "chill out" as she loved "the stillness of it" (Mittagong 13a). Another shopper reflected that "people are probably in a rush when they come shopping but maybe some of them stop for a few minutes, have a look and calm down" (Mittagong 37). Also associated with the remains was a sense of perspective about life in the present compared to life in the past.

> I like museums, but just stumbling on this, if you're going shopping or something, it's just nice to know that people were here before you (Mittagong 13b).

> It makes you think, we're all spoiled and take everything for granted, but the people here really worked (Mittagong 2).

Related to this sense of wellbeing people interviewed at the Highlands Marketplace, like visitors to the other case study sites, commented that the inclusion of archaeological conservation into a new development context created a unique environment and promoted positive feelings.

> It's unusual, I've never seen anything like that before (Mittagong 22).

> How many places would have this? Very few I would imagine (Mittagong 15a).

> I get a kick out of saying to my friends, we're going to go shopping simply to see an archaeological site that's been dug up (Mittagong 18a).

> I like looking at it, I love it (Mittagong 24a).

> It's exciting (Mittagong 38).

Workers at the Woolworths supermarket regularly eschew the lunchroom provided for them and take chairs to the carpark to sit near the archaeological remains, saying "we don't want to sit in here [the shopping centre] every day. It's nice to go down there and we read the signs. We go there and have lunch next to it" (Mittagong 29c). "I really enjoy sitting down here having a cup of coffee and looking at the site" (Mittagong 24a). These responses were possible despite the incongruous setting in the shopping centre carpark.

Several people expressed a view that the shopping centre should have been built elsewhere and the remains protected as a dedicated historic site. One felt it would be more of a tourist attraction in such a context (Mittagong 9). Others felt it was disrespectful or didn't make sense to build over the site with plenty of nearby open space that could have been used instead (Mittagong 7a; Mittagong 5; Mittagong 20). The majority view however, was that the incorporation of the remains within the shopping centre facilitated both their protection and public access (Mittagong 26a; Mittagong 31a). One visitor expressed the pragmatic view that shopping centre funding saved the site as it wouldn't be funded as a museum (Mittagong 26a). Other pragmatic views focused on the fact that the shopping centre was still able to be built and that the archaeological remains doesn't affect the car park or "disturb anybody" (Mittagong 39b).

> You do have to move with the times. It has to be developed, but if there are areas like this where it's significant that should be protected, but not sectioned off to the public. I much prefer repurposing (Mittagong 23b).

Also like the other case study sites there was recognition that having the archaeological remains in an everyday public space like this meant the remains would be available to people who might not otherwise see it as "by sheer presence, at some point they will hopefully engage with it" (Mittagong 14). "It adds to how special it is. People my age, we don't go to museums unless we have to. So just having that there we see it. We can learn about it if we want to. It's not pushed on us" (Mittagong 13b). "People aren't going to stop and go look at a historical site. But because they're parked in one they're like, 'Oh this is interesting'" (Mittagong 12b).

People with children or experience teaching children commented on the important of these sites for allowing students a sense of experiencing history "hands on", which was felt to make it meaningful in a way that was not possible through reading about it (Mittagong 23a). Some recent high school graduates acknowledged that they had done assignments on the site during their schooling and having the remains to visit made it more engaging and meaningful (Mittagong 13b). The presence of the archaeological remains in the shopping centre was also seen to prompt inquiry about the border history of the area (Mittagong 13b; Mittagong 8a; Mittagong 12b). This tactile learning experience was not however reserved only for children. Adults also benefited from the increased understanding provided by seeing the real thing in its context.

> It makes it more real. You can see a lot more than just reading about it. You can see exactly how it was (Mittagong 13b).

> I get a better feeling when I'm there and I'm actually standing on the site (Mittagong 8a).
>
> There's a scale. In a book you don't get an appreciation for scale (Mittagong 14).
>
> You get a context to the story, not just a picture and a brick. Seeing some bricks elsewhere doesn't really mean much (Mittagong 23a).
>
> Seeing something stays in your mind a bit more than just reading it (Mittagong 37).

Despite the strong degree of support for the conservation of the Fitzroy Ironworks site, there was a general sense of disappointment at the way it has been incorporated into the shopping centre. Only forty-six percent of people interviewed were happy with the presentation of the remains. This feeling is shared by heritage professionals. Archaeologist and interpreter Natalie Vinton felt that "The context of it is so wrong… No one wants to linger in a car park near trolleys and rubbish bins" (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018). Archaeologist and heritage specialist Richard Mackay's viewpoint was stronger, suggesting "the end result is appalling… it's just not well done" (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018). He felt the money would have been better spent in an exhibition elsewhere and that the carpark context for the remains reflects the developer's lack of interest or care, noting "there's no event space around it, there's no celebration, they can't even pick up the damn rubbish".

There was agreement that the carpark setting is less than ideal, but rather than feeling it would have been better not to conserve the remains at all, several the visitors to the site suggested the remains should have been more actively incorporated into the new development (Mittagong 8a). Their sentiments reflect Sarah Farnese's comment:

> I think there is a disconnect between the shopping plaza and the archaeological remains. So maybe you could think about having some of the shops around that instead of having the basement car park and the shops above … or have a glass floor panel outside Woolworths so you could actually see down to the iron works (S. Farnese, 1 March 2019).

This desire for the ability to interact with the remains more closely was expressed by visitors both regarding better designs for the shopping centre and access within the display itself, recognising that "the public want to have a look at it and get as close as possible to it" (Mittagong 23a). "I feel like I want to walk in the middle of it. You can't see in the middle. It would be pretty cool to walk over it to see the whole thing" (Mittagong 29a); "It would be nice

if you could walk amongst it and have a good look and think" (Mittagong 3a). There was also concern about safety issues relating to the location.

> I don't like it where it is. I don't think in the bottom of a carpark in a dark area you want to expose children to that. It's not ideal. You've got to go through traffic. It's in an area that's not that accessible (Mittagong 4).
>
> No one really wants to go down there in case they are attacked or something (Mittagong 24b).

The perceived lack of promotion of the site both for tourists and outside and around the shopping centre itself was a cause of some concern (Mittagong 26b; Mittagong 12a). "Only if I drive in from a certain direction and I drive past it I notice it. If it wasn't for that I wouldn't know it was there" (Mittagong 3b). One visitor felt the display is "just a token thing" and "could be done a lot better" (Mittagong 4). Others felt there is not enough information, or "not enough backstory to keep me interested" (Mittagong 32). Suggested mitigation measures included better and more creative lighting, "something more interactive" because "we're used to this now, we don't want to stop and read a plaque" (Mittagong 12b) and more personal stories about life at the ironworks rather than a focus on the technical aspects of the mine's operation (Mittagong 4).

Of the people who were happy with the presentation, the information on the signage was clear (Mittagong 15a; Mittagong 37), the site was considered "very well laid out" (Mittagong 20) and the historic images accompanying the text supported understanding and imagination (Mittagong 12b) allowing visitors to "picture how it's done and how they used to make the iron down there" (Mittagong 26a). One visitor suggested that "they've paid reasonable respect to the site in terms of the way they've built over it" (Mittagong 14).

While the site meets the criteria for State heritage listing, its importance and impact in a local setting is particularly notable and appears to have been largely absent from the assessment of significance and management decisions regarding in situ conservation of the site. I suggest that the community attachment would have supported conservation even if the site had not been of State significance, although in that case it is very unlikely that the site would have been retained.

MEDICAL SCIENCES PRECINCT, UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA, ON A 19TH CENTURY NEIGHBOURHOOD - HOBART, TASMANIA

The Medical Sciences Precinct of the University of Tasmania is situated in Hobart's Central Business District, a short walk uphill from the bustling waterfront precinct of Sullivan's Cove. It occupies a series of modern multi-storey buildings and Hollydene House and Advocate House dating to the 1820s. Nestled under the Medical Sciences 1 building (MS 1) on the corners of Campbell and Liverpool Streets, lie extensive archaeological remains of domestic and commercial occupation of the site dating from the early to mid-nineteenth century. Three of the large dwellings fronting Campbell Street had once been home to some of Hobart's most prominent merchant families the precinct evolving to include commercial uses such as lodging houses, storehouses and most fittingly given their current use, schools and surgeries (Crook et.al. 2015).

The public foyer areas of MS1 include five in situ displays showing cellars, footings and privvies associated with the former buildings at 53 Campbell Street and 17 Liverpool Street, along with artefacts and interpretative signage.

Figure 4.9: Archaeological displays within the public foyer areas of the Medical Sciences Precinct at the University of Tasmania (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2019)

PROFESSIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE MEDICAL SCIENCES PRECINCT ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS[39]

These are the only in situ archaeological remains in the context of new development in Tasmania and one of the few sites in this context outside NSW. The decision for in situ retention had been taken in 2007, during redevelopment of the site for the Medical Sciences Precinct and based on the identified heritage significance of the archaeological remains, particularly their historic and associative values, as well as their extensive and intact nature (Crook et.al 2015). Angie McGowan, the archaeologist for the Tasmanian Heritage Council at that time, noted:

> The University were quite keen to do the archaeology. They didn't regard it as a burden at all, which I think surprised some of my colleagues. They appeared to think 'Oh this is great. We're a University and this is an education opportunity'. The impression I got was that the University itself wasn't trying to get away with the minimum necessary to scrape their development over some bureaucratic threshold (A. McGowan, 4 March 2019).

This attitude doesn't seem to have extended to the architects working on the project. Peter Tonkin, the professional interpreter who worked on the site expressed his frustration at the way the archaeological remains were incorporated into the new building. He felt that a lack of interest on the part of the architects meant the archaeological remains weren't a driver for design in the public areas of the building, which in turn limited opportunities to tell a meaningful story about the history of the site.

> Ideally if you wanted to make this work well… they would look at our findings and then design the building around that. Well they didn't do that. There was an unwillingness to bend to the site. It was more about us bending to the building design. I think as a result we got pretty poor visibility of the remains and we got very limited opportunity to tell any story (P. Tonkin, 15 February 2018).

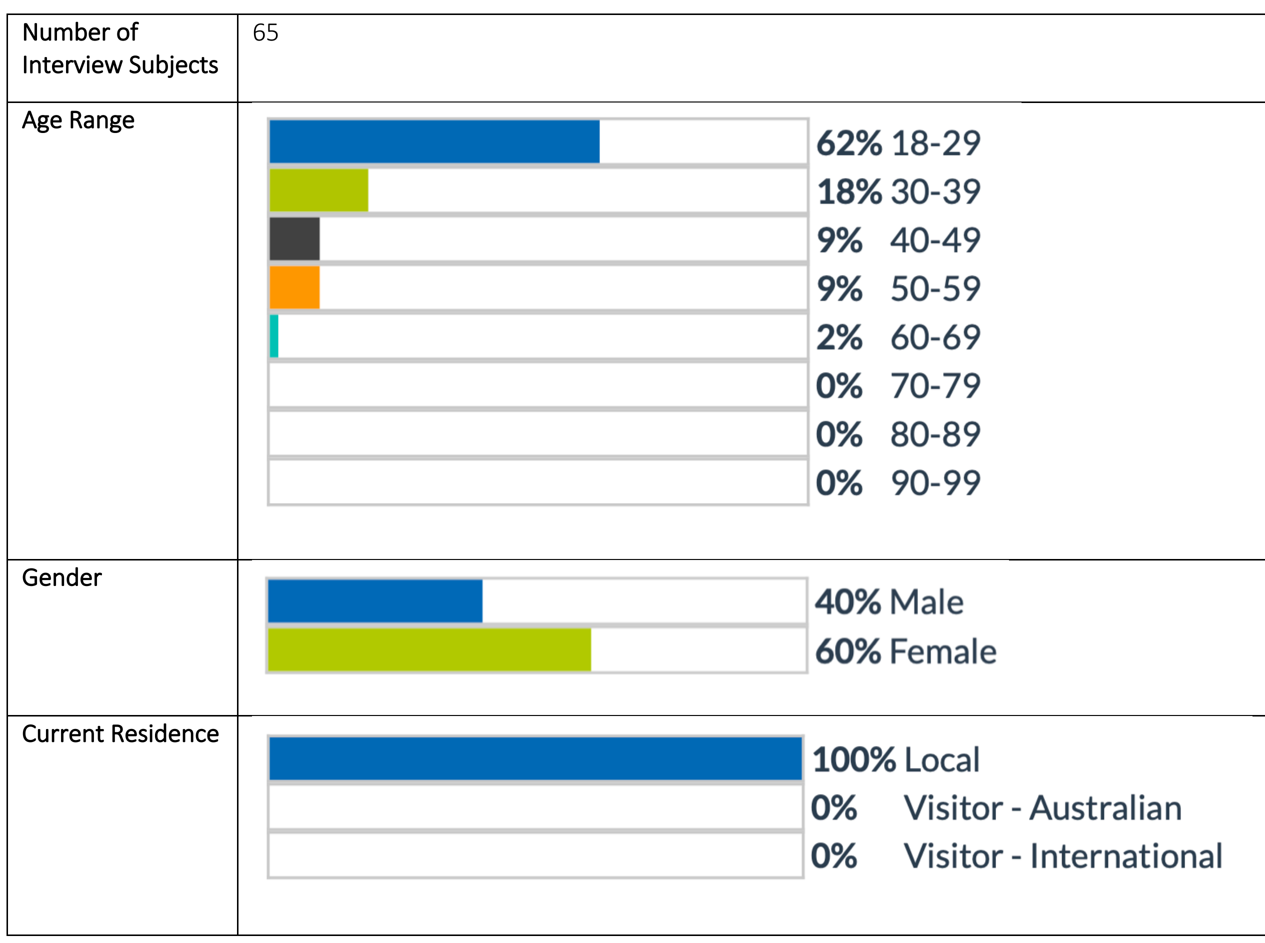
Despite Tonkin's reservations about the presentation of the archaeological remains, Angie McGowan was very positive about the interpretation present on the site.

[39] This section contains fewer professional viewpoints than equivalent sections for other case studies. This is largely because most of the case studies were based in Sydney and the majority of people interviewed were not familiar with the Hobart site but were able to speak about multiple other case studies, increasing the data collected about these sites. Three people were specifically interviewed due to their direct involvement in the site. While it would have been ideal to approach other practitioners with knowledge of this case study there was no further capacity within the timeframe of this thesis to deal with additional data beyond the 23 key informants interviewed.

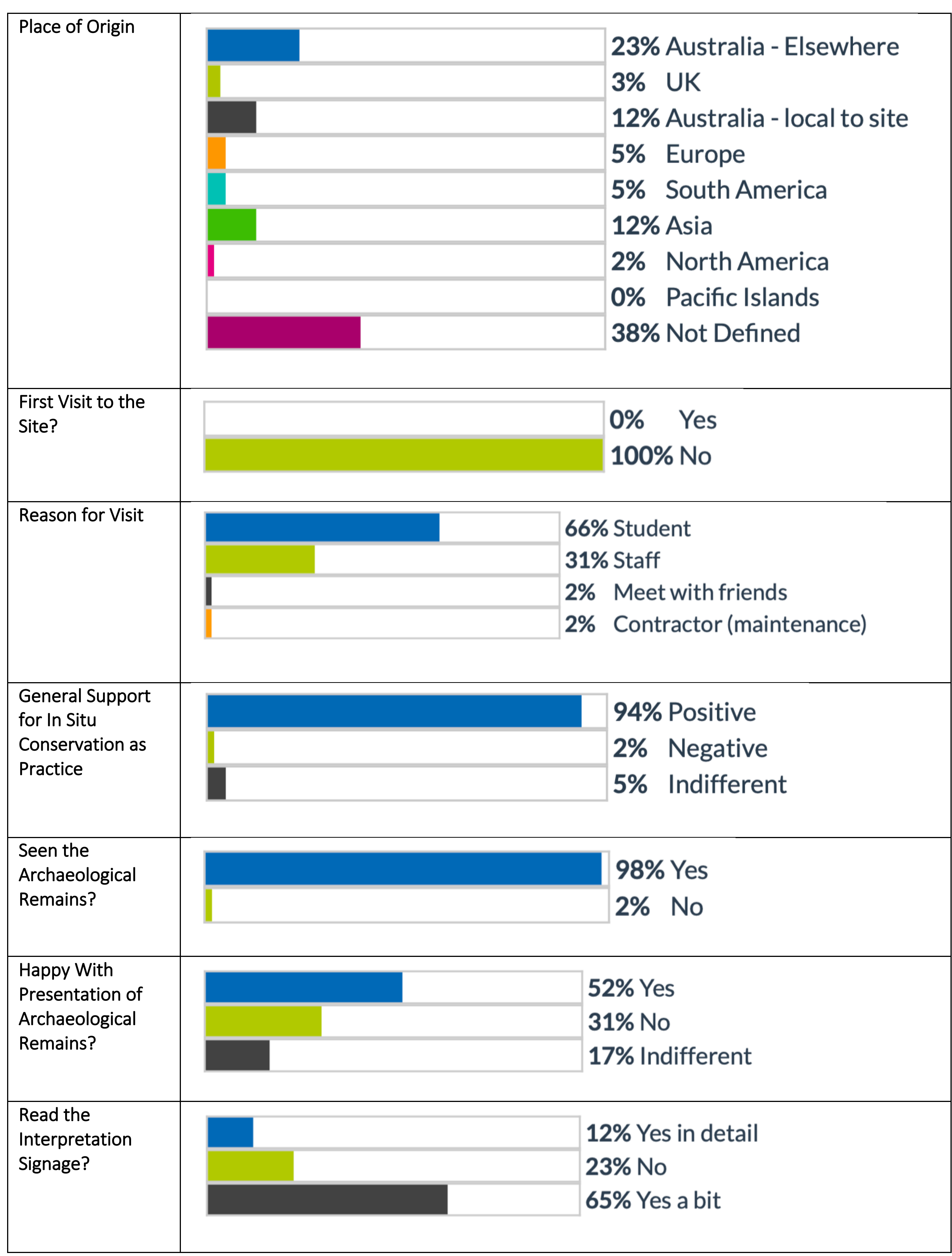
I think the display at the Menzies Centre (MSP1) is probably one of the best ones I've ever come across in terms of actually presenting the knowledge. The displays of artefacts actually talk about what was found out about what happened on the site. It wasn't just 'Oh we had to dig here and look at these lovely bones and china we found'… it actually did talk about research and creating knowledge and information" (A. McGowan, 4 March 2019).

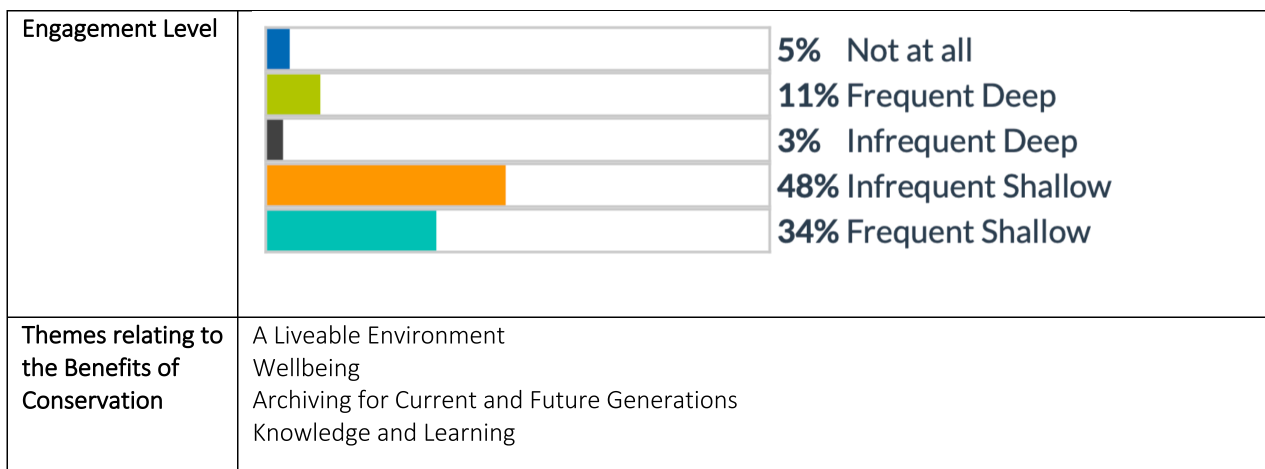
STUDENT AND STAFF EXPERIENCES OF THE MEDICAL SCIENCES PRECINCT ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

The audience for the archaeological displays at the Medical Sciences Precinct was predominantly the regular users of the building as a place of medical research and learning, including students, staff and professional researchers. A high proportion of those interviewed were students both undergraduate and postgraduate. Although a few respondents talked about occasional visitors to the building being shown the archaeological remains as part of formal or informal site tours, none of these visitors were captured in the conversational interviews.



Number of Interview Subjects	65
Age Range	62% 18-29 18% 30-39 9% 40-49 9% 50-59 2% 60-69 0% 70-79 0% 80-89 0% 90-99
Gender	40% Male 60% Female
Current Residence	100% Local 0% Visitor - Australian 0% Visitor - International


Place of Origin
23% Australia - Elsewhere
3% UK
12% Australia - local to site
5% Europe
5% South America
12% Asia
2% North America
0% Pacific Islands
38% Not Defined
First Visit to the Site?
0% Yes
100% No
Reason for Visit
66% Student
31% Staff
2% Meet with friends
2% Contractor (maintenance)
General Support for In Situ Conservation as Practice
94% Positive
2% Negative
5% Indifferent
Seen the Archaeological Remains?
98% Yes
2% No
Happy With Presentation of Archaeological Remains?
52% Yes
31% No
17% Indifferent
Read the Interpretation Signage?
12% Yes in detail
23% No
65% Yes a bit



Themes relating to the Benefits of Conservation	A Liveable Environment Wellbeing Archiving for Current and Future Generations Knowledge and Learning

Table 4.5: Public interview properties for the Medical Sciences Precinct, University of Tasmania, Hobart

This case study was chosen, not only because it is one of the few available options outside NSW, but also because there had been such an overwhelmingly positive response to the archaeological remains at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music it was useful to compare it to another university-based setting to see if the same response was elicited. The background context of science and medicine in Hobart provided a contrast to the arts focus of students and staff at the Conservatorium. Over a period of three consecutive days in Hobart, 65 people were interviewed passing through the main foyers of the MSP1 building and in the staff and postgraduate student lunchroom on the third floor. Two thirds were students and one third were staff. Almost everyone had seen and engaged with the archaeological displays in some way. All of them were local residents and regular visitors to the site although their places of origin were varied, with a split of Australians and people who had come to the University of Tasmania from overseas.

People at the Medical Sciences Precinct had mixed views about the presentation of the archaeological remains within the foyers of the new building with a generally less positive view than the students at the Conservatorium. But similar to the other case study sites they were overwhelmingly positive about the general concept of in situ archaeological conservation, using words like "fascinating", "super-cool", "important", "real", "interesting", "wonderful" and "brilliant" to describe it. Like the Conservatorium of Music in Sydney, while a couple of people expressed sadness that the remains had been built over (Hobart 4), the majority felt that the archaeological remains made a positive contribution to their experience of a new and otherwise functional space. "It doesn't in any way get in the way of what the building does or its function and it's something interesting to look at" (Hobart 30). "I just like

the fact that the old things are preserved, but not at the expense of new development either. I kind of think we need to work together" (Hobart 30).

For some it provides a point of interest, an eye-catching attraction and a more enjoyable environment, making the site "really special" (Hobart 31b) and giving it "a bit more personality" (Hobart 14).

> It's one of the first things I think you notice when you come into the building for the first time. It adds a little bit of flavour. It can get a bit boring otherwise. The couple of holes in the floor and the glass over gives us something to look at rather than the modern part of the building, which is very sort of standard. Less interesting than the bricks and mortar (Hobart 13).

> To me it's just nicer. There's a point of difference if I'm standing around waiting for a lecture (Hobart 41a).

> When it's a brand-new building and everything's all flash and nice, it's nice to have another dimension to it (Hobart 23a).

> Definitely gives character and it's an interesting talking point as well (Hobart 10b).

> When we first came and we were all new to the area it was definitely a topic of conversation that was pretty common (Hobart 14).

For others it creates a unique environment. "I think it adds a design element that you can't really get anywhere else and unique to here" (Hobart 1). "It's not things you see every day. It's not medicine" (Hobart 21). "It does actually add to our city" (Hobart 23b).

> It's character, it's history, it's culture. Why not show it and present it to people like that. Make it part of the building like it used to be, for us to hold onto (Hobart 29a).

The attractiveness of the environment means that some students choose to study at the MSP1 building even when they have other places to do so. "Normally I'm at the Domain campus for study but I find here to be a nicer study environment" (Hobart 36); "We study here over the summer, but after the summer I ended up coming back here every time before class or after classes. It's a nice place to study" (Hobart 3). The contrast between the medical-related use of the building and the incorporation of archaeological remains of commercial and domestic occupation was part of the attraction for some and an odd combination for others: "I like the

stories. The fact that this cutting-edge building where we're doing innovative medical research is built on top of something with such history. I like that" (Hobart 27); versus "It's a bit strange it's in the medical building" (Hobart 2a).

Like the Conservatorium, staff and students at MSP1 identified wellbeing outcomes associated with their experience of the archaeological remains, particularly a sense of perspective.

> It's something that can take your mind off things at some point if needed (Hobart 1).
>
> It's a reminder that this hasn't always been here and all these people lived their lives before this" (Hobart 15b).
>
> We're increasingly a throw-away society. Forgetting about all the things you probably shouldn't (Hobart 2b).

One of the staff working the building highlighted the importance of the archaeological remains being present within the specific context of MSP1 saying:

> Especially in the professions we study in the Menzies [Institute] where it's very intense and very heavy study, you get very absorbed in the modern world and this is a little bit of 'oh, things haven't always been the same' (Hobart 13).

There was also a sense that it's important to be respectful of what has come before. "It does make you feel good that we don't just destroy everything to build new things. We pay some respect what was here before" (Hobart 19).

Some people expressed concern that the archaeological remains aren't promoted widely to the public and thus only accessible to students, staff and visitors of the Medical Sciences Precinct (Hobart 31a; Hobart 31b; Hobart 41b) and that "some people who are actually interested in that might not be able to see it because it's in the science building" (Hobart 28b). Many people however, appreciated the location of the remains within the public foyer of the building because "It's easier for us to see here" (Hobart 46b). As at Mittagong and the Big Dig site, people indicated that having the archaeological remains in a place they visited every day brought it to their attention in a way that wouldn't otherwise happen. "It's really cool and something that I wouldn't normally see" (Hobart 40b). Many of them indicated they wouldn't go to TMAG (the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery) to explore the history of Hobart but appreciated being exposed to it at the Medical Sciences Precinct (Hobart 8a; Hobart 33b; Hobart 40b). "We don't have to put everything in a museum. Most things are more beautiful

when they stay in their exact locations. It's more natural to me and I like it this way" (Hobart 31b).

> It's introducing it to an audience who would never normally go to TMAG on their weekends off studying. So it's forcing, particularly young people, I don't want to stigmatize that, but particularly young people who wouldn't normally be immersed in that kind of history, to have a look at it and take it in. Even if they only see it out of the corner of their eye or when they're procrastinating (Hobart 23a).

While the mix of conservation within a newly functioning site was the preference of most people, a couple of interviewees indicated they would prefer the archaeological evidence presented in a museum context. Not necessarily taking the remains away but retaining them in situ and using the place as a museum. One felt more members of the public would see the remains in a museum (Hobart 41b). The other suggested: "People don't come here with the expectation to learn about the historical context. So, in that sense it might be more practical to have it in a museum and people can view it how it was intended to be I suppose" (Hobart 14).

As they did at the other case study sites, the people who had engaged with the archaeological remains felt "there's something visceral" about retaining them in situ and it supports the ability to imagine the site in the past and to understand it better.

> If you see it in TMAG, it's nice to see it but it's almost hard to imagine the context, whereas if you walk over there and you can literally look through the floor and be like 'oh it was here' and the imagine what the town might have looked like in this exact place how many years ago and appreciate the contextual information that it gives as well. It adds a human aspect to it. You can see a building and be like 'wow, that's a really pretty building' but you don't necessarily imagine families using that building and going about their daily lives until you see the more mundane aspects of it (Hobart 15a).

The perceived difference between historic buildings and archaeological remains highlighted here was also evident at the Conservatorium and will be considered in more detail in Chapter 5. Conversely, there was an increased interest in the past and learning about the history of the site at MSP1 compared to the Conservatorium and interestingly this was often from overseas students who wanted to know more about the place they were studying.

> It's something I can learn the background of where I am living and that really gives me an insight (Hobart 9b).
>
> I think it's good because it tells you about the history here. I am from Pakistan and we have a lot of history. I would like something like that to happen back home as well (Hobart 31a).
>
> As a new person to this country, I'm particularly interested to know about the history and understand it better. I think when you have something so visual within your own building it really sort of prompts you to go and learn about it, because it's there (Hobart 36).

There was however, a suggestion from one international student that while the displays are of interest to visitors, they have more value to locals.

> Though we still love history we want to know more, but for the locals this like beauty for them. They know it more, they have more values about that history. I can learn from their history, how they were living, what kind of things they had, but the locals, they were born with this history. They can't remove those things. They can add value to the community (Hobart 31b).

Associated with this desire to learn was a desire to archive these sites for future generations (Hobart 17a). Keeping the past was seen as important because "there is a lot to learn from history and I guess what you learn from history can influence the future" (Hobart 24). "Sometime to know where we're going, it helps to know where we've come from" (Hobart 19). "It's nice that we can remember what happened, even though we're trying to go forward" (Hobart 40a). The site is also seen to contribute to the identity of Hobart: "It represents the culture of the place and its traditions and history. It's precious to the people of Hobart" (Hobart 9a). But there were also many people who weren't interested in knowing the history of the site and weren't engaged by the signage. Nevertheless, they were able to respond to the site. "It causes you to stop just for a moment regardless of whether you understand it or not. I think that perhaps the pausing and reflecting trumps really understanding what it's about" (Hobart 40b). Some people also noted the human connection with the people who lived and worked on the site in the past. "You could say it's just an old toilet and no-one cares about it, but it was constructed by people and if you value the existence that those people had then a little remnant of that exists in the buildings they created" (Hobart 13).

As at the Conservatorium, there was a sense of continuity provided by the archaeological remains, with the Medical Sciences Precinct the most recent stop on a history of activity at the site. "It's a nice way of tying the building into the history of Hobart - to the original architecture of the time and what was going on here before we moved in to study medicine" (Hobart 8c). "The understanding of how the City of Hobart has changed over the last couple of hundred years, it's good because it shows there's a history of progress and change that people did different things here" (Hobart 35). However, there were also perceptions that Australia has a comparatively "shallow" history (Hobart 34): "Some of our old things here really aren't that old if we think about it globally" (Hobart 41b).

There were mixed viewpoints about the displays. Some people felt there was enough information for the context and the glass floors over the in situ displays were frequently mentioned as a positive feature of the display, considered both functional and eye catching (Hobart 35). Particularly the cistern in the main foyer with its surrounding seating, with students indicating "we often sit down over in the corner and have a chat about it and look at it" (Hobart 15a). "I look through the floor every time I walk across it" (Hobart 8a).

> It's the floor which attracts me to it. It's something different. Every building has display cabinets and that stuff can be from anywhere. I wouldn't be interested unless that stuff originally came from right here (Hobart 19).
>
> This is an area where you wait around, so you do spend a lot of time looking at stuff (Hobart 25b).
>
> I really like the glass floor and that you're looking down into it. It becomes more part of the building rather than being in a glass cabinet (Hobart 36).

Some even suggested they would like more on display with a larger glass area to walk over (Hobart 15a; Hobart 17b; Hobart 41a). But many people said they hadn't read the accompanying interpretive panels and those who had suggested the stories weren't interesting and more contextual information including a better key plan of the site was needed to make better sense of the segments of remains on display (Hobart 24; Hobart 25c; Hobart 31b; Hobart 41a). "I haven't read it very closely and it didn't stick in my memory. I remember getting an impression of oh, that doesn't tell me anything" (Hobart 33b). Some thought the fragments of archaeological remains on display were disjointed and "token" (Hobart 8a) or needed more attention drawn to them, although one student suggested "Stumbling across something like that makes it

all a bit more mysterious and kind of cool" (Hobart 12). Others looked at the displays initially and but don't continue to engage with them as they were "cool for about 20 minutes or so and then we moved on" (Hobart 29b). Angie McGowan (4 March 2019) would perhaps be disappointed to hear this following her comment (quoted on p 128) that the presentation of knowledge at the site is one of the best she has seen.

CHAPTER 5

EXPLORING THE THEMES

Oh, it's so very important. Enormously important.

It made me feel really grounded.

Interview subjects at the Highlands Marketplace Shopping Centre and the Sydney Conservatorium of Music

The previous chapter introduced the five case study sites, including an overview of the data collected from members of the public in each location and the opinions of heritage practitioners about each site. The presence of archaeological remains provided a focal point for the interviews and elicited specific responses about each site, but they also stimulated general reflection about the value of the practice of in situ archaeological conservation and the nature of its public outcomes. This chapter provides an analysis of the broader themes arising from Chapter 4, integrating the findings from all five case study sites and introducing additional data from both the public and heritage professionals in relation to the following areas:

- overall impressions on whether in situ archaeological conservation is a 'good' thing to do;
- perspectives about public interest in archaeology and history both here and overseas;
- key outcomes of in situ conservation identified in Chapter 4: connection to people and place; a liveable environment; wellbeing; archiving the past for the future; identity; and learning about the past.[40]
- the importance of the archaeological remains staying in situ.

40 The material relating to tradition, was specific to the Conservatorium of Music and to a lesser extent to the Medical Sciences Precinct, was covered in the case study descriptions in Chapter 4 and will not be dealt with again here.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ACROSS THE FIVE CASE STUDY SITES

The responses from visitors to the five case study sites are notable for their similarities rather than their differences. There was a high level of consistency in support for the practice of archaeological conservation in situ as well as support for each individual conservation project. Responses about the methods of interpretation and architectural integration of the archaeological remains were understandably, specific to each site. Many people didn't engage with the detail of the interpretation, but nevertheless engaged emotionally in their own way. Where people did read the signage, the main criticism was a desire for more personal stories about life in the past rather than technical details relating to the archaeological findings. Clear labelling to help people identify what they are looking at was mentioned as a desirable feature, especially on sites like the Big Dig where the large open area of footings presented problems for people wanting to understand which building was which and who lived where. Generally, the size of the display area didn't impact people's ability to enjoy and understand the remains, although a desire to see more was more commonly expressed than a desire to see less. An emphasis on ensuring public access to the archaeological remains was present at all the case study sites and occasional concern was expressed that having such displays outside museums and dedicated historic sites. On the other hand, the presence of archaeological remains in an everyday context meant that people who wouldn't normally visit such places would be exposed to the benefits of history, heritage and archaeology.

Regarding the demographic characteristics of the interview subjects, gender had no discernible impact on people's views. The only difference according to age range was in terms of an increased interest in history in the over 50s age groups. There were some differences in the degree of engagement and attachment to each place. Three sites received regular repeat visitors: the Conservatorium of Music; the Medical Sciences Precinct; and the Highlands Marketplace in Mittagong. People at the Conservatorium and Mittagong sites showed particularly high degrees of attachment to the archaeological remains and a sense of pride and identity associated with the archaeological remains and their experiences of it. Hobart and The Big Dig demonstrated the lowest degree of engagement, despite the high level of support for in situ archaeological conservation as a practice. Overseas visitors and locals showed a similar level of interest in and support for conservation of the sites, although a higher degree of attachment to the archaeological remains was, not surprisingly, demonstrated by locals.

Number of Interview Subjects	296
Age Range	36% 18-29 14% 30-39 15% 40-49 15% 50-59 6% 60-69 11% 70-79 2% 80-89 0% 90-99 0% Not Identified
Gender	48% Male 52% Female
Current Residence	76% Local 10% Visitor - Australian 14% Visitor - International
Place of Origin	25% Australia - Elsewhere 6% UK 21% Australia - local to site 7% Europe 2% South America 4% Asia 3% North America 0% Pacific Islands 5% Not identified 17% Not specified 0% Middle East 9% Not Defined
General Support for In Situ Conservation	99 % Positive 1% Negative 0% Indifferent

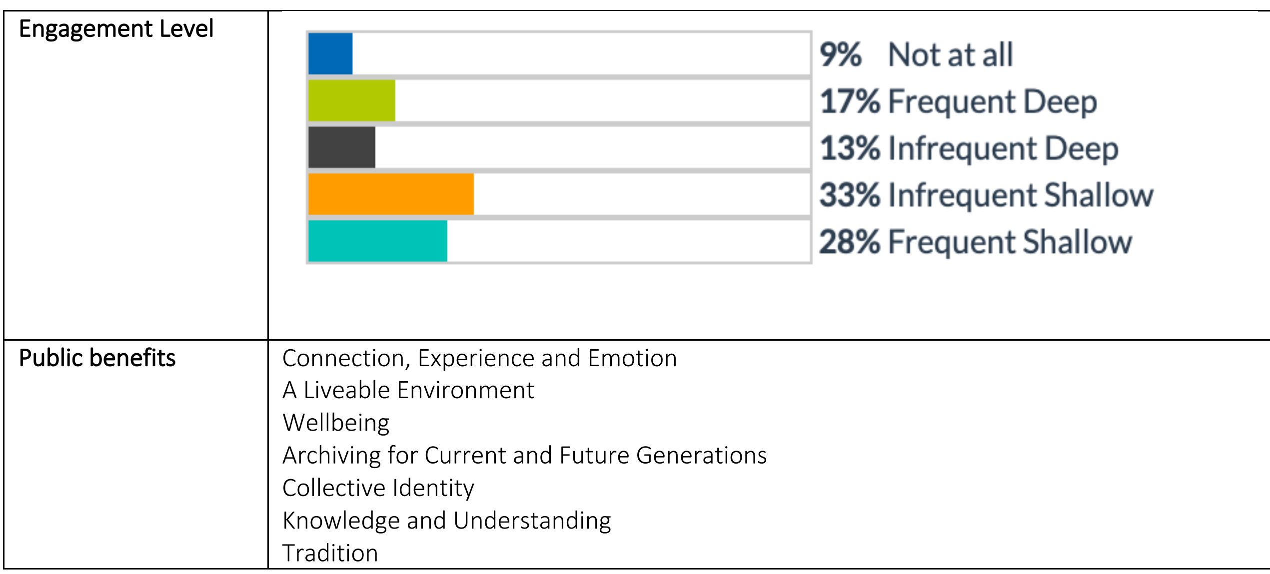
Engagement Level	
Public benefits	Connection, Experience and Emotion A Liveable Environment Wellbeing Archiving for Current and Future Generations Collective Identity Knowledge and Understanding Tradition

Table 5.1: Combined interview properties for the five case study sites

The same six themes about the outcomes or benefits of each site for the public, arose from the data collected at all five case study sites although with slightly different weightings in terms of the number of times each theme arose and the emphasis placed on them. These are summarized in Table 5.1 and explored in detail in the latter half of this chapter.

There was also one theme that arose at only two of the case study sites: a sense of tradition. This theme was particularly evident at the Conservatorium of Music and was also mentioned by several students at the Medical Sciences Precinct. In these cases, archaeological remains predating the current use of the place for education were seen by students to lend an air of gravitas and a sense of tradition to the learning institutions themselves.

These outcomes were underpinned by the in situ nature of the archaeological remains. Having them in their original location was seen as integral to the ability to imagine and experience the past in the present, to make deep emotional connections and to access the outcomes described above. These themes and the importance of "insituness" will be discussed later in this chapter.

OVERALL IMPRESSIONS OF THE PRACTICE OF IN SITU ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSERVATION

PUBLIC VIEWS OF IN SITU CONSERVATION

As reflected in the previous chapter and the data presented above, the public response to in situ archaeological conservation was overwhelmingly positive with ninety-nine percent of people supporting it. There was a strong sense of public ownership of archaeological remains and a strong view that it is important for people to be able to access these places directly rather than the results of archaeological work being turned into an artefact collection, a series of academic publications and interpretation signage.

> It's a better way of doing it. You can write a book about it but only archaeologists are going to read that book and I don't think people are ever going to find out about it. So having it on public display and in an interactive way I think is a better way of doing it (Hobart 25b).

There were a surprising number of people who became emotional when interviewed about the archaeological displays. Word such as "fantastic", "fabulous", "cool" and "wonderful" were commonly used at all the case study sites, with one visitor to the Museum of Sydney describing the practice as "…vitally important" (MOS 18).

> Oh, it's so very important. Enormously important. For so many reasons. It's the most amazing place. It really and truly is, and it's such a pleasure (Mittagong 15a).

> It's fantastic, they should be doing that all over Australia (Hobart 12).

> All it can do is add to the richness of society (Mittagong 4).

Not all public attitudes towards in situ conversation were positive, but these accounted for l percent, of people interviewed.

> I've spent a lot of time walking around museums through my life and I don't think in situ is important. I'd rather see half a room where I can stand there and see the well and the photograph of what it looked like before the demolition and just see it all in one room (Con 19a).

> I get more out of seeing a site during excavation than afterwards and the best way to get a feeling for the historical social context of a site is to have photos 'as it was' (Con 39).

> Sometimes it seems that very trivial things are preserved and not well displayed anyway (Con 37).

Some of the support for in situ conservation was tempered by a view that it's not possible to keep everything everywhere. "You get to the point where if you're going to keep everything, well then you can't build anything" (MOS 24a).

> I think everything is worth investigating, but not everything is worth preserving and presenting to the public. Factors to consider in making the decision as to whether a particular site is 'worth it' would include rarity, importance of the site itself or the historical period it represents to national/international history and practical consideration such as the needs of our current society (Con 44).

> I wouldn't hold up the progress of a city… but if it fits in then I think it's very worthwhile doing (MOS 20).

For many people, conserving archaeological remains in situ was a sign of respect for the past. Visitors to the Museum of Sydney and the Medical Sciences Precinct noted:

> I think it's wonderful because, once again, rather than obliterating the past, which we are so good at doing, it is saying that there is a past here and we need to actually respect that. I love how they find different ways to do it (MOS 14).

> I appreciate people acknowledging things and keeping a bit of history in the present and not just covering it up for their commercial purposes I guess. Which is really nice that they've considered the learning of people and the history and things like that instead of being like 'we want this thing and we don't care about what the importance of that was and we're just going to build over it' (Hobart 15a).

Within the range of positive support for in situ archaeological conservation were people who acknowledged that they didn't personally have an interest but felt it was important for society that archaeological remains be retained. For some it was a case of 'why remove it?' "Is there a reason to destroy it? We can build over it, we can build around it. We can do what we want. Why destroy it?" (MOS 24a). For others it was an understanding that even if archaeological conservation wasn't important to them as an individual they considered it important for society.

> History's better kept preserved. The longer you can keep it there the better. It will mean something to someone. It might not mean much to me but there's someone it could mean something to (Con 3a).

> There's a lot of reasons as to why you should keep it even though I don't have that kind of affinity for history or archaeology, but I can really buy the idea (Con 11b).

Apart from these more general expressions of support, there was also the specific range of outcomes for both individuals and communities derived from the ability to experience archaeological remains in situ, which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

PROFESSIONAL VIEWS OF IN SITU CONSERVATION

The views of many of the professionals interviewed, particularly the archaeologists, were in dramatic opposition to positive public views, and echoed the scholarship overviewed in Chapter 2. While most archaeologists were kindly disposed towards interpretation of archaeological work via on site signage, artefact displays and the use of technology, the initial response of many was that they couldn't see any added value in conserving archaeological remains such as building footings in situ, especially given the difficulties associated with achieving that on many development sites.

> I'm ambivalent about it. I do it because I have to do it... I think the public only engages with it because we told them it was important (M. Casey, 15 February 2018).

> Imagine if you ploughed a million dollars into the Heritage Office to do something about public art, information for the public. To me that would be a better use of money (H. Nicholson, 18 June 2018).

> Sometimes should we just let new places be new places where people can form new attachments and learn about something that's not history? (J. McMahon, 5 November 2018).

Archaeologist Wendy Thorp wasn't against the concept of in situ conservation but was strongly of the opinion that the sites kept to date didn't achieve anything.

> I think it has a place, but it doesn't work the way we do it now. I'm all in favour of keeping stuff, because wiping out a city's past is like a facelift that goes wrong

> isn't it? But I don't like what comes out now because it is didactic (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018).

Other archaeologists also found in situ conservation outcomes in Australia to be disappointing. Archaeologist and heritage specialist Richard Mackay noted that in his view, the outcomes often reflected application of the process rather than "thoughtful consideration of the benefit" (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018). Archaeologist and educator Craig Barker of the University of Sydney felt the displays often "cut out the stage the general public are most interested in, which is the discovery process" (C. Barker, 29 May 2018). Archaeologist and interpreter Natalie Vinton expressed regret that she has "been part of acquiring things to be in situ that I don't think work very well" (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018).

Archaeologist and interpreter J. McMahon prefers other forms of interpretation. "I often find in situ archaeology really hard and it just makes me feel really uncomfortable that I don't understand what it is I am looking at … and if you clean it up it's inauthentic but if you leave it as it is you can't read it" (J. McMahon, 5 November 2018). "Sometimes the budget could be much better spent on other outcomes, such as making research more accessible" (PS22). Natalie Vinton suggested with increasingly accurate 3D scanning and virtual reality technology there might be other more cost-effective ways of communicating what a site looked like to the public rather than keeping the remains (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018). Heritage Victoria's Senior Archaeologist Jeremy Smith and Heritage Architect Elisha Long felt the same way.

> When you come into a site and someone is interpreting it for you and you have a response, I think you can do that as much on a site where there is no archaeology underway as you can do it on a site where you get to see the dig unfold. I'm very comfortable with most of our sites being dug up, recorded and then development proceeds. We might look at a secondary interpretation scheme that doesn't rely on the direct fabric. I'm comfortable with that (J. Smith, 27 June 2018).

> Maybe we can do that better with virtual reality now. Maybe it's actually far more interesting to stand on that site and have what you would've seen from the veranda of First Government House recreated around you in a virtual reality sense (E. Long, 19 November 2018).

These views are based on the premise that communication of information is the primary purpose of providing public access to archaeological places. Adding to the negative views of in situ conservation, heritage architect Elisha Long felt that decisions to conserve archaeological remains in situ can compromise other heritage values and that the number of sites where it's "valid" to do "is actually very limited" (E. Long, 19 November 2018). There were also concerns that the difficulties and expense of in situ archaeological conservation aren't offset by the outcomes (PS6). "Does the effort spent in conserving, presenting and maintaining a site actually justify the outcome of visitor experience, information and presenting heritage significance?" (PS4). Jane McMahon also wondered if conserving too many things in situ would "devalue" the practice (J. McMahon, 5 November 2018). Underlying these negative attitudes towards in situ archaeological conservation is a view that its primary purpose is conveying archaeologically derived information about the past to the public. This is not to say that archaeologists don't understand that archaeological sites may have multiple values, simply that most of them see research and educational outcomes as the overriding priority and driving factor for what to keep and how.

One area where in situ archaeological conservation was seen in a positive light by archaeologists reflects the desire to support the archaeological profession into the future, a theme that was also present in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. This support fell into two categories. The first related to sites that were retained and exposed, which it was argued "help people understand the process of what archaeologists do and what archaeologists found (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018) as well as helping people understand "why archaeology is worth doing and supporting" (PS25) and "to demonstrate the value of the discipline to a wider audience" (PS12). One survey respondent suggested, "perhaps it is to influence young people to choose it as a profession and to have an interest in retaining the physical remains of the past" (PS 1). While archaeologist Wayne Johnson of Place Management NSW felt that "in situ conservation has added a lot to public perceptions of archaeology" he and consultant archaeologist and educator Helen Nicholson acknowledged some discomfort at this agenda of interpreting archaeological remains, not with the public in mind, but "with our profession in mind", "for archaeology's sake" (H. Nicholson, 18 June 2018; W. Johnson, 6 February 2018).

The second way that situ conservation was seen to support archaeological practice related to sites being retained without being disturbed or being recovered and not left accessible to the public.

> At the rate at which archaeology is being excavated, particularly in Sydney, it seems like a way of preserving a bit of the archaeology… for archaeologists in the future. Everyone needs to know that we did that process because archaeology is important. It's not self-serving but it's an advertisement for archaeology as a process (J. McMahon, 5 November 2018).

> One of my roles as an archaeologist is not to dig things up. To preserve them in situ without being disturbed (W. Johnson, 6 February 2018).

To that end, conservation in situ where the archaeological remains are kept buried is often preferred by heritage consent authorities (KI1) "to defend sites from bad archaeologists who do not produce the work" (M. Casey, 1 February 2018), or by consultants who think leaving it exposed is a "nightmare" due to physical conservation issues (M. Casey, 1 February 2018). Former NSW Government Architect Chris Johnson felt this was a problematic management option.

> I think there's been an overly purist approach to heritage for some time that has said 'Let's protect in situ and not disturb and it's even better if you cover it up with sand and no one quite knows it's there'. I think that's missing an incredible opportunity about presenting the layers of history of evolution of places (C. Johnson, 22 November 2018).

Indeed, it was the non-archaeologists, the historians, architects, interpreters and site managers who saw the most value from in situ conservation where the remains are available to the public, because "they belong to the public NOT to the institutions that have legislative control over them" (PS31).

> I think it's so powerful and critical that every opportunity should be used at every available important site to do it and I think there's a lot of misunderstanding about what an archaeological site is and how it's best kept, how it's interpreted and what it means in the short and long term to the members of the public (Architect, R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

Historian Mark Dunn noted "If you just tear it out every time, then it's just for the archaeologists", although he clarified he didn't think it should be a standard requirement for all archaeological sites saying, "some of these sites don't tell us much more than if they had decent interpretation in the foyer with a few artefacts" (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018).

Alison Frappell from the Big Dig Archaeology Education Centre felt that if developers were making significant amounts of money by developing archaeological sites then there needs to be some sort of wider social benefit. In her view archaeological conservation in situ can be an important part of that public offering (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018). Some practitioners emphasised the need to provide a public outcome from archaeology, but this was usually framed largely in terms of making research outcomes accessible (R. Mackay, 10 February 2018; KI1). In Richard Mackay's case however, he emphasised that conservation of heritage values included but were not exclusive to research value. This view was supported by former Heritage Tasmania archaeologist Angie McGowan who noted that "archaeological sites do have a value that's different from the research value" (4 March 2019).

Public access to conserved archaeological sites wasn't mentioned as important by many professionals, but a couple of the anonymous survey respondents noted: "It's extremely important. People want to visit the actual places where history happened" (PS 27); "Access to heritage is each person's human right" (PS 4); "why should we not display the people's heritage?" (PS 3).

> Sites should be as publicly accessible as possible and spread across Australia in an even/democratic way that represents diversity and sites should be equally accessible to all (PS22).

Natalie Vinton and Richard Mackay also supported the public being able to experience and engage with the remains in an "open, regular, incidental way" (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018). "We're retaining resources that you wouldn't otherwise be able to experience and see and allowing them to be part of the story about our history and heritage (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018).

PERSPECTIVES ABOUT PUBLIC INTEREST IN ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND HERITAGE

PUBLIC VIEWS OF ARCHAEOLOGY, HERITAGE AND HISTORY

Many members of the public shared the view that Australia's heritage is not valued by Australians and many consider it necessary to go to Europe to see meaningful history (MOS 18) and don't value Australian history (MOS 27a). For some people this equated to Australia not being old enough to have any interesting history.

> It's not that old as a city [Sydney], it's a young country (Con 23b)

> Australia has very little history (European that is) and we must preserve what little we have. Indigenous archaeology is another matter in that Aboriginal people have been preserving their sites for thousands of years. They understand the importance of preserving and passing on their history (Con 30).

> We haven't got much of it and for long enough it wasn't preserved (Con 11a).

For many people however, it wasn't that Australia's history is uninteresting, rather that it doesn't get the attention that is deserves.

> Places like America, they seem to do their history very well and you come back here and you think we tend to push it aside. I don't know whether we've still got a bit of that cultural cringe or something. Yet when you start reading it … our history is phenomenal. Yet we don't seem to grab hold of it very much (Con 7a).

> For Australia to have any history we are somewhat proud of is very rare. I think Australians don't think about this sort of stuff very often (Con 19b).

> You are travelling and you go overseas and you get ushered through the cultural heritage of different nations and you come back here and you're plumb ignorant about what you're walking past or walking over on a consistent basis (Con 6).

One of the visitors to the Medical Sciences Precinct in Hobart felt that this perceived lack of emphasis on heritage might stem from a modern focus on the self and the immediate.

> I feel like probably a lot of people aren't particularly interested in that. I have no evidence for this but I would suggest that culturally, a lot of the world we live in right now is very centred on what's going on right now and the technology we have and where that's going. I don't think a lot of people have an appetite for looking at the past (Hobart 13).

The perception of a lack of broader interest was however, belied by the frequent individual expressions of support for and interest in history, heritage and archaeology evident in the case study discussion in Chapter 2.

> History is important. If you don't know your history you don't know anything. You've got to know where you came from, you've got to know why you're here, who was first and why it all happened. If you don't know that you just live in a vacuum (MOS 16).

A counterpoint to comments about Australia's heritage not being interesting enough were provided by observations such as "Every little thing that people do is history" (Con 7a) and "it's not about the duration of history, it's about what happened" (Big Dig 23). Indeed, while many people interviewed reflected that they feel Australians aren't interested in history or heritage, almost all of them professed a personal interest in it or stated they felt it was important for society to engage in practices like in situ archaeological conservation. This would suggest that most people are in fact interested in and supportive of archaeological conservation to some degree. It raises an interesting question about why there is an overwhelming perception that Australians aren't interested in heritage when the data from this study (as well as that analysed by Bennet et al. 2021) suggests the opposite is true. This is a question that will be considered further in Chapters 6 and 7.

PROFESSIONAL PERSEPCTIVES ABOUT THE PUBLIC AND HERITAGE

The level of public interest in archaeology, history and heritage was one of the few areas in which the professionals and the public were in general accord. The view that Australians don't value history and heritage combined with a sense of cultural cringe that Australia's heritage isn't old enough to be of interest, especially to migrants or overseas visitors, fostered a sense of frustration and even hopelessness for several archaeologists interviewed. This was succinctly expressed by consultant archaeologist Wendy Thorp when she said:

> I don't think Australians…actually give much of a toss about their past to be honest. I think they're both ignorant and contemptuous, which is a very unhappy place to be. Trying to create something for a society that thinks it's not old enough to have a history, or one that's even interesting based on their knowledge is a very, very hard thing to do… It's not because of the nature of in situ conservation. I think it's the problem of the society itself that doesn't value its own past and doesn't actually understand it and therefore doesn't value it… I don't think its got much value to the present society at all (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018).

She went further to suggest that Australians aren't interested in their past because "change is so rapid there's never been a time when people have had the space to accumulate a feeling of what it is to be Australian and what that entails as a past" (14 September 2018). This pessimistic view of public interest in archaeology was echoed by many of the heritage professionals interviewed and surveyed.

> Maybe because so many people are very clueless about history these days we are working off a very low base and should consider the realisation that people actually did have plates and brick walls in the 19th century to be a sort of modest victory (PS4).

> Definitely, there is a real sense in the wider public that Australia doesn't have any archaeology and nothing like Europe (PS16).

When asked why in situ conservation doesn't happen in Melbourne and whether he thought there was a public appetite for it, Senior Archaeologist for Heritage Victoria Jeremy Smith said that while some people expressed dismay at the prospect of sites being removed after investigation he didn't feel there was a strong drive for conservation (J. Smith, 27 June 2018). Mary Casey disagrees, despite her personal feeling that in situ conservation isn't a priority, citing her experience with the public during many open days during excavation projects. "They were always shocked that the site was going. It's where you're not getting in situ conservation that people are shocked because they always assume that the archaeology is going to be kept" (M. Casey, 1 February 2018). Most archaeologists focused on positive public support for archaeology at the moment of excavation, rather than support for the outcomes of the excavation including in situ conservation (A. McGowan, 4 March 2019).

Several archaeologists commented that the changing demographic of Australian society with an increasing number of immigrants was reducing interest in the past. "We have a very big immigrant population who have no connection to the past, so why should they feel that they care about it?" (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018). "Some people will be interested in heritage others will have no interest whatsoever because they are migrants in the last 15-20 years" (M. Casey, 1 February 2018). It is important to note here that these negative perceptions were not borne out in the public interviews and surveys. As is evident in the data tables in Chapter 4, the overwhelming support for in situ archaeological conservation at all of the case study sites was regardless of demographics based on country of origin. Both the migrants and the international tourists expressed interest in the history of Australia and the local places they were visiting or living in and saw the presence of archaeological remains as a positive aspect of their experience of Australia.

Although many of the heritage professionals saw a lack of public support for in situ conservation, those whose jobs involved contact with the end products of the process were more likely to recognise positive public outcomes.

> The recent re-opening of the Lithgow Blast Furnace attended by up to 3,000 people demonstrates the level of public interest in in situ interpretation of significant places. I am constantly inspired by public reactions to the industrial sites with which I have been involved (PS9).
>
> I think the general public loves interacting with a good conserved archaeological site. But it has to be done properly and there has to be a story that goes with it (PS8).

PERCEPTIONS OF THE SPECIFIC OUTCOMES AND BENEFITS OF IN SITU ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSERVATION

As reflected throughout Chapters 2 and 4 and in the general attitudes explored above, public benefit for most archaeologists is perceived as public access to research output. In situ archaeological sites are therefore seen primarily as vehicles for conveying information gained through research excavation. Historian Mark Dunn questioned this focus asking, "What is public benefit? Are we talking monetary, or are we talking educational, or are we talking better cities? They could be all of that in fact. There's lots of public benefits. It's not just one thing". He went on to suggest "I suppose once the archaeologists move off site it becomes a different thing. It's not an archaeological site anymore, it's a historic site. So I think they're probably connecting to a different idea of it" (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018).

The case study descriptions in Chapter 4 confirm that there are a far broader set of public perceptions of the outcomes and benefits of in situ archaeological conservation than is recognised by the sample of archaeologists interviewed and surveyed for this thesis. Although learning about the past was noted as important by many members of the public, it was not as important as most archaeologists perceive or wish it to be. When asked if they had seen or engaged with the archaeological displays at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, many students responded along the lines of "Oh that thing in the glass case over there. I've walked past it every day for the last four years and I have no idea what it is but I really like that it's there". Considering the first part of that statement from the perspective of archaeological knowledge transmission as a primary aim it is easy to conclude that the installations at the Conservatorium are an unqualified failure because few people engage with the interpretation panels enough to know what they are looking at. The second part of the statement however, suggests that the conservation and presentation is not a failure, it simply delivers different

outcomes to those intended by its creators. These differing viewpoints can be seen in Table 5.2 and will be explored in the order of importance to the public.

Archaeologists and Heritage Professionals
Archaeological knowledge transmission – as reflected throughout this thesis the purpose, values and outcomes of archaeological work (including in situ conservation) are framed by archaeologists around research value and the production of knowledge about the past. In this sense archaeological sites are conceptualised as resources rather than heritage places that might have multiple values. *Prolonging archaeological practice* – in situ archaeological conservation is seen a vehicle, not only for communicating archaeologically produced knowledge about the past but also to raise awareness of and support for archaeological practice and respect for archaeological expertise. *User experience and enjoyment* – although not commonly mentioned, some practitioners (particularly non-archaeologists and those who interact with the public at archaeological places) acknowledged that public experience and enjoyment was an important aim, regardless of how much they were learning.
Public Users of Conserved Archaeological Sites
*Connection, experience and emotion - t*he embodied experiences of the past through interactions with archaeological remains promotes deep feelings of connection to people and place over time and a sense of belonging. This helps to deliver the outcomes of wellbeing, identity-building, enjoyment and learning or understanding about the past. *The contribution of the archaeological remains to an enjoyable and liveable environment* - was derived from the presence of the remains themselves and the ways in which they have been incorporated into new contexts through architectural design to create places that people want to spend time in. *Wellbeing* - outcomes derived from engagement with archaeological remains, including a sense of perspective and a sense of belonging. The remains fulfil a common need to feel connected to people and place and to understand where humans fit into the world, what came before and what is yet to come. This in turn generates feelings of security and comfort. *Archiving, memory and identity* - archiving the past for future generations so that they can have their own experience of the archaeological remains and construct their own meanings from them. This was not only a desire to pass information about the past but also a means of keeping memories and the sense of identity and belonging that the remains were seen to confer on both individuals and communities. Personal and community identity were fostered through the process of conservation itself: as a civic minded and respectful activity and through the nature of remains and their place in the history of the individual and the community.

Learning about and understanding the past - embedded in both understanding the bigger themes in Australian history and in knowing about the history of the specific place in question. The presence of archaeological remains enhanced people's ability to understand the place through experience rather than simply reading about it in a book. This was seen not simply as an exercise in knowing about history but also in knowing ourselves. While the scholarship reviewed in Chapter 2 and the professional interview data explored in Chapter 5 shows that communicating information about the past is seen as the primary function of archaeological conservation in situ by archaeologists, it received far less emphasis from members of the public.

Table 5.2: This table, drawing on the interview and survey data analysis, clearly shows the difference in emphasis of the professionals and public in perceptions of what in situ archaeological conservation achieves in practice. The themes are listed in order of emphasis in each case, determined by the frequency with which they arose in the dataset. While experience and enjoyment were noted by some professionals, these tended to be the interpreters, architects and site managers who were closer to the public end of the conservation process than the archaeologists, whose emphasis was on research value. Connection to people and place is italicised because it is an essential underpinning to the other outcomes listed below.

CONNECTION TO PEOPLE AND PLACE – THE EMOTIONAL VALUES OF CONSERVED ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

PUBLIC CONNECTIONS

Key to the public outcomes described in this chapter is the underlying power of in situ archaeological remains to support people's deep need for connection, not only to things but to people including past individuals, families, communities and even to the spirit of the place itself. One member of the public felt that in keeping archaeological remains "you keep the soul of the place" (MOS 4b). At the Museum of Sydney, people felt connected to the workers who made the drains on display and they reflected with a sense of amazement on how things were built in the early colony and how difficult life must have been for people then. "People walked here and built this and they had their families here" (MOS 17). They spoke about Governor Phillip and their sense of him as a man and his interactions with Aboriginal people. At the Highlands Marketplace shopping centre people spoke of the difficult lives of the workers and their pride in the founders of their community. In this sense the physical remains provide a direct emotional connection to people.

> I do get something out of it. It’s probably hard to put into words I guess, but I think of the people behind who’ve done that. That’s what I think about. I think how hard they must have worked. Who are they? What did they do? (MOS 2).

> I actually feel more connected with the actual people who were here. That’s the lifestyle. Takes you back in time more and imagine what was going during the day (MOS 8).

> You could say it’s just an old toilet and no-one cares about it, but it was constructed by people and if you value the existence that those people had then a little remnant of that exists in the buildings they created (Hobart 13).

> [Archaeology] adds a bit more of a human aspect to it. Like you can see a building and be like 'wow that's a really pretty building', but you don't necessarily image families of people using that building and going about their everyday lives just as we do now until you see the more, for want of a better word, mundane aspects of it (Hobart 15a).

> It resonates with me because I like to imagine it. I like to think what it was like back then and the people who lived here and who made those bricks there, because I think they were just like us. They weren’t any different from us. They just happen to live at that time in this place and I do think we should preserve some of what they’ve done (MOS 31).

> It’s emotional for me I guess. I think the history of our country, we should preserve it, we should be proud of it. I think of the labour of the day and how much they actually got done with little tools is amazing… These people just did it with a pickaxe and sheer guts and determination really. So I’m very passionate about our history (MOS 2).

Some people were able to express specific feelings prompted by their experience of the in situ archaeological remains. “I’m excited that I’ve seen it” (MOS 24a). “People take a sense of wonder away from that … you get this rush of humanity and place” (Con 19b). For others there was a sense of attachment, but this was expressed more generally as “just a feeling” (MOS 7), or the stronger expression of feeling “emotional”.

> You’re standing on it. You’re feeling it more so than just staring at it (MOS 26).

> You can actually really feel the history (MOS 27a).

> I get a little emotional about it. It's important not just for me but the young ones coming along (MOS 3a).

> It's so exciting. It's one thing to see a picture, but to actually see the bricks and how they constructed it and where it was. It definitely is an emotional thing for me (MOS 17).

There were also more personal connections associated with family history. "I've got a personal interest in it as well. My ancestors built this. That's why it's really important to let future generations know that this is where we come from" (MOS 22).

> It makes you feel connected to the site and feel the history of our ancestors and even the people that lived or visited here before us (Con 33).

> I think it's emotional. Maybe when they're children it's more learning, but when they're older I think it's an emotional connection. Particularly if they identify with convicts or .. you know how many people do the family history now? If they've got a personal connection, which a lot of people do, then I think it's even more important to those people (MOS 6).

PROFESSIONAL VIEWS OF CONNECTION

The emotional aspects of engaging with archaeological remains were not recognised by most of the archaeologists interviewed when they were speaking from a professional viewpoint. Professionals with other backgrounds such as interpreter Peter Tonkin did however see the role archaeological remains play in prompting connections.

> It is important to be able to integrate them where you can and for me the important thing is it helps us remember things or it helps us feels something other than we normally do… The visual side of it is very emotional (P. Tonkin, 15 February 2018).

Linda Emery from the Berrima and District Historical Society spoke of people's tendency to look for personal connections when interacting with historic places.

> People want to know about people. That leads them on to wanting to know about what those people did and how their grandmothers did the washing or how their grandfathers had no safety equipment when they went down mines … I think if you understand the people you think, they're no different to us.

> People haven't changed. They think, the live, they laugh the same as we do and people want to understand that (L. Emery, 1 March 2018).

One of the professional survey respondents agreed: "I think people are interested especially where they can fit their own families, stories or experiences somehow into the lived in remains" (PS28). "It just provides connection. People want connection. They want connection to a bigger story" (E.Long, 19 November 2018). Architect Richard Johnson suggested the sort of connection provided by conserved archaeological remains is a lasting one: "If you connect to it at the moment that's one thing, but the richness of connecting through it as part of the continuum, which archaeological evidence will give you, that's more powerful" (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

Archaeologist Wendy Thorp, although a critic of in situ conservation, also noted that "if you aren't thinking of that, right up front, as connected to a community or a family or a single person, then there is no order. Well, it just becomes a collection of artefacts and buildings and floors. I don't think that's archaeology" (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018). Wayne Johnson suggested "if you're going to get someone to engage with something, the emotions will always come into it. You get the emotive reaction as you see the people's reaction when they use their own imagination to realise what life was like when comparing it to their own life" (6 February, 2018). Another exception amongst the archaeological viewpoints was Tracy Ireland who has done previous research on in situ conservation and said "I'm going to critique what is happening, but I'm also very aware that people love these things…there's no sign that people are moving away from continuing to love archaeology as a way of grappling with things. I don't think that's gone out of fashion at all" (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019). "They can help the public engage with the past, with their feelings as well as their 'rational' selves" (PS32).

> [At Mittgong] they found quite a large area of brick paving and it had this incredible kind of use wear … it was Annie Bickford's patina of nostalgia. You could imagine the little feet trampling on it… here's the worn-down windowsill where the station master has leapt up every half an hour to look out the window and spot a train (KI1).

Interestingly, when asked about their own personal experiences of archaeological sites archaeologists talked about the tangible nature of those experiences and not the knowledge gained. Terms such as "the power of place", "a sense of wonder", "awe and deep emotion", "connected" and "emotional" were used. Anonymous respondents to the survey for heritage professionals spoke of the emotional aspects of experiencing archaeological sites.

> These sites make me feel connected to the people who built and used them, particularly in a domestic context. I think people are genuinely interested in how people used to live and go about their daily activities (PS1).
>
> I love the connection with the past (PS8).
>
> It's really like stepping back in time (PS18).
>
> You feel transported in time, which is a whimsical and educational experience (PS17).
>
> I love that you can walk through and get a feel for how people were living hundreds of years a go … look at the hearths and feel the presence of ancestors (PS20).
>
> I love to feel the sense of history (PS23).

One of the anonymous survey respondents was particularly descriptive of how the emotional experience of in situ archaeological remains worked for them.

> I had strong responses to both my experiences at Port Arthur and Pompeii… I felt reflective, engaged and sad. I don't feel that sadness as strongly or at all unless I am there looking at the remains and imagining these stories. If I read a book about Pompeii I don't feel anything of the sadness or the reality of the history that I felt at the place itself. I can recall the feeling though when I think about what it was like to walk around those places (PS22).

Archaeologist Mary Casey, who is not an advocate of in situ conservation on her own professional projects, admitted that she loves visiting such places as a tourist: "I still get very excited… emotional". While promoting the importance of research outcomes from her work she said that as a visitor "I am a very bad absorber of information. I hate reading labels" (M. Casey, 1 February 2018). This is an interesting split in personal and professional approaches.

There are striking similarities between these responses and Sarah Colley's survey of undergraduate archaeology students discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (Colley 2007). Both the archaeology students and the professional archaeologists expressed that their attraction to archaeology stemmed from processes and experiences: the excitement of discovery and mystery solving; touching the past; imagining themselves in the past; travelling; and having an emotional connection to people across time. However, exposure to training and experience in archaeology and the rationale of scientific method and a focus on research outcomes, seems to

have triggered a type of amnesia regarding the experiential aspects of archaeology or at the very least a sense that experience and emotions have no role to play in the professional practice of archaeology.

LIVEABLE URBAN ENVIRONMENTS – AN ENJOYABLE ENVIRONMENT/A UNIQUE SENSE OF PLACE

PUBLIC VIEWS ON LIVEABLE ENVIRONMENTS

At the Sydney Conservatorium of Music everyone interviewed and surveyed, including the people who said they didn't actively engage with the archaeological remains, commented on how much they enjoyed the way it had been integrated into the modern and largely underground extension to the Conservatorium and the way it helped to create a liveable and enjoyable environment. "I just like the vibe of it" (Con 2) and "it's just really cool" were frequent comments as well as appreciation for the unique character the archaeological remains lends the place and the respectful harmony of old and new. One student even said the building and the way it is integrated into the landscape and around the archaeological remains was one of the things he enjoyed most about coming to university. There was a general consensus that their daily environment would consist of "boring and uninspiring modern grey walls" without the presence of the archaeological installations (Con 14).

> It makes really nice architecture because it means the architects have to get really creative. It makes the space really interesting instead of just clinical… It's not just functional (Con 8a).

> It's fantastic. What they have done here, to conserve what they have found and integrate it into such a modern space. The old and the new together (Con 16b).

These sentiments were repeated at all of the case study sites to varying degrees, with the exception of the Highlands Marketplace shopping centre where members of the public generally acknowledged that the situation of the remains in the carpark was not ideal and they would prefer even more access to the archaeological remains through its integration into the shopping floor.

> It gives more life and decoration to what would otherwise be a bland building. I love the fact that all the things have so much more detail and design.
> Nowadays we live in a rectilinear world called "clinical culture and architecture. Bringing these two things together really warms the heart with the modern building (MOS 14).

> It's more interesting than just going and seeing a couple of rocks that are now out in the open. It's more interesting seeing how it's been built over and developed around (MOS 10).

As well as providing an interesting and enjoyable environment to spend time in, the effort to use what's within the context of the new was considered a respectful and sustainable use of the environment.

> It shows that we built around the environment that we're in. We don't just come in and chuck up a box. We can build around the landscape that's provided to us. In doing so we've integrated this building within the natural landscape and the archaeology of the environment and I think that's a very special thing. This building in general feels like it is part of the landscape, it doesn't feel like it's just a building (Con 23).

While some people preferred the archaeological remains unencumbered by new buildings, for many there was strong support for keeping archaeological remains within new developments, balancing conservation with the need to keep new development functional for its desired purpose. Support for in situ conservation was high where it was possible to retain the old without compromising the functionality of the new, allowing use of what might otherwise become a quarantined "derelict part of Sydney" (MOS 35a). "It's functional, it works. It keeps up with demand, but it also incorporates and retains the important part" (MOS 35a). "I like the way they are functional sites with the archaeological site as an added bonus rather than just burying it and ignoring it. It feels more relevant' (MOS 39).

Beyond the immediate experience within the site itself, the role of the archaeological remains as a "unique" marker of each site was recognised as a form of placemaking in urban areas. This is a both a sense of place through time and as a unique marker in the current urban landscape.

> Place making through sight and sound is ultimately important. Australia's multiple cultures and locations are nation-specific (Con 35).
>
> It helps make up the culture of any country. If you got to Paris or London all of the buildings make up the identity of the city and how its shaped, which is more interesting than the same sort of ideas in newer cities (Hobart 25b).
>
> It's cool, in a city that's quite modern to be able to come in and still capture something that's very old still. I think that's pretty cool (MOS 35a).

This type of place making was seen as primarily important for locals and regular visitors rather than tourists. As one visitor to the Big Dig at Sydney Harbour YHA remarked, "You shouldn't do a city for visitors. It's supposed to be for the people who live and work there" (Big Dig 19a).

PROFESSIONAL VIEWS ON LIVEABLE ENVIRONMENTS

Professional views about the success and failure of new contexts for in situ archaeological conservation varied, but there was an overall view that "in order to make it a success you have to have a well-designed space" (T. Higginbotham, 6 November 2018). The better examples were seen to exist where the new context responds to the archaeological remains, rather than "retaining a tiny part of the site that might not be the most interesting part to interpret and fitting it around the new development" (PS1). "Postage stamp sites grudgingly preserved within places unrelated to the significance of the archaeology can be unsuccessful" (PS9). This is an interesting perspective given the social value of archaeological places is not well understood by many archaeologists and the 'success' in public terms is rarely assessed by speaking to the public.

It is important to note however, reflecting on the case study data in Chapter 4, that the professional and public views about which new contexts work and which don't, differ. Archaeological remains at Big Dig and the Conservatorium of Music for example, are in highly designed new contexts where the architects have responded to the archaeological remains, but the professionals generally cite the Big Dig as a success and The Conservatorium as a failure. On the other hand, the public responses suggest that while both sites can produce the range of outcomes discussed in this chapter, there are much higher levels of positive engagement at the Conservatorium than at the Big Dig, possibly because the regular community of users at the Conservatorium are able to develop deeper attachments over time and don't see the remains primarily as a vehicle for learning about the past. It is also relevant to note that at the Highlands Marketplace the overwhelmingly positive public responses and the range of beneficial outcomes identified are possible even without the good quality design that the professionals suggest is necessary.

Despite the professional emphasis on the ability of conserved archaeological remains to convey information about the past, there was some recognition that they can contribute to people's experience of place. "A site can tell a complex story about the past or the present or simply be a nice place to experience" (PS5). "I think people go around these sites for pleasure not just education" (T. Higginbotham, 6 November 2018). "It can add to the atmosphere of the place" (PS3). For historian Mark Dunn the remains can also prompt a different experience

of the world outside the site. “It makes people, it makes me, look at the city slightly differently… it’s a nice physical space to stand in and notice things that then make you think differently about somewhere else in the city” (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018).

For interpreter Peter Tonkin, a successful combination of archaeological remains and new design draws people in. He cites the Mint Building in Macquarie Street, Sydney as “a really good example of incorporating ruins into contemporary design” that juxtaposes ruins, historic buildings and contemporary architecture. “It’s done in such a playful way where they’re really inviting people to visit and explore that I come away feeling quite happy and moved actually” (P. Tonkin, 15 February 2018).

> Knowing what you’ve seen, the education side of it, is one thing, but enjoying it is another. I mean I come up here [to Middle Head] and look at the gun emplacements with my son. I love it but I don’t necessarily understand how it worked and I don’t necessarily care. I just enjoy it… I’m not particularly interested in just trying to provide history lessons. I actually want people to enjoy the experience, to enjoy the interaction with the modern architecture. I mean it’s the same discipline just done at different times. They’re both wonderful things. (P. Tonkin, 15 February 2018).

Facilities manager Guy McEwan felt that this was successfully done at the Conservatorium of Music. “It becomes a destination in itself. It multiplies the interest in the building and the activation of the building from the general public” (G. McEwan, 25 June 2018).

In designing the Museum of Sydney, architect Richard Johnson took a different approach, treating the place “with the respect and importance it’s due by being clear of any development”.

> Why would you put a contemporary building over the remains of a place to identify the importance of the place? Why would you actually create a greater focus on the interpretation of it rather than the reality of it? It seems to me there is a contemporary dilemma in actually understanding the importance of the real. We focus not on the real but the image (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

Johnson sees his design work as part of a continuum, rather than “that’s then, here’s now” and this informs his approach to the task of creating new environments for archaeological

remains. In his view archaeological remains are part of the "grain and history and fabric of the city".

> It's part of the mental mapping of a place and that's how you build up a love the place isn't it? Where you go on your daily walks and you see something and then all of a sudden that becomes the way you go because it's more interesting… The site becomes a loved space or building and therefore it's the most sustainable thing we can build. I always say the most sustainable building is the one that's loved. It's not the one with all the bells and whistles and five stars and all of that marketing crap (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

In Johnson's view this approach at the Museum of Sydney contributes significantly to the identity of the precinct and its attractiveness as a place to be in the city. He said he was aware that long term and high-profile tenants of the nearby office buildings stay in the area, despite attractive financial incentives to move elsewhere, because it is an interesting and attractive area for their staff and clients to spend time in.

> More and more critical in a global world that the liveable cities, the attractive cities, the interesting cities, that's where the creative are. That's where people are prepared to come from overseas and settle and bring their intelligence and expertise. And in the mix of what makes an interesting, liveable, creative city, archaeology is in there…. There is absolutely no question in my mind that the Museum of Sydney, if it was a brand-new museum on a site that had no archaeological relevance it would be a pretty insignificant little public building that nobody would care to go in. And the architecture wouldn't be as rich and would have no meaning in terms of understanding the city or how its developed. We'd have no clues apart from my own self-indulgence of what I've wanted to express at that moment in time… You are pretty dumb if you rely for architectural expressing on your own interests and experience. Much smarter to link it to a bigger picture. You're more likely to get it right and do something that's enduring and that has an accord with more people (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

Johnson also felt these site-specific outcomes contributed to the wider urban experience.

> Several generations of a family will acquire things and change their family house and you can read the layers of history in a room. Why can't you do it in an

> urban space? Very potent idea and of course you can... As the city grows bigger and more global, strangely enough, its tangible links to our beginning become even more important and more potent. A brand-new city on a clean site with no evidence of anything ... name me one that's created a great place that people want to be in? (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

Architect Elisha Long agreed: "The bigger issue here is how do we make our cities? How do we add those layers and make them places that are interesting and give to us and enrich our lives?" (E. Long, 19 November 2018). Archaeologist Wendy Thorp who was dismissive of current in situ conservation practice felt when done well archaeological conservation can "contribute to a sense of shared community and history" (PS 24). To that end she felt there was value in re-thinking the significance thresholds for choosing what to keep. A focus on local rather than State heritage values, in her view, would produce better outcomes.

> I understand why we focus on Sydney and Parramatta, but there's fabulous histories in all these regional places well, but we're doing nothing... There's a site I'm working on in Camden, it's of local significance... It's part of that local community. But because of local significance there's a perception of 'we'll just dig it up'. If it was of State significance, oh no. Most things aren't of State significance, but if you downgrade local significance to expendable, then there's no local anymore is there? Essentially local significance means get rid of it, it doesn't matter, and I think it matters a lot to little communities like Orange or Appin or Camden. Local's important... These vast housing estates, everything has been removed like it's just been erased from the landscape... isn't it more important there to keep what we can? Even if it's just small things... so you create a sense of identity for these new places straight off (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018).

Archaeologist Ted Higginbotham suggested that the public doesn't necessarily classify heritage as "heritage" but rather as part of the continuum of the world they experience each day. "I think we appreciate the variety in our environments and the modern building, the older buildings, the old trees or whatever. We value that variety in our everyday environments and then to have an archaeological site around the corner does not necessarily come as a total surprise, it's just an extension of what we already take, probably for granted" (T. Higginbotham, 6 November 2018). Tracy Ireland also identified this blurring of the lines around "heritage" as a discreet thing in her survey work in 2010 (Ireland 2012a).

> It just actually contributes to the sense of the history of the city and the depth of it and your place in that continuum. I think that's really interesting. (S.Sedgewick, 7 August, 2018).

WELLBEING

PUBLIC VIEWS ON WELLBEING

A sense of wellbeing derived from the in situ archaeological remains was a strong theme particularly, as reflected in Chapter 4, at the Conservatorium of Music and the Highlands Marketplace. For some people the presence of archaeological remains fostered general positive feelings derived from their experiences of a liveable and enjoyable environment. For many others however, the wellbeing outcomes were more specific, relating to the sense of perspective and belonging that the remains can provide, fostering feelings of comfort, security and a reduction in stress and anxiety.

As noted in Chapter 4, staff at the Highlands Marketplace shopping centre often take chairs to the carpark and eat their lunch sitting near the archaeological remains of the Fitzroy Ironworks and one shopper and her daughter who suffer from anxiety said they regularly visit the remains as a soothing antidote to the busy shopping centre above, saying: "I love the stillness of it when there's nobody around. It's quite peaceful down there" (Mittagong 13a). At the Conservatorium of Music many students talked about the archaeological remains providing a sense of stress relief, as they were reminded of people who came before them and lives outside their narrow sphere of academic focus. They commented that the archaeological remains made them pause in their day, even if it was only for a few seconds, to reflect on a reality bigger than their own sphere of study and focus, to feel the presence of other lives that came before them. One student described the archaeological remains as an antidote to busy, globalised and ultra-connected lives. Others described it as a form of escape.

> It draws me out of being selfish and thinking 'my life, my path, my future, my present' and think about the past. And sometimes stepping back and reflecting on that, kind of changes perspectives a bit (Con 14).
>
> I moved here from interstate to study and so seeing all this archaeological stuff, it made me feel really grounded. It kind of reminds you that there's lot out there bigger than yourself (Con 8b).

> I enjoy the feeling of being taken out of my own time and place for a bit (Con 44).

> I don't think you want to think life begins with you. I think you want to think that life begins with generations before. They had their way of life and they had things that they did. Everybody did remarkable things but they are just quietly remarkable (Con 7b).

> My first word was security, which is a weird thing to feel. Because we are based on generations of things that came before (Con 7b).

> I feel like, especially in our globalized, modernized society of today we tend to be surrounded by everything new and I think even then we still like preserving tradition in a way and we recognize the value of maintaining that (Con 17b).

Visitors to the Museum of Sydney and the Big Dig agreed.

> I think it really softens your day, it can relieve stress. I really think surroundings influence the way you feel (MOS 14).

> We are living in a very fast-moving world. It's a snapshot of a time and that's the best way I can explain that (MOS 18).

> Those remains show you that there was a different way of living once upon a time (MOS 14).

> It allows people to kind of gain empathy for other people and being able to look back in time and then history and see how we got to where we are today and the different choices that were made (Big Dig 12).

> There is a kind of connection people like to feel, with the rest of the world. We like to think that everything's culminated in our life. Our life is the pinnacle of our existence or the centre of our universe. So I think that a lot of the time things like this give you the backstory that you crave and especially in a time of … God is dead and we no longer have this connection to the spiritual world and explain where we've come from and where we're going … archaeology especially is a really lovely way to kind of calm that inner turmoil that you feel (Big Dig 18).

There was also a feeling of satisfaction in being respectful of the past. "It makes me feel good because the history and everything is actually where it happened" (MOS 1).

> It feels nice that it's there. It's important to keep things. You can stop and look if you want to and it feels like the development's been done without running over what was here previously. I like seeing what happened in the past even if you don't stop and look at it very much. It's kind of nice to know it's there (Hobart 30).

PROFESSIONAL VIEWS ON WELLBEING

Wellbeing wasn't recognised by most professionals as an outcome of in situ conservation. Once again, it was the people who were closer to the public interaction with archaeological sites that reflected the views of the public. Former NSW Government Architect Chris Johnson spoke of it as "part of this grounding type issue to understand that there have been previous layers [of the city]" (C. Johnson, 22 November 2018). Guy McEwan, facilities manager at the Conservatorium of Music echoed the students in suggesting "it can actually jolt you out of the pressures of the here and now and make you pause… There's a mental break there that's really important" (G. McEwan, 25 June 2018).   Linda Emery from Berrima and District Historical Society agreed with the student from the Conservatorium who saw the experience of in situ conservation as an antidote to modern life.

> I think there's a real hunger for us to want to belong… The more we're disconnected through electronic means and all of this sort of stuff, the more people actually want to feel that they belong. Whether it's a longing for the belonging that we thought we used to have… I don't know. But the two are connected I think (L. Emery, 1 March 2019).

Alison Frappell from The Big Dig Archaeology Education Centre drew a link between a fraying sense of community in the present and a longing for the past, as well as a questioning of the past and its relationship to the present (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018). So did archaeologist Ted Higginbotham who noted the importance of a "sense of place and belonging to a place and having some sense of community identity" (T. Higginbotham, 6 November 2018).

ARCHIVING THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE

PUBLIC VIEWS ON ARCHIVING

There was a strong public sense of the need to keep archaeological sites as a form of archive, especially for current 'younger' generations and for future generations. "I want my children to see it and hopefully one day I would like them to bring their children to see it because I think

it's very important to see" (MOS 2). "I think it's important for the children to know where we come from" (MOS 26).

For some people the reasons for archiving physical archaeological evidence, linked back to the perceived scarcity or paucity of Australian history that was explored in the second section of this chapter.

> As opposed to many other countries in terms of past history, we don't have much so I think we should preserve everything we can get … I get a little emotional about it. It's very important not just for me but the young ones and young ones coming along (MOS 3a).

> One day it will be 2,000 years old. If we don't keep it now then it won't ever be 2,000 years old (Con 7b).

There is also a sense that heritage is irreplaceable and once it is lost it is lost forever.

> Once it's gone we can never retrieve it and it's important to showcase to future generations. Society is changing rapidly, it's important to preserve insights into the methods of how people used to live, farm, socialise, work and operate (Con 28).

An archive that keeps the past alive also functions as mnemonic. It is seen as a safeguard against repeating the mistakes of the past to ensure a "better future" (Hobart 33b).

> I don't think it's a good idea to obliterate the past because we have to remember the past to learn for the future (MOS 14).

> History teaches us about the past but it also should teach us lessons moving forward as well (Big Dig 13a).

> Too many people ignore the past. It is important to reflect on times past or you just end up voting in Trump (MOS 39).

> Denial of histories and multi-narratives at that, is just dangerous. A city without a past has no culture and no future. We have 60,000 years of culture and story to celebrate here. Why not display every single layer where we can? (Con 35).

> If we don't learn from it, we repeat it, generally. It's also a reminder of who we are. Personally I think that humans have this really great characteristic where

> we try to convince ourselves that everything's going to be different because we're better and we're more educated and all this. But that's just a crock of shit. We're absolutely doomed to constantly repeat ourselves and not over thousands and hundreds of years, over generations. So I think the more [in situ conservation] the better really (Big Dig 18).

Many people considered it important that the memories were balanced and inclusive. Retaining the archaeological remains was seen as a truthful way of exposing and keeping the 'real' past.

> It displays and discusses both Aboriginal and invasion history from a multiplicity of viewpoints rather than just the 'grand settler narrative viewpoint (Con 35).

> 'History' did not begin with the white occupation and use of Indigenous land, nor did the Indigenous presence miraculously disappear when white settlements sprang up. The early white settlement sites need to be well-presented within their historical context (Con 39).

Keeping things from the past weaves a connective web that anchors people in time and place, providing context for what happened before and how individuals and communities fit into that continuum. This has a relationship with the feelings of wellbeing prompted by the archaeological remains already explored above. As noted by journalist Richard Fidler, "Without history we are all untethered … with no idea about what came before … it's a lonely place to be I think".[41] Visitors to the Museum of Sydney and the Conservatorium agreed that you'll "never know where you're heading to as a community unless you know where you came from" (MOS 32b) and will "just blunder along into today and tomorrow with no idea about the existence of what we're standing on" (Con 6).

> If you don't know history, you don't know anything. You've got to know where you came from, you've got to know why you're here, who was first and why it all happened. Once we've lost our stories we're just floating in a vacuum (MOS 16).

> It's why I like reading the family tree. It puts you into context with the family. You feel like you are belonging and it will keep going beyond your life and onwards. I think it's important that we have that. If we don't I think we will

[41] Talk at the Nicholson Museum, Sydney University, October 5, 2017.

> lose our way a little bit. We have to feel like we are all part of and ongoing thing. I think it's important (Con 19a).
>
> It's a sense of place too. It puts everything into perspective and makes you feel like you're a part of something that's been before and is still going forward (Con 19a).
>
> They are memories of the past, statements of our values and signposts to the future (PS14).

Linked to this sense of community and belonging was the supportive role that archaeological conservation plays in the formation of individual and collective identity.

> It fills a void, which Australia seems to have in terms of our own national identity. For Australia to have any history that we are somewhat proud of is very rare. I think Australians don't think about this stuff very often (Con 19b).
>
> The past is what's made us who we are as a society and the past has brought us to where we are and that's still where we get a lot of our identity from. So I think it's important to preserve bits of the past within our society to be able to back reference where we came from and in that way, kind of view where we're going to (Hobart 29b).
>
> It's like that program 'Who Do You Think You Are?' because people want to know their past history. Most Australians want to have a convict (Con 7a).

As discussed throughout this chapter, it was also recognised by many members of the public that archaeological sites provide something in the archive that written records don't. Not only information, examples of various site types and memories, but more particularly an ability to experience a site in a different way. It seems that keeping archaeological sites is as much about archiving experiences as anything else.

PROFESSIONAL VIEWS ON ARCHIVING

As already discussed, many archaeologists consider that an important aspect of in situ conservation is archiving sites undisturbed for the benefit of future archaeologists. Alison Frappell from The Big Dig Archaeology Education Centre also noted that values change over time and there is a need to keep places to cover that eventuality (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018). Richard Mackay suggested that "retaining and conserving an archaeological site in situ in the context of a development aligns very precisely with where some of the global movers

and shakers are going in terms of the notion of cultural inheritance" (R.Mackay, 15 February 2018). "To keep it for future generations to appreciate the past" (PS2). But there was also an emphasis on identity building, particularly National as opposed to individual identity. Historian Mark Dunn commented,

> I think it feeds into the way Australians want to see themselves… When you go to the Roman Forum, that's empire, grandeur, power. In Australia the way we like to present ourselves is we're a bunch of hard working-class men and women who dragged ourselves out of the ground in the convict era and made something of us and we're egalitarian and all the rest of it. That's what the Big Dig shows (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018).

Tracy Ireland has written extensively about archaeology and national identity as will be discussed in Chapter 6. When interviewed she highlighted her view that archaeological conservation is something that allows Australia to see itself as "a proper modern nation because we value our past… honouring the past is seen as the hallmark of a fully modern nation, not a banana republic that does destructive things" (T. Ireland 10 December 2019). She remained critical of the choice of sites for in situ conservation in Australia.

> I do think it's troubling because these places are used for neo-colonial narratives and to tell colonial stories again and again and to reinforce them. In a way that's what I've been most interested in about them… They reproduce their own truth. They reinforce the stories that people want to tell themselves about themselves. So I think there's a troubling political narrative that these sites get caught up in that would be good to intervene in and I think it has been intervened in, in many examples (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019).

She went on to say that "archaeological conservation still tells itself that it's conserving the past, where it's so obviously not. It's creating a story in the present that we think the future needs or is interested in" (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019).

Like Tracy Ireland, Heritage Victoria's Senior Archaeologist Jeremy Smith reflected his view that "with archaeology, people like to think, 'Oh, Okay, we can be a great city of the world too, because we've got these foundations that legitimse our historic activities'" (J. Smith, 27 June 2018). Archaeologist and Educator Craig Barker also considered the sites chosen for in situ conservation to date fulfil "a preconceived identity or historical narrative that there was nothing, then there was the flag, then The Rocks, then there was Parramatta" (C. Barker, 29

May 2019). In recognising identity building as a personal and local as well as National affair, he supported the idea of choosing sites for conservation that challenged received notions of Australian identity. Mark Dunn agreed:

> Maybe these sites actually reflect what we want to say about the past in itself. That's what people then determine as important and interesting. The big sites aren't. The big, important power decision-making places are uncomfortable places. They're not easy to talk about (M. Dunn, 21 March 2019).

Architect Richard Johnson was one of the few professionals who recognised the importance of layering in urban areas including archaeological remains, to personal memory and meaning, stories and identity. He told a story about the first pair of good boots that he bought after getting his first job as an architect, about the shop in the city he bought it from and the importance of the place in the mental mapping of his own life. The shop and the building it was in are now gone. He reflected:

> We can't keep rebuilding the city so that all of those personal memories are gone… the fact that it's a Hardy Wilson building should have been enough to protect the building and therefore protect my memory, but it's not, it's gone. But even if it was a Hardy Wilson building, that's not why my memory is [important]. It's because I bought some boots in that shop. And you can't keep taking all that out of a city every cycle of development. It's terrible, isn't it? (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

This would not be surprising to Tracy Ireland who discussed her view that people experience memory though place.

> Place evokes memory, so place becomes an organisation of memory and the archaeology plays a role in the way memory's organised in a particular place. It's effective in that it creates an emotional embodied response because it's experienced through the body. So it becomes sensual (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019).

While recognising the function that conserved archaeological remains can play in identity a number of archaeologists questioned the common assertion in heritage scholarship that identity politics play a noticeable role in the day-to-day identification and management of archaeological sites.

> I don't think there is an agenda… There's not much opportunity now for public intellectuals… I don't think government's organized enough that it's imposed, but you can see that setting up of the heritage agencies came from a particular kind of historic perception or perspective (M. Casey, 1 February 2018).

> I don't know if it's overt and explicit… No I think it's just like a subtle bias in the way we accept the criteria to those things (J. McMahon, 5 November 2018).

> In terms of some sort of identity politics pushing it, I'm not sure. It's more political than identity (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018).

Richard Mackay acknowledged that while at sites such as First Government House there were clearly strong notions of national identity that influenced the decision to retain the archaeological remains, he didn't feel this was a driving factor in most conservation projects, noting: "I think that is actually a kind of post-event construct with theorists. The Minister's not on the phone saying 'we've really got to do this in terms of the national identity piece'. It's bullshit, sorry. It's not based on fact" (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018). Tracy Ireland observed that while the case study sites she looked at in America were clearly driven by the identity politics of "creating monuments for people who had no monuments … it's not really about identity politics in Australia". Nevertheless, "I think there's no getting away from the fact that in settler societies, colonial archaeology is politically charged and evokes a European way of knowing the past and represents and promulgates it into the future and makes it material and concrete and embedded" (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019). Archaeologist Wayne Johnson agrees that identity politics can be actively present in Australian heritage conservation.

> I think it's very much a factor of decision making and by example, I would say that during the Labour government, there was a very large push in favour of traditionally working-class places such as The Rocks… You get a feeling for what is going to be accepted and what is not. So yes, the short answer is it is at the will of the government and the philosophical leanings of the government (W. Johnson, 6 February 2018).

KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING

PUBLIC VIEWS

Several members of the public identified an interest in history or a desire to learn about the past, but this wasn't the dominant outcome cited. As shown in Chapter 4, many people don't

engage with the interpretation panels accompanying archaeological displays and therefore don't engage with archaeological research considered so important by archaeologists. This is not to say that the public dismisses learning about the past as a desired outcome of archaeological conservation, simply that it does not hold the place of importance that archaeologists might think.[42]

PROFESSIONAL VIEWS ON KNOWLEDGE

As already noted, the emphasis on the recovery of knowledge as the main goal of archaeological endeavor was evident not only in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 but was the dominant theme in interviews with archaeologists undertaken for this research.

> I think the purpose of archaeology is to study the material remains of the past to create new knowledge about the past (A. McGowan, 4 March 2019).
>
> The most valuable part of archaeology is in the information gained. If we are not able to study such places or objects due to preservation concerns, then are we truly archaeologists? (PS3).
>
> I struggle with just doing the excavation and getting a good result and I think that's where my focus tends to be. Because if I haven't achieved the primary purpose of what I've been excavating, the interpretation is just a bit of cream on the top (Mary Casey, 1 February 2018).
>
> When I've been interviewing archaeologists, for them the driving force for this, the reason they do this work, the reason they want these sites conserved is to impart knowledge to people (P. Tonkin, 15 February 2018).

When questioned about why in situ conservation hasn't happened to date in Melbourne where there is ample opportunity for it, Jeremy Smith, the State Archaeologist for Victoria, echoed Mary Casey's view saying it had been a struggle to simply get research excavation done properly. It is only now that there has been good progress in terms of research outcomes that Victoria is considering developing a policy for in situ conservation (M. Casey, 1 February 2018).

42 This was one of the few themes where there was a noticeable distinction of opinion by age. Engagement with the interpretative material and commentary on the importance of learning about the past was higher amongst the over 60 age cohort of interview subjects.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IN SITU ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AND LEARNING OUTCOMES

Within the theme of education and learning, observations were made by both professionals and the public about the relationship between the archaeological remains staying in situ and learning outcomes, including: the way the physical archaeological remains create learning opportunities and outcomes; the types of information presented; and the missed opportunities for telling bigger stories about the past and the nature of the past in the present.

The benefits of tactile or experiential learning were recognised as an outcome of archaeological conservation by both the professionals and the public. Richard Mackay acknowledged "if you dig it up you can't learn about it in the same as way as if it's still there" (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018). When taking school groups around The Big Dig site, archaeologist Wayne Johnson noted that the open floor plan of the site allowed 20 children to stand together in a room to gain an understanding of overcrowding when the buildings were in use, an experience not possible at the house museum across the road. Alison Frappell from the Big Dig Archaeology Education Centre concurred:

> In situ for me is about the spatial landscape. When I watch the young kids actually seeing the size of the house, how it is positioned in relationship to the geographical surrounds, skew-wiff to the street today but facing down to the harbour and then they extended. So that sort of sequence of the size and the location… and that basic human curiosity of 'why are we living the way we are living'? Where do we fit in that world global story. It's being able to put a person who lived on our site, who grew up here, in part of that big global history… If you can create an atmospheric, emotive connection to a historic site that can be incredibly long lasting, not only to people's knowledge but how they value things as well (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018).

Members of the public also agreed.

> If I can see it and not just read about it, it means more. It makes more sense. And it's something I'll remember (Con 10).

> We're teachers. We take children on excursions to this type of thing and it really helps them to understand (MOS 8).

> I think it's fantastic because it gives it a reality. When you actually see the site that certainly brings it home to you more and I think it will make it stay in my memory quite a bit more (MOS 20).

> It makes it more relevant and becomes more of a lesson of history than just staring at an object in a box (MOS 39)

> It gives you the layout in a way that you couldn't understand just by reading about it in a book. I know I can read something and get a mental picture and then I have a look and it's completely different (MOS 14).

> Everyone learns in different ways… and not everyone is sold on books, I think it's more life-like than just reading it in a book (Hobart 38).

> After reading history and then going, a lot of these sites certainly came alive. All that reading was so many facts in your head and all of a sudden it was real (Con 27a).

> It brings history and the past to life… This is an actual testament to living history. It's not just been written down cold, this is living history (Con 19b).

For some, the physical presence of archaeological remains also prompted inquiry beyond what was presented on site.

> There are things that you see that might trigger you to read a book about how it was (Con 7b).

> I think it can just be very easy to forget the history of a land and sort of be in your own little world of what you can see now. And I suppose as a new person to this country, I'm particularly interested to know about the history and understand it better. And I think when you have something so visual as in historical sites within your own building that it really sort of prompts you to go and learn about it, because it's there, it's there every day, you know? (Hobart 5)

> It started conversations about history and everything else and how people lived (MOS 1).

> I've been in here with my kids and it's interesting seeing their reactions. It's fantastic. They've got lots of questions about it. 'Why is it here?' (Con 1).

> The thing that you discover yourself you'll remember (R.Johnson, 13 November 2018).

While promoting education outcomes as the primary benefit of in situ conservation, several archaeologists were critical of the content of many in situ interpretations. The quality of the

underpinning archaeological research was seen as of particular importance to the success of the in situ offering.

> I think in a way at Cumberland Street [The Big Dig] they were more reflective about what they were doing. I think that ethos that Grace {Karskens] really had embedded into why they were doing the research in the first place had really still come through. So I think visitors do get a sense of people from the past and they get a sense of community and a sense of neighbourhood and those sorts of things, which is very different from what you might get at First Government House or the Menzies Centre [the Medical Sciences Precinct in Hobart], which is much more about the aesthetics of experiencing a layered urban environment (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019).

Former Tasmanian State Archaeologist Angie McGowan agreed, suggesting "I'm certainly not against it being done [but] it's more worth doing if the research is also done" (A. McGowan, 4 March 2019).

> I was always a huge advocate for it and I think I still am, but I think the purpose should be that we're retaining resources that you wouldn't otherwise be able to experience and see, but just the resource itself is not enough to inspire people. You actually need to have programs built around that or have worked out exactly what is that story you want to tell. I think that's where we've stumbled a bit… A lot of what we conserve only archaeologists understand (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018).

The didactic approach of simply identifying archaeological features and providing a timeline of historical events was recognised by some archaeologists as an outdated way of communicating with the public. "What are you actually trying to say? … Whose teacup was it? Tell us a story about the person who had that teacup?" (W. Johnson, 6 February 2018). This aligns with the public demand for more personal stories in the interpretation outlined in the case study explorations in Chapter 4.

All of these approaches however, rely on a linear transmission of information from archaeologists to the public. In this relationship the public aren't considered able to understand or interpret the place by themselves, requiring professional intervention in order to learn something.

> By (often forgotten) definition, an 'archaeological site' can only really be understood/interrogated by an archaeologist – and for a very specific purpose: the generation of new knowledge (PS30).

Archaeologist and Educator Helen Nicholson questioned this view of education (18 June 2018), as did one of the visitors to the Museum of Sydney who observed,

> The other thing you have to ask is what is education? Because it seems to me that certain people really pushing that line have a narrow band of understanding of what education is. Education takes different forms and has different functions (MOS 14).

Archaeologist Wendy Thorp was far stronger in her view.

> We know better than you? Oh sod off. I think that's incredibly elitist and it's bound to come to one of the most boring outcomes on earth, which is what we actually get. People actually have a sense of imagination and the trouble with most interpretation is it doesn't encourage you to imagine anything. It's there in black and white. It's no sense of discovery… it's just there (14 Septmeber 2018).
>
> One of the problems with archaeologists is that they do get very territorial about their sites and they do get very captivated by the fact that they understand things better than anyone else… the result of the archaeology may not be the only story of the site and it may not be the primary story of the site and it may not be the primary significance of the site (KI1).

The approach taken in The Rocks where the Big Dig site at Sydney Harbour YHA is located, is one of providing some information and then encouraging a process of self-discovery and a certain freedom of response. Place Management NSW Archaeologist Wayne Johnson, who is responsible for archaeological matters in The Rocks explained that the approach is one of telling a connected story across a number of sites (W, Johnson, 6 February 2018). Archaeological sites are considered as pieces in a bigger puzzle and a bigger story. Architect Richard Johnson also spoke about the importance of freedom of response, suggesting "In a way, it's the best way of educating because you're then not constraining their interpretation and their view of things…Grab them emotionally and you'll get them intellectually" (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018). One of the anonymous professional survey respondents agreed, saying "Instead of visitors having a simple intellectual response to a story (through

reading/listening) they can experience an embodied, holistic response – one that educates at a deeper level" (PS 17). Curator of the Museum of Sydney Susan Sedgewick, who was critical of the didactic interpretations that she felt were common on archaeological sites, highlighted the potential power of the physical remains to "activate a bigger story about Australia's history and our future" (S. Sedgewick, 7 August 2018). These are narratives that do not rely on the archaeological research but use the emotional connection people have to the physical archaeological remains to help them go on a journey of discovery. A very different type of educative process to that envisaged by most archaeologists.

> I think knowing that it's a drain, in itself, is not very interesting unless you're interested in plumbing. But I would think then, there's a story about how that clay was fired, or did they use oyster shells for the lime and how they did that and did they engage with the Aboriginal people to do that? There's just all these other bigger stories that come from that, that are about people and place. And that's really what I think is much more interesting (S. Sedgewick, 7 August 2018).

THE IMPORTANCE OF 'IN SITUNESS'

"It means everything in its place" (Big Dig 15a).

As outlined in Chapters 4 and 5, in situ conservation and display of archaeological remains is important to ninety-nine percent of members of the public interviewed. Of particular interest in this thesis is the role of 'in situness' in the ability of these places to create the sorts of public outcomes highlighted above. Each member of the public was asked what they thought the in situ archaeological remains did for them that might be different from an artefact display, signage or a publication, or the removal of some of the archaeological remains off site to a museum or other dedicated context. This question was also raised with many of the heritage professionals interviewed. In general, the archaeological remains appear to give the public access to the materiality of the past in a way that is perceived to be direct and authentic and which sparks connection and emotion and an ability to imagine and feel. By and large they seem to need remarkably little information to allow this to happen.

PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY - EXPERIENCING THE REAL THING

Authenticity is a word that was used often by members of the public. It is not only about being able to see "the real thing", but also about seeing it in its place. Perceptions of authenticity supported the ability to connect to the place and the people who used to live and work there. "People get to see it as it was" (MOS 7). "It gives you a bit more of a sense of the people that were here in the past. It's real" (MOS 8). "A tangible experience" (Con 38). "The fact that it's the real thing is kind of exciting" (MOS 9). "That's the important stuff isn't it. Everything else is just pictures on the walls" (MOS 5a).

> I can't overly stress the importance of connection between site and item making it real, making it the story itself other than some sort of clinical fabrication. It's not as if I don't love objects ... but that's different from looking at something like this (MOS 14).

Even for children this seems to be important. One woman at the Museum of Sydney said "My grandson, all he was interested in was is that an original bit? Is that where it was? Has it been changed?" (MOS 3a). In her work with school children at the The Big Dig site, Alison Frappell observed that they had a strong suspicion of fakery when presented with a mock archaeological dig as if it was the real thing (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018). This rejection of reconstruction was also mentioned in interviews with adult visitors. "It doesn't mean anything if they reconstruct it" (Mittagong 7b). One of the archaeologists at Heritage NSW suggested perceptions of authenticity are important because "there's a huge connection with the tangible and the real. I think the physical presence of things provides a point of connection that all the rest of the recording doesn't" (KI1). Architect Richard Johnson agreed.

> When you take an object out of its place, it's really hard to create the same context, cultural information, emotional, whatever... all of those layers of context. It's very hard to create that in some other way (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

IT MAKES MORE SENSE AND FEELS MORE RELIABLE

As reflected in the discussion above on education and learning, having the archaeological remains in situ made more sense and added more value for many interview subjects, both to the place and the remains themselves, having "a lot more meaning when it's untouched" (Con 11b). "It's more meaningful" (MOS 27b). "It's a splendid idea. It makes sense" (MOS 34a).

> I think that keeping it secures an entirely different experience for people interacting with those items instead of maybe seeing them somewhere else. They are quite distinct experiences and there is a lot more connection with the actual on-site material (Hobart 43).
>
> One of the issues I guess with museums, whilst they are amazing and have all that kind of history in them, when you can actually stand in the place you get a much stronger sense of identity and a better feeling of what it was like at the time (MOS 37).
>
> If it was its own display I would probably be like, why is that here? And just question it. But you can see that it's part of the building. I think it's just nice to see and it's unusual (Con 10a).
>
> If you're taking something out of its own location it's not going to be special anymore… If you take it out of its context it's going to mean less to people. If you have it in its own context I think it's going to be easier for people to understand (Con 4).
>
> I don't think it would be the same if it was moved somewhere else. Here in the site it's good to think of what used to be here and it give you a connection (MOS 31).
>
> The fact that it's right there and you can go 'oh that's exactly where it was' is much more intriguing I think than if it was in a museum (Con 13b).

According to historian Mark Dunn, conservation issues on some conserved archaeological sites can impact connection, making it difficult to engage with the remains. Nevertheless, he recognised that experiencing physical evidence of the past "attaches people to the past a bit easier. It's like an anchor point" (M. Dunn, 21 March 2018). Mary Casey agreed, noting "there is a power in that sort of presence of the past so firmly in the present" (M. Casey, 1 February 2018).

Connected with the idea that in situ archaeological remains make sense and promote understanding, is the feeling that they provide a direct window to the past that is perhaps more reliable than a history book where "everything else is just somebody's representation of how things used to be" (MOS 5a). It also makes the past more believable and tangible: "It's not just a story it really did happen" (MOS 8). Alison Frappell of the Big Dig Archaeology Education Centre at the Sydney Harbour YHA suggested the archaeological remains might

seem "in some way more trustworthy… more scientific [because] the archaeology team came in with all their rigorous methodology" (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018).

THE EXPERIENCE OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS VERSUS IN SITU ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

Archaeology has a bit more humanity behind it (Con 19b).

An interesting difference between the experience of historic buildings and in situ archaeological remains was highlighted at the Conservatorium of Music. Buildings that have been conserved and refurbished and used over time didn't seem to support the sense of connection in the same way as the archaeological remains, which was perceived to be a more direct and tangible link between the past and the present. This is also a theme that came out strongly during interviews at the Museum of Sydney.

In her work with the public at the Big Dig site Alison Frappell also noticed this response from visitors.

> There's that romance of ruins and that romance of things being left behind and buried. No one's seen them for this long etc., whereas heritage houses have always had 'oh, then this family in the 70s put in this shower'… So it doesn't have that romance of something left completely undisturbed and buried, waiting to be rediscovered (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018).

Richard Mackay suggested that because people have more experience of buildings and less of ruins that makes the ruins 'sexy' (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018). Tracy Ireland offered the view that because it's archaeology "it's been discovered, which means it's fragmentary, it's ruined, at one point it was forgotten and now it's being remembered. So something about that suite of things seems to shape the people's emotional response to it" (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019). One of the professional survey respondents added: "People respond to the physical. There is little that is more immediate and engaging than well-presented archaeology linked to the stories of people … There is no building that carries the community memory that they hold" (PS9).

FREEDOM OF INTERPRETATION

An important aspect of the archaeological remains staying in situ appears to be that it allows a freedom of interpretation over time and the ability to apply multiple values, rather than the

meaning of the site becoming fixed in the interpretation of its research value of the site at the time of its excavation.

> An archaeological site is not frozen and its interpretation is not frozen at a point in time and allowing the site to be constantly explored… is a much richer more mature understanding of archaeology and what it can give… unless you can actually see and have a tangible visual link with the reality of it, it doesn't mean anything and it won't be timeless, so its interpretation is ephemeral (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

One of the visitors to the Museum of Sydney agreed.

> If the object stays here it's bound to different discourses, different interpretations of what it is. It gives us the chance for me for instance, to hang out with a person who thinks this is the beginning of civilisation and tell me about it. Whereas if I come here with an Aboriginal person they will tell me this is the beginning of destruction. The public access to this object and the fact that it's out there freely allows us to listen to different discourses (MOS 23a).

In her previous research on in situ conservation Tracy Ireland also observed the desire of visitors to make their own interpretations.

> They found the archaeological sites as an alternative unmediated experience. I had one quote I trotted out at the time 'No museum Nazis telling me what to think or do'… I think that's probably representative of quite a lot of people… People see that as an unmediated experience where they're not being controlled by a discourse telling them what's important and what's not (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019).

Wayne Johnson, Archaeologist with NSW Place Management supported the importance of accepting freedom of interpretation, criticising the NSW Heritage Office checklist of requirements for interpretation, suggesting having the same approach at each site can cheapen things.

> With The Rocks we try to present things so if you stand there it's always going to be an interpretation of the individual. You can give people all the words you want to say it is, but then that's the person who writes the story's view… When the person is standing and looking at things, they're going to impose their own

> interpretation on it anyway… The setting is going to be everything (W. Johnson, 6 February 2018).

Archaeologist and educator Helen Nicholson concurs: "The same thing can have multiple meanings. We might have one aspect that we're focused on but it could be totally different for somebody else and that's just as valid… You can't really control what people get out of it, nor should you" (H. Nicholson, 18 June 2018). "Let people experience the power of heritage places unencumbered by the rubbish that heritage practitioners impose, which distances the place from visitors" (PS14). "It enriches the public realm by providing a multi-level experience, one that can be experienced again and again in different ways" (PS5).

This freedom of interpretation was of concern for some archaeologists who were nervous that "people make assumptions and put the pieces together in an unhelpful way" (PS 28), meaning they don't understand the historical "truths" revealed by the archaeological investigation. In this view, the public are only able to properly understand and appreciate archaeological remains once they have been translated and mediated by archaeologists.

> They [conserved archaeological sites] have limited capacity in their fully excavated state to be particularly attractive or immediately informative. They will usually require clever and extensive interpretation for even the most simple of understandings to be presented (PS30).
>
> Ghost tours have taken over many ex-prisons in Victoria, presenting themselves as 'experts' often misrepresenting or sensationalising such places. We need to make sure that any place or object has an agreed-upon interpretation. This can be revisited but we should not be letting the free market interpret such sites by themselves (PS3).

ACCESSISBILITY

A final, important aspect of archaeological sites remaining in situ is that of public access. This access means that the range of public benefits described here are accessible to all, regardless of pre-disposed interest in visiting a museum or having the money to buy a ticket. Linda Emery from the Berrima and District Historical Society best articulated this view when speaking about the Fitzroy Ironworks display at the Highlands Marketplace Shopping Centre. "I think it's a really good thing that it's in a place with a microcosm of society. Everybody comes in. All sort of people come in and those same people would probably not pay to go into our museum" (L. Emery, 1 March 2019).

> I would not know about this stuff if it was just in a museum or a book. Even if they had some panels or displays, I probably wouldn't look at them unless I could see the real thing (Hobart 19).

> I'm not sure, but probably not too many people go to the museum to look at the old artefacts (Hobart 8a).

> Because I think it reminds you every day of the history of where you are. You can go to a museum and things are removed and you specifically go to the museum to look at these artefacts and think about it but when it's right there, you think about it a lot more. I think it's really important to keep remembering our history (Con 8a).

Archaeologist Natalie Vinton agreed, saying "you can actually get people who would never go to a museum to become interested" (N. Vinton, 3 August 2018). Another issue identified with museums was the potential for overload. Guy McEwan from the Conservatorium of Music likened it to "eating an entire cheesecake". "It's way too much, all too much at once and you're just overwhelmed. Whereas when things are in situ, you get to wonder, you get to feel the context of where they used to be and the purpose of what they used to be before. I believe that gives a much better experience" (G. McEwan, 25 June 2018). Not all professionals agreed, with one suggesting that "the best examples are in museums because you are already in the "mood" to be learning about the history of that site" (PS1).

TIME TRAVEL AND IMAGINED PASTS

Many visitors commented on the archaeological remains providing a sense of time travel and being able to imagine what it was like in this place in times long past. The archaeological remains seem to provide a tangible and direct link for people in a way that the artefacts don't, at least not in their own right. It is not only about being able to see "the real thing", but about seeing it in its place, which sparks an ability to imagine. By and large people seem to need remarkably little information to allow this process to occur. People were able to feel "a sense of wonder and intrigue" (PS23), "right in amongst it" (MOS 6). "You can talk and hear words echoing off the thing. You get a sense of it" (Con 19b). "Like going back in time" (MOS 3b). "I actually feel like I'm part of history" (MOS 4b). "It's just the fact that you can see it and you can imagine that adds to the experience" (MOS 5b).

> I enjoy projecting myself into another world. At an in situ site I am better able to project myself back in time so that I can try and imagine what life was like back then (Con 44).
>
> It's like a little window into the past. It has a lot more meaning when it's untouched…It's much more evocative of the past (Con 11b).
>
> It's something the kids can look down on and see and you can be right there. You feel closer to it in some ways and are more in touch with the time and everything (MOS 8b).
>
> You can literally look through the floor and be like, 'oh it was here, like it was used here', and then kind of imagine, like, what the town might have looked like, in this exact place, how many years ago, and appreciate the contextual information that is gives as well (Hobart 15a).
>
> I have a very strong view about leaving things in situ and understanding them in the place that they existed… That sense of place puts chills down my spine (S. Farnese, 1 March 2018).
>
> It is a connection with a living past and it makes so much more of the site you are on. All the things behind glass really showed me what was going on here before and suggests all sorts of stories and activities and characters and dialogue and once again, it bring the place to life (MOS 14).

Alison Frappell noticed this pleasurable exercise of imagination in visitors to the Big Dig site at Sydney Harbour YHA. "It's all about what's real, so they interact more imaginatively. They like to position themselves in the past… there's still that idea of stepping back in time… That magic moment of uncovering something or finding something" (A. Frappell, 20 February 2018). Archaeologist Wayne Johnson noted that if the archaeology is removed and visitor experience is only through museum displays "you lose having the wind blowing through your hair as you stand there and look at things" (W. Johnson, 6 February 2018). "Physical presence is important to many people to assist them to imagine the past and mentally contact it" (PS19). Guy McEwan of the Conservatorium of Music and heritage practitioner Richard Mackay agreed.

> Looking at a photograph of Pompeii isn't going to Pompeii. Listening to a recording of an orchestra is not the same experience as being in a live

> environment with an orchestra and speaks to you in a different way' (G. McEwan, 25 June 2018).
>
> You're looking at a window in time… You get this time capsule stuff… so you can stand there and say 'well this is the doorstep of the house and this is what happened with the four children and here's some artefacts over here in a case that actually relates to that story' (R. Mackay, 15 February 2018).

REFLECTION

In Chapters 4 and 5 the data collected through interviews and surveys with heritage professionals and members of the public has been explored both by case study and by theme. There are some significant differences between the views of heritage professionals, particularly archaeologists, and the public about the purpose and outcomes of in situ archaeological conservation. Archaeologists interviewed for this thesis, while generally dismissive of the practice of in situ conservation see that its primary purpose is to communicate the research outcomes of archaeological investigations. The public on the other hand are highly supportive of the practice and prioritise a range of outcomes including a liveable and enjoyable environment, individual and community wellbeing and archiving, memory and identity building. An essential ingredient in these outcomes is the archaeological remains being retained in situ, which allows people to access the materiality of the past in the present, engage emotionally with the sites, create connections to people and life in the past and go on a time travelling journey of their own imagining.

In Chapters 6 and 7, these results will be discussed in the context of critical heritage, environmental psychology and urban planning scholarship along with consideration of directions for future practice that better embrace and support the public values invested in and benefits derived from in situ archaeological conservation in Australia.

CHAPTER 6

PROCESSES OF EXPERIENCE AND CREATION AT ARCHAEOLOGICAL PLACES

Heritage is about creating something, not about preserving anything.

David Lowenthal, 1985

The overwhelming professional emphasis on the research value of archaeological sites (Chapters 2, 4 and 5) ignores the complex ways that the public respond to and value conserved archaeological sites as heritage places. This chapter seeks to explore the core question posed by this thesis arising from David Lowenthal's observation that heritage is a process of creation rather than a process of conservation (Lowenthal 2005). It uses the findings from the data analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 alongside scholarship from urban planning, environmental psychology and critical heritage studies to consider the processes that are at play when people and archaeological places come together and how these relationships create outcomes for individuals and communities.

Figure 6.1 shows the framework established in this chapter for understanding the movement from experience of an archaeological place through processes of creation to public outcomes. Based on the evidence presented in this thesis, it appears that the physical, tangible nature of the in situ archaeological remains and people's perceptions of its character and authenticity prompt an emotional and embodied reaction and a deep sense of connection to people and place over time. This in turn leads to a range of outcomes beyond learning about the past, including a sense of wellbeing, increased self-esteem and sense of self, personal enrichment and social connection, enjoyment of place and individual and community identity.

Experiences

PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY

FEELINGS, EMOTIONS, IMAGINATION

Processes

CONNECTION TO PEOPLE AND PLACE

ATTACHMENT

Outcomes

BELONGING

IDENTITY

WELLBEING

Figure 6.1: Framework for understanding the processes of creation arising from experiences of conserved archaeological places. It is noted that this framework needs to be considered as a fluid rather than linear flow with overlap between processes and outcomes. For example, identity-building can be both a process and an outcome and belonging can be both an experience and an outcome (Image credit: Caitlin Allen 2022).

THE POWER OF EXPERIENCING ARCHAEOLOGICAL PLACES

As discussed earlier in this thesis, once the decision to keep an archaeological site in situ is taken its potential range of uses and values changes and it's not simply a source of information about the past, becoming "a new kind of heritage place which is used by communities in different ways" (Ireland 2010). How people respond to these places once they leave the hands of archaeologists and what impact the in situ nature of the remains has on the outcomes they create for communities is a core question of interest in this research.

The nature of the relationships between people and things was considered in Chapter 3 using a post-humanist relational framework in which people, places and things work together to create heritage and heritage values in the present. This approach rejects the common separation of place as 'spatiality' and people as 'sociality' in Australian heritage practice in favour of a more entangled and complex relationship (Brown 2015: 62). Ann Brower Stahl neatly described this relationship as "the bundling of people, things, and ideas past and present" (Stahl 2010:153). This bundling is reminiscent of the reconceptualisation of 'place' suggested by Yeoh and Kong (1996) as a container or space for both material things and meanings, memories and practices (see also Madgin and Lesh 2021: 3). In this way, like many

things that are inherited from the past and used in the present, in situ archaeological remains are capable of being vessels of memory and connections to the past as well as a catalyst for new associations and meanings in the present and the future.

This seems to accurately reflect the way that the past and present intersect on a daily basis at the five case study sites discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The humanity that people connect with is evoked by the materiality of the place as well as in themselves. At each place people suggested that reading about the results of the archaeological work in a book or experiencing objects or other material remains out of context was far less impactful, meant less and did not prompt the same process of imagination and connection or the same emotional engagement as their interactions with the in situ remains. This relationship was also observed by Mary-Louise Stig Sorensen when interviewing people about their views on heritage. She found they usually answered questions about their relationship with the past with reference to physical objects. She suggested that the tangible played an important role in the ability to "think the past into the present" (Sorensen 2009: 171-2).

These findings are in direct contrast with Laurajane Smith's extensive work in understanding community responses to historic sites in the UK (Smith 2006; Smith 2020). Smith suggested that while the landscapes, artefacts or buildings at these places triggered processes of remembering and commemorating, the "material authenticity or authenticity of place was not a major issue" and that "legitimacy is not necessarily gained through the in situ authenticity of the material culture" (Smith 2006: 235). While this argument advanced Smith's well-known position that materiality does not play a key role in the creation of heritage and that "there is no such thing as heritage" and "all heritage is intangible" (Waterton & Smith 2010:10), the data explored here indicates that the tangible experience of the archaeological remains in situ is essential to people's ability to imagine and to feel the past in the present, which in turn supports enjoyment of place, wellbeing and identity building outcomes. It is in the experience of archaeology as place, not simply archaeology as resource, that important public outcomes of archaeology as a practice appear to be created.

PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY

Part of the experience of place that appears to be important to the processes of connection discussed below, is the perception that the remains are both physically authentic and can reveal a "truer" unadulterated version of the past then an historic building that has been heavily renovated or history in a book. In this sense the remains possess "the quality of being

authentic, truthful or genuine" (Jones 2009: 134). A traditional view of authenticity in a heritage context focuses on objective measures of "material fixity" or how original the fabric of a place is (Silverman 2015:84). In situ archaeological remains certainly fulfil this condition of authenticity and it was identified as important to many visitors who wanted to see the 'real thing' with their own eyes. But contemporary concepts of authenticity also consider a much more dynamic, performative and contingent process (Silverman 2015; Beidler and Morrison 2016; Wesener 2017). Some academics have taken constructivist approaches to an extreme position, suggesting that authenticity is entirely constructed in the present and is independent of the object (Waterton and Smith 2009; Smith 2004). Archaeologists Siân Jones (2009, 2010; Gao and Jones 2021) and Cornelius Holtorf (2012, 2015) however, prefer an approach that considers the relationships between "the materiality of objects and their contexts on one hand and the experience and negotiation of authenticity on the other" (Jones 2009: 134). As Holtorf (2015: 410) notes, in this context "you look at a very tangible place in front of you but you see something that is present only as a story in your mind – yet, nevertheless, constitutive of the entire experience you have". This negotiation of authenticity, based on the collective experience and entanglement of people and place is certainly evident in visitor interviews at all the case study sites explored in this thesis.

In considering public response to the in situ archaeological remains, Siân Jones' concept of 'voicefulness' is useful (Jones 2009: 137). Voicefulness as articulated by Jones is built around an understanding that objects and places bring their own experiences and webs of relationships from the past to their interactions with people in the present (Jones and Yarrow 2022). The essential idea is that in order for people to form a relationship with a place, people need a form of direct physical contact or intimate experience with its materiality. Through such contact comes a sense of being able to access the experience of the object in the past, the sense as Jones put it of 'being there', as well as personal incorporation into the object's network of experiences and meanings and vice versa (Jones 2009: 137 and 142). The sense that the experience of the object was transferred to the visitor as well as allowing an independent process of imagining and even participating in the past was evident at all the case study sites examined for this thesis. People were therefore able to form strong attachments to the remains without engaging with the detail of the accompanying archaeological and historical information.

It was surprising that the decontextualised nature of the archaeological remains within the new environment of a building foyer or shopping centre car park did not seem to impact people's perceptions of authenticity and thus their ability to connect emotionally to the

humanity of the place and the past. In addition, while the in situ remains are historic fabric they do not exist in the present in the way they existed in the past, having been created in their current form by archaeologists, conservators and interpreters who selectively excavate and curate them for display. As ruins, in situ archaeological remains lack some of the 'integrity' emphasised in current heritage management systems, including those established by the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS 2013). Nevertheless, visitors perceived them to be more authentic than associated historic buildings that had been heavily renovated. Continuity of place and setting for the archaeological remains was repeatedly mentioned as important by visitors to the case study sites. Materiality retains its importance in the conversation between places, objects and people in the present, and removal off site or destruction of the fabric altogether disrupts this capacity to experience the past in the present. Interestingly, replicas were also seen as problematic and lacking in authenticity by people interviewed for this thesis. This is at odds with studies that have observed feelings and experiences of authenticity, or "pastness" as Cornelius Holtorf conceives it (Holtorf 2012), associated with replicas or other objects or places that would fail the traditional material test for authenticity (Foster and Jones 2020; Cohen and Cohen 2012).

IMAGINED PASTS

Although scholars including David Lowenthal have argued that the truth of the past is never truly or accurately knowable in the present (Lowenthal 1985), this did not seem to be a matter of concern for members of the public interviewed for this research. While public freedom of interpretation at archaeological places was of great concern for many archaeologists, other specialists such as architect Richard Johnson encouraged this public act of creating and performing the past in the present by providing physical prompts and then leaving space for imagination (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018). Imagination clearly played an important role in people's responses to the conserved archaeological remains at the five case study sites and that process did not rely on absorbing the archaeological or historical 'truth' from the accompanying interpretive material. In fact, in some cases, overly didactic archaeological interpretation appeared to be the enemy of imaginative site experiences. In some ways it is difficult to reconcile that much archaeological interpretation seeks to remove the mystery of exploring archaeological places by seeking to convey archaeological "truths", given that the excitement of exploration, discovery and imagining attracts many archaeologists to their profession in the first place. The other difficulty with criticisms of visitor imagination and freedom of experience is that they appear to ignore that "archaeological interpretation is itself

an imaginative act" and the creation of archaeological narratives about the past is a creative process (Halden and Witcher 2020: 15).

Australian historian Stephen Gapps suggested that "history works that require imagination and participation… [are] often overlooked by public historians and cultural critics" and that they "illuminate some significant public attitudes toward history and the past" (Gapps 2001: 61). While Gapps' work focused on public participation in historical re-enactments, there are resonances with the public responses to in situ archaeological remains explored in this thesis. Part of the appeal of in situ archaeological remains appears to be the perception that they provide opportunities for unmediated interaction. Being given permission to explore in a way that is meaningful to individuals, as opposed to a way that is meaningful for the archaeologist allows people to experience the past informed by their own "sense of themselves as creative individuals" (Gapps 2001: 64). Gapps' suggestion that reenactors' engagement "goes beyond an external, visual authenticity and is deeply bound to how history might feel" is entirely relevant to people's visceral response to the in situ archaeological remains evident in the interview and survey data in Chapters 4 and 5. In this way "the past comes to appear more accessible and verified by experiencing the production and feel of created moments" (Gapps 2001: 65).

Archaeological criticisms of imaginative interactions with archaeological places discussed in Chapter 2 are perhaps not surprising when considering the emphasis on research value and scientific objectivity in archaeology. Light and Watson (2016: 159) point out however, that for many people it is the mystery of ruins that is appealing, for here is an opportunity for imagination to fill in the gaps. Such imaginative experiences they suggest, are constituted in situ, relying on the open-ended encounters offered by the material remains and the "interplay between what we know and what we feel, what we expect and what we encounter" (Light and Watson 2016: 155).

EMOTIONS

Perceptions of authenticity and the interplay of archaeological remains with human imagination are important because they appear to support a range of emotional responses in visitors to the five case study sites explored in this thesis that in turn underpin some of the core outcomes such as wellbeing and enjoyment of place. Many of the benefits described by members of the public in Chapters 4 and 5 appear to derive from the emotional and embodied experience of place prompted by the presence of in situ archaeological remains. As previously noted, people did not need to absorb information presented in the accompanying

interpretation in order for this process to occur. The in situ remains allowed public access to the materiality of the past in a way that was perceived to be direct and authentic, and which sparked connection and emotion. Such responses were generally positive feelings of awe, respect, enjoyment, comfort, security, belonging, empathy and wellbeing. Some of the interview participants became visibly emotional and even tearful when interviewed because their ability to freely access archaeological remains meant so much to them. Others smiled as they entered the world of their imagination thinking about locals living on Carraher's Lane in The Rocks gathering to put their Sunday roasts in the bakers' oven. There were also difficult emotions such as sadness or anger associated with historic events or experiences such as death, colonisation, or simply the harshness of life.

The importance of emotional connection to heritage places is a much-underestimated factor in both archaeology and heritage management practice. Despite Yiannis Hamilakis (2103) describing archaeological conservation as "… a sensorial and affective multi-temporal practice", the emotional resonances of archaeological places in the present remain largely absent from archaeological scholarship (some notable exceptions being Ireland 2012a; 2009; Clarke & Waterton 2015; Supernant et.al. 2020; Jones and Yarrow 2022). It has however, received increasing attention from critical heritage scholars in the last ten years (Wells 2020a, 2020b, 2021; Light and Watson 2016; Madgin et. al 2016; Madgin and Lesh 2021; Smith 2020; Wetherell et.al, 2018; Crouch 2015; Bille and Sorensen 2016). A particular focus has been the ways in which heritage is given meaning through the complex emotional interactions that people have with it. Wetherall et.al. (2018: 2) have suggested that emotional experience of place is key to the ways that people "negotiate various forms of identity, sense of social and physical place, and feelings of wellbeing". Recognising this core, emotional aspect of human interaction with the past through places, objects and practices of heritage relates directly to the outcomes that flow from it and that have been evident in the interview data with visitors to the five case study sites.

Nevertheless, heritage management practice seems to numb itself to human emotion and the feelings engendered by the historic environment as well as the promise it holds to create something in the present and for the future. The data explored in this thesis make it clear that this disjunct between 'rational' heritage process and the experience of the public is prevalent in processes of archaeological conservation. The public were open about their vulnerability to the emotional processes prompted by the in situ archaeological remains and their relationship to the new environments that had been created around them. There was a deep appreciation amongst the public of the enjoyment the remains added to every-day experiences of place.

The interview with architect Richard Johnson highlighted in Chapter 5 supported public perceptions of the contribution of archaeological remains to the layering of the city as he spoke of the ways the archaeological remains created a complex, more attractive place to be. This is a theme embraced wholeheartedly by Jeff Speck in his book *Walkable City* (2012). Lamenting the anti-social impact of the car on the planning and design of urban areas in the United States, he observed that the key to economic and social development is support for a higher quality of life and enjoyable, walkable environments. In his view, many lifestyle choices are a direct result of the built environment in urban areas and walkable cities require both safe space and enjoyable, interesting things to experience along the way. The data in this thesis suggests that archaeological remains add significantly to the richness of layering in urban areas and people's interest in and enjoyment of place.

PROCESSES OF CREATION - CONNECTIONS AND ATTACHMENTS BETWEEN PEOPLE AND PLACE

The experience of in situ archaeological places through entanglements of materiality, perception of authenticity, imagination and emotion create and support connections and attachments between people and place that deepen over time with repeated experience. Place attachment is a concept from environmental psychology that has been receiving increasing attention in critical heritage studies (Alawadi 2017; Brown 2014; Madgin & Hastings 2016; Madgin & Lesh 2021; Wells 2020a, 2020b, 2021). It is underpinned by an understanding that people create attachments through emotional experiences (Low & Altman 1992). Wells (2021: 31-2, emphasis in original) has suggested that "Psychological perceptions, experiences and feelings … increasingly appear to be fundamental to *why people value historic places*". He calls this "heritage psychology". Understanding the processes at play when people and archaeological places come together is therefore, not only important in understanding how outcomes or public benefits are created, but also in understanding how and why the public value heritage.

The data presented in this thesis demonstrate emotional experiences and processes of place attachment at work. It shows the underlying power of in situ archaeological remains to contribute to people's fundamental need for connection to past individuals, families, communities and to the spirit of the place itself. At the Highlands Marketplace in Mittagong for example, much of the interpretation signage is focused on the technical aspects of the ironworks' operations, but the visitors interviewed largely wanted to talk about the people

who shaped the community around the ironworks and how challenging their lives must have been. Where people were interested in wider historical narratives such as the role of the ironworks in the industrial development of Australia, they were considered and understood through the personal dimensions of the place. This desire for personal stories was identified at all the case study sites to one degree or another. People craved the understanding and sense of connection afforded by similarities and differences between lives in the past and their own lives in the present. Where the stories weren't presented in the interpretation, people's imaginations filled in the blanks and enlivened the place narrative. The materiality of the place both prompted these connections to come to life and provided an anchor for them in the present.

The previously explored importance of imagination and its relationship to authenticity is relevant in considering the connections and attachments that people form with archaeological places and the impact this has in turn on the way these places are valued by the public. In his work on place attachment, Jeremy C. Wells (2020a; 2020b; 2021) draws on thinking in environmental psychology to develop the concept of "spontaneous fantasy". He compared degrees of place attachment demonstrated by residents in old and new areas of South Carolina in the United States: these being the historic Broad Street neighbourhood of Antebellum houses in Charleston and the new urbanist development of I'On in Mount Pleasant, which was largely constructed in the twenty-first century. The character, building design and urban design in each location was nearly identical, despite the difference in age. While people perceived and experienced the "original" and reconstructed places in similar ways, only in Charleston's old quarter did they experience a "spontaneous fantasy" of imagining the past. Wells connected this to "a significantly greater level of general emotional attachment to their neighbourhood and much higher levels of dependence and rootedness" (2020b: 10). In turn, this attachment acts as a catalyst for conservation (Alawadi 2016). A corollary noted by Australian architect Richard Johnson when he suggested "the most sustainable building are the ones that are loved" (R. Johnson, 13 November 2018).

In social sciences, mobility or transience are often seen as antithetical to place attachment (Gustafson 2002). For example, when writing about sense of place in Baghdad Diane Seibrandt suggested that local attachment to the city was so deep due to generational connections between people and place (2014: 58). This might lead to an expectation that the expressions of place attachment by interview participants would be confined to the Sydney Conservatorium of Music or the Highlands Marketplace Shopping Centre where visitors have regular and intimate experiences of place. While it is true to say that the sense of engagement

and attachment was particularly strong at those sites, expressions of sense of place and personal outcomes such as belonging, identity and wellbeing were discernible at all the sites, including the Museum of Sydney and the Big Dig site at Sydney YHA where typical visits are one-off or infrequent events. There is also the conundrum that at sites like the Sydney Conservatorium of Music and the Highlands Marketplace in Mittagong, the archaeological remains of uses from the past have been rediscovered after a long period out of public consciousness. At these places people demonstrated a deep sense of place attachment associated with archaeological remains that bear no relation to the current functioning of each site and have only been back in the public consciousness for a few decades. This resonates with a study of place attachment between tourists and permanent residents in Sweden by Lars Aronsson (2004: 76), which suggested that "people in late modern society find place attachment at the same time they are highly mobile". While Arronson applied this observation to temporary places of residence, the data presented in Chapters 4 and 5 suggest the same can be said of both transient and repeated experiences of in situ archaeological sites.

Place attachment is also supported, or disrupted, by the personalities of the places themselves. They speak of hope, comfort, aspiration, friendship, welcome and effort as well as the seedy underbelly of humanity - aggression, desperation, alienation and lack of care. Historic layering in the environment, including archaeological remains, speaks of these things through time. Experience of place impacts the way we feel about our surroundings and about ourselves.

OUTCOMES

The framework described at the beginning of this chapter (Figure 6.1) suggests that emotional and embodied experiences of place and ensuing processes of place attachment are creative forces that result in the sorts of public outcomes arising from the case study data described in Chapter 5. The key outcomes of identity-building and wellbeing are considered below.

IDENTITY

On October 28, 1943, Winston Churchill addressed the House of Commons to urge early rebuilding of certain buildings damaged during the war. In his speech he recognised that the material aspects of the environments that people create have the power to mold the lives of those who live in them: "We shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us" (Churchill, quoted in Winslow 2016: 239). Over 60 years later, philosopher Alain De Boton

wrote his book *The Architecture of Happiness* on the same premise (De Boton 2006). He spoke of the ways in which buildings provide "not only physical but also psychological sanctuary" and act as guardians of identity, reminding people who they were and who they are (De Boton 2006: 10-11).

> Belief in the significance of architecture is premised on the notion that we are, for better or worse, different people in different places – and on the conviction that it is architecture's task to render vivid to us who we might ideally be (De Boton 2006: 13).

In a study using interview data with people in the rural Northern Uplands of the United Kingdom, Stephanie Hawke used a model of relationships between identity and place developed by psychologist GM Breakwell to explain how heritage places contribute to individual identity.

> Heritage, through the temporal depth of social relations, contributes feelings of social insideness and the continuity of identity that is part of the experience of sense of place. Heritage can also serve as a mnemonic tool aiding continuity of identity (Hawke 2010: 1335).

It is possible that similar processes occur in museums. In the book *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, John H. Falk suggested that people visit museums not, as many museum curators think, for educative purposes but for entertainment and relaxation, for social connection and to do "identity work" (Falk 2009: 59). In the latter context people engage in introspective processes of imagining, reflecting and connecting, not to improve academic performance, but "as a vehicle for building personal identity": in other words, learning about oneself (Falk 2009: 52). In Falk's view, this identity building is not the big 'I' identity of race, religion, gender or nationality. Rather it is the smaller 'i' identities such as family member, sports fanatic, vegetarian or art lover that are important (Falk 2009: 73). This can be seen in the case study data in Chapter 4. At a site such as the Museum of Sydney, the transient experiences of place are associated with big 'I' identity themes of national history and identity, even though this was often made sense of in personal connections on a human or familial scale. Levels of engagement and attachment here were lower than at the Highlands Marketplace or the Conservatorium of Music where the experience of place is regular and embedded in the small 'i' identity of village resident, descendant or music student. While both types of engagement and identity building have their place, the effort in heritage conservation is often directed at the heritage tourism market, or the iconic site of State or

National significance rather than the local. Societal benefits can certainly be delivered at this scale and through these transient encounters, but the data presented here suggests that there is a strong case for greater focus on conservation at the local level on the sites that people interact with daily.

How do these big 'I' public and small 'i' private dimensions of identity and memory play out in people's interactions with archaeological remains at the five case study sites explored in this thesis? At the mining site of Beamish in the UK, Laurajane Smith found that while visitors' experiences were set in a context of wider narratives about the industrial past, people emphasized personal and family identity and memory (Smith 2006:213). In turn the personal response allowed reflection on wider social messages and contexts. The data in Chapters 4 and 5 support Smith's observations of the dominance of the personal in visitor responses to the archaeological remains at the five case study sites. This was not only through personal identity and memory but also through a sense of personal connection and resonance: the process of authentic connection to place and self, discussed earlier in this chapter. Even with ancestral connections to specific places or activities, life in nineteenth century Australia or at a nineteenth century ironworks is outside the lived experience of all of us. The personalisation process that many people engage with appears to function as a way of making sense of the 'other' past outside personal narratives and lived experience. The sense of connection to people and place was spoken of at all the case study sites but increased with the frequency of people's interaction with the remains and how familiar the remains became in their daily environment. It appeared to help people place themselves within the continuum of history and reflect on their own sense of belonging: at the National level at places such as the Museum of Sydney and the Conservatorium of Music; within a local community at the Highlands Market place in Mittagong; and within the context of the everyday experience of domestic life at Medical Sciences Precinct and the Big Dig.

The building of personal identity is a key focus of Yi et.al. (2017) in their work on heritage tourism in China. They introduce the concept of existential authenticity to explain the ways people engage with heritage sites to build personal identity, suggesting that the concept "is centered on the idea of individuals feeling free to engage with their true selves" (2017: 1033). This is a very different take to the traditional use of the term authenticity in heritage studies, which usually relate to authenticity of fabric. Yi et.al.'s concern is about the impact that experiencing heritage places has on the authenticity of self, specifically the sense of the "true

self" first explored by Heidegger (1962).[43] They suggest that experiences of authentic connection to place at heritage sites triggers "a process to escape from their normal self-control or self-constraint" that releases every-day pressures and external constructions of identity and allows an internalised process of finding a "true self" to occur. This process was certainly revealed in interviews with students at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music and the Medical Sciences Precinct in Hobart when they identified a sense of release from daily routines and perspectives being provided by the in situ archaeological remains. While the wellbeing outcomes associated with these responses will be discussed later in this chapter, the personal identity related dimensions are worth highlighting here.

While Laurajane Smith (2020) might suggest such interactions only reinforce preconceived notions of personal identity, Yi et.al (2017) found that interactions with heritage places can allow people to step outside preconceived familial or societal roles. This sort of agency when interacting with archaeological remains is evident the data presented in Chapters 4 and 5. While the interpretation at the case study sites presents particular views of the past it is clear that visitors, even those who engage in detail with the interpretative material, are not constrained by this messaging in the ways they make meaning from the sites. Even if, as suggested by Tracy Ireland (2015), the choice of archaeological remains to retain at places like the Sydney Conservatorium of Music or the Museum of Sydney fall within specific colonial identity tropes it does not follow that visitors will adopt these in an unquestioning way. As noted by Yeoh and Kong in their consideration of place in the construction of nostalgia and heritage in Singapore, the creation and experience of place is:

> … neither fully defined by those who hold power nor completely appropriated by ordinary people; instead 'place as process' implies a politics of place where social relations are dependent on particular combinations of social, cultural, economic and political factors are mediated in different ways (Yeoh and Kong 1996: 54).

In this way place is negotiated, not simply received. It is "closely intertwined with individual biographies and collective histories" (Yeoh and Kong 1996:54).

[43] Heidegger's concept a true or authentic self is one that is constructed internally according to someone's personal values rather than external demands and societal expectations.

WELLBEING

Jeremy C. Wells (2021) has suggested that embodied emotional human experiences of the world facilitate or impair overall quality of life. All of the factors discussed above - perceptions of authenticity, place attachment and the processes of imagination, emotion, identity building and connection that they foster – culminate in wellbeing outcomes for people who experience archaeological remains in situ. Many of these experiences occur in a localised, ordinary, daily sense and are 'fundamental in structuring how people tackle … the small and usually trivial problems of everyday life' (Johnston 1991: 50). But a sense of 'cultural depth' can also provide a buffer against times of extraordinary change or upheaval (Yeoh and Kong 1996: 60).

As highlighted in Chapter 5, when interview participants were asked how the archaeological remains made them feel, words such as 'security', 'perspective', 'connection', 'grounded' were commonly used. These responses likely stem from the deep human need for belonging. The hierarchy of needs developed by American psychologist Abraham Maslow in 1943, places belonging as the core psychological need just above the basic survival needs of safety, food, water and rest (Maslow 1943). Archaeological remains, which are perceived to provide authentic links to the past and can spark imagination and emotions, are well placed to meet people's longing for connection. Building partly on Maslow's hierarchy of needs that highlight belonging as the core psychological need, Pronk et.al. (2021) have developed a resilience model with seven layers: innate resilience; mind; body; social; professional; and adaptation. Each layer is considered essential to individual resilience and wellbeing. Heritage and people's experience of it can contribute directly to building the innate resilience (beliefs, values and personality), mindset and social (relationships and identity) layers. Research into trauma and chronic stress responses has also demonstrated the importance of a sense of security and attachment in bringing the nervous system back into regulation (Porges 2011).

As noted in Chapter 2, recent writing on archaeology and wellbeing tends to focus on outcomes from archaeology as a resource and a process rather than an experience of conserved archaeological places. For example, in a recent volume *Archaeology, Heritage and Wellbeing: Authentic, Powerful and Therapeutic Engagement With the Past* (Everill & Burnell 2022), wellbeing outcomes were considered in relation to engagement with research outputs such as exhibitions or collections and participation in archaeological excavation and survey. Where relationships to archaeological place are touched upon in this volume it is in relation to Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and their relationships to the land and environment. The interview data in Chapters 4 and 5 however, clearly demonstrate the

capacity of in situ archaeological remains to contribute to wellbeing. The interactions between people and archaeological place allowed for the expression of a range of emotions from enjoyment to sadness. Recognising these interactions, the ongoing connections they forge and the sense of wellbeing that results fits with the 'archaeology of care' promoted by archaeologists such as William Caraher (Caraher 2019; Caraher & Rothaus 2016) and Rachel Kiddey (2017). Although this model promotes "the social responsibilities inherent in archaeological knowledge-making" it could easily be extended to include the responsibility to be inclusive of the ways communities value archaeological places beyond research outputs. In this way archaeology would better recognise "the human consequences" of both archaeological practice and the places it seeks to understand (Caraher 2019: 373, 381).

Imaginative processes discussed earlier in this chapter appear to play a role in the production of wellbeing outcomes. Sofaer et.al. noticed that people visiting heritage places in the UK after pandemic lockdowns ended in 2020 were:

> … able to project present feelings and consequences of the pandemic crisis into an imagined past without the constraints of historical knowledge. In this sense, the distant past may be used to construct a sense of ontological security by providing a story of long-term continuity. Furthermore, the more distant the past, the more space there was for imaginative engagement rather than following an authoritative script, and thus potentially more malleable in terms of fulfiling wellbeing needs (Sofaer et.al. 2021: 1125).

The feelings of connection to people and place evident in the case study data appear to act as an anchor for individuals in both space and time. For many people a sense of perspective was gained from understanding life outside their own experience and in turn a sense of place in the continuum of history and in the world. At all the sites, on varying levels and to varying degrees, these connections fostered a sense of belonging to a community, or an institution, a city or a nation or more broadly to the sweep of common humanity. There was also a sense of social connection in the present through shared experiences of the place. The remains often acted as a catalyst for conversations amongst strangers or debate amongst friends. This latter outcome of social cohesion in the present has been tracked in several studies of participation in local heritage groups and community-based heritage conservation in the United Kingdom, which found:

> A rich array of positive benefits on social wellbeing … including personal enrichment, social learning, satisfaction … and less anxiety about the present (Power & Smyth 2015: 160).

In her work on place and identity in the United Kingdom, Sarah Hawke found that the historic environment of the North Pennines helped to build and maintain self-esteem in local residents (Hawke 2010). This was often expressed as pride in living in a historic home in an historic village and a sense of connection to both people and place over time. Industrial heritage in the North Pennines also promoted a sense of pride in the skills of past-artisans and workers along with their ability to survive and prosper in a harsh environment, creating a legacy that has been handed to the current generation, which in turn they are proud to pass on. This sense of pride, belonging and connection to place built people's pride in themselves as members of the community. This was a particularly strong theme in the interviews with people at the Highlands Marketplace in Mittagong. The Fitzroy Ironworks were seen as the foundation of the Mittagong community and residents expressed a deep sense of connection to and pride in the people who worked there, supported by their interactions with the archaeological remains. The presence of archaeological remains at the Conservatorium of Music was seen by students as a source of pride in an institution that they felt showed respect for the past.

Hawke also observed that historic environments fed into people's sense of distinctiveness. Not only that the place they live is distinctive from others, but also that they are distinctive as individuals, by virtue of their association with a historic place (Hawke 2010). This sentiment was evident at all the case study sites except for the Museum of Sydney. It was particularly strong at the three sites with regular visitation – the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, the Highlands Marketplace in Mittagong and the Medical Sciences Precinct in Hobart. People talked about the design of the new buildings as unique and attractive because they incorporated archaeological remains. This lent a sense of enjoyment to their daily experience of place and was also a source of identity associated with their community or place of learning. Finally, Hawke observed that heritage supported a sense of continuity across time. This occurs both in the sense of placing oneself into the timeline of a specific place and seeing yourself as part of that continuity and also identifying with place "when it is found to be suitably in keeping with the type of person an individual perceives themselves to be" (Hawke 2010). Many people interviewed for this thesis spoke of being part of a bigger whole and of the sense of perspective that came from understanding there was life before their part in the timeline. These factors created a sense of belonging, of connectedness, perspective and

security, which feeds into the human need for belonging discussed above and contributes directly to people's sense of wellbeing.

In a study of why people chose heritage places to explore and reconnect with people and the world after Covid lockdowns in the UK, Sofaer et.al. (2021) found that being part of a community and returning to valued places were important to restore a sense of security, wellbeing and returning to 'normality'. Visiting a special place was also seen to provide a suitable backdrop to the momentous activity of reconnecting in person after many months, sometimes years apart. The experience also acted as an antidote to the stresses of lockdown and the uncertainty of dealing with the threat of the pandemic. The sense of security, perspective and continuity provided by contemplation of heritage:

> … can provide people with a buffer against stresses and strains in life, which were particularly acute during the pandemic… visitors experienced a sense of comfort and belonging in reflecting that people in the past had been through and overcome various forms of crisis… the more temporally distant the site, the greater the perceived sense of stability and permanence, and the more often comments relating to ontological security were expressed. Time depth was thus a powerful factor in facilitating this aspect of wellbeing (Sofaer et.al. 2021: 1124-1125).

Sofaer et.al. also noted that visitors to sites such as Avebry standing stones identified the same sense of time depth and perspective that students at the Conservatorium of Music and the Medical Sciences Precinct identified. One visitor to Avebury noting: "The stones speak to me. They give me a sense of belonging in a way that I don't feel if I look at a piece of porcelain [in a museum]. It's about a sense of mortality. That there's a continuum and I am part of a bigger picture. It makes me feel better (Questionnaire: Avebury, 30.7.20)" (Sofaer et.al.2021: 1125).

THE PERSONAL DIMENSIONS OF PUBLIC HERITAGE

The very private dimensions of engagement with public archaeological places that are a recurring theme in the discussion above are worth some concluding remarks. It is a theme in recent work by Emma Waterton and Modesto Gayo of the University of Western Sydney (Waterton 2020; Waterton and Gayo 2020). Based on surveys with 1461 Australians and selected follow-up interviews, they concluded that 'public heritage' does not have broad appeal and that most people are more interested in family history. The research presented in this thesis would support the finding that many people do not visit museums or spend time

regularly engaging with dedicated historic sites and with Waterton and Gayo's conclusion that personal or community ideas of heritage are not well reflected in professional practice or public policy. But there are aspects of Waterton and Gayo's definitions, assumptions and interpretations that are challenged by the data in Chapters 4 and 5. In the same vein as Laurajane Smith, they define 'public heritage' as elite, authorised and confined to museums or dedicated historic sites and everything else as private, vernacular or everyday heritage. Four of the five case study sites used for this research muddy this distinction between public and private, being 'authorised' displays of archaeological remains within 'everyday' places such as a shopping centre or a university. These sites are also clearly within the public realm although they are not dedicated 'public heritage' sites as defined by Waterton and Gayo. Perhaps 'dedicated historic site or museum' is a better description for Waterton and Gayo's 'public heritage' as the latter term seems more logically applied to any heritage encountered in the public realm. This rigid definition of public/authorised and private/non-authorised heritage also ignores the fact that people's experience of heritage regardless of where it is situated is, as discussed in the previous section, a largely personal one. This appears to be the case even where they are responding to sites like the Museum of Sydney where the narrative is one of the big 'I' neo-Colonial national identity critiqued by Tracy Ireland in her extensive work on archaeology and Nationalism in an Australian context (Ireland 2001; 2012b; 2015). As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, visitors to the five case study sites explored in this thesis exercised and in fact preferred a high degree of agency in their interactions with in situ archaeological remains, even when the remains were accompanied by 'authorised' interpretation. They stubbornly, if unconsciously, refused to comply with perceptions of what 'authorised' interpretation might cause them to think or do or ideas about what Aboriginal people or migrants, or any other social identifier you might wish to use, are interested in or might value.

In this sense it could be argued that all public heritage has private dimensions and that attachments and meaning can be developed in any context through repeated engagement, calling the usefulness of the public and private dichotomy in heritage scholarship into question. Waterton and Gayo (2020) also interpret their survey data to mean that interest in public heritage, as they define it, is confined to elite, highly educated and urbanised social classes and that the 'everyday' is the realm of less educated, regionally based and 'working class' groups. Although demographic information such as social class - which seems plagued by problematic assumptions and definitions in modern Australia - and education level were deliberately not collected for the purposes of this research, the location and nature of the case study sites were chosen to allow access to a broad cross-section of society. It is likely there

were people from all of Waterton and Gayo's social classes and education levels represented in the interview dataset and yet support for in situ archaeological conservation was high across the board. When presented with archaeological remains in their 'everyday' environment, people do engage with them in a range of deeply meaningful ways. Waterton and Gayo's metric that effort in researching or visiting museums or dedicated historic sites equates to engagement or more specifically lack of engagement with public heritage appears problematic in this context. Indeed, they highlight comments made by their interview subjects that they have interest in 'public heritage' such as the Museum of Sydney but have never made the effort to go and see such places (2020: 79). While this might suggest apathy about 'authorised' heritage, it highlights why archaeological conservation in places of daily use and experience is so appreciated. It provides opportunity and access without the necessary effort or interest in attending a dedicated historic site.

Using a similar approach as Waterton and Gayo, to the public and private dichotomy in her book *Emotional Heritage: Visitor Engagement at Museums and Heritage* Sites (2020), Laurajane Smith used her Authorised Heritage Discourse model (Smith 2006) to categorise heritage places as 'national' (authorised) or 'dissonant'. She then drew on site interviews with 4,502 visitors to museums and heritage sites in the UK, Australia and the United States to suggest that most visitors from the 'dominant' cultural groups in that country, visit heritage places to reinforce what they already think about their national history and identity. While Smith's work is primarily focused on museums and dedicated historic sites and this thesis focuses on archaeological remains in other contexts, her characterisation of both sites and visitors appear to be contradicted by the data presented here. Visitors to both the Museum of Sydney and the other non-museum based sites demonstrated a far higher degree of agency than Smith attributes to her interview subjects. As already discussed in Chapter 4, visitors to this 'authorised' site spoke of the difficult relationships of the colonial invaders and Aboriginal people and the lasting, negative legacy of decisions made at First Government House. This was despite the fact that the interpretive material accompanying the archaeological remains of First Government House does nothing to prompt this disruptive narrative. Smith herself also acknowledges that only 3 percent of visitors had come away with significant learning about the past or the site itself. This finding echoes the data presented here, which suggests many visitors do not engage deeply, or at all, with interpretation materials at museums and historic sites, as well as that presented alongside conserved archaeological remains.

While Smith sees this lack of engagement as a sign of preconceived notions of place and identity at work, it may also be a sign of independent thought and imagination. Based on the

research undertaken for this thesis, it doesn't necessarily follow that people will blindly act or think according to a dominant narrative simply because they are perceived to belong to a dominant cultural group or they are visiting an 'authorised' heritage place. It also doesn't follow that the experience of bringing their own personal assemblage of beliefs to a tangible experience of a heritage place will result in them leaving that experience unchanged. David Crouch suggested that "attending heritage is like a journey" (Crouch 2015: 178) that is both prompted by and prompts loops and re-loops in and out of memory and identity. It is both informed by and changes according to the interplay of preconceived ideas and beliefs and the materiality and character of place. It is in this complex negotiation, he proposes, that "identity, belonging and creativity emerge" (Crouch 2015: 178) and that "there is fluidity in being and becoming, between as we are and how we may become" (Crouch 2015: 180). For some people, interactions with heritage places might be used to reinforce what people already think about the world, but the data presented in this thesis suggests that these interactions can also be forces for change, both to the place and the person.

REFLECTION

This chapter proposed a framework for understating the creation of public outcomes such as identity-building and wellbeing from the interactions between people and archaeological places. It considered the range of emotional and embodied experiences prompted by such interactions and the importance of the imagination and perceptions of authenticity. In turn these authentic and embodied experiences can be observed to give rise to feelings of belonging, attachment and connection and assist in the building of personal and collective identities. Wellbeing outcomes ranged from feelings of wellbeing (such as security, pride, happiness, satisfaction, achievement) to increased self-esteem and sense of self, personal enrichment and social connection. The way people feel about heritage places was also considered, not only in terms of its role in fostering connections and creating wellbeing outcomes, but also in regard to how and why they value heritage. These very human responses to archaeological places are not often discussed explicitly in formalised archaeological or heritage management frameworks. The final chapter of this thesis considers these findings in relation to practice.

CHAPTER 7

LOOKING FORWARD

Heritage is about creating something, not about preserving anything.

David Lowenthal 1985

This PhD began with a series of simple questions. What do conserved archaeological remains create in contemporary society. What are the public values attached to these remains? Does the public benefit from interacting with them and how? Do heritage professionals and the public users of conserved archaeological places share an understanding of their value and the work they do in communities? What might an evidence-based understanding of these perspectives, values and benefits offer for the future of both archaeological management practice and the communities that encounter and experience conserved archaeological remains? Qualitative research methods, primarily interviews and surveys, have allowed the perspectives and feelings of both heritage professionals and members of the public to speak to these questions and the real-world outcomes of in situ archaeological conservation. The review of literature relating to in situ conservation in Chapter 2 and the professional interview and survey data in Chapters 4 and 5 highlight an overwhelming assumption in archaeological practice that the core value of archaeology is producing knowledge about the past. Public benefit is usually conceptualised in relation to educational outcomes - either learning about the past or participating in archaeological work to produce such knowledge. The professional emphasis on the research value of archaeology is unsurprising given the philosophical underpinnings of archaeological training and practice, but it is clear from the public interview and survey responses detailed in Chapters 4 and 5 that archaeology does far more than produce knowledge about the past. Maintaining a sole focus on research value overlooks opportunities to acknowledge and support the range of other, equally important, things that archaeology does for people in the present.

Theories about people and archaeological objects, such as those espoused by Hodder (2016; Hodder & Mol 2016) and discussed in Chapter 3, usually focus on the engagement between materiality and humanity in the past. The interview data in Chapters 4 and 5 however, make it clear that materiality is also important to relationships between people and the past in the present. Talking to members of the public at the five case study sites presented in this thesis has shown that archaeological work gives the public access to the materiality of the past in a

way that is perceived by many to be direct and authentic and which can spark connection and emotion and an ability to imagine and feel. By and large people seem to need remarkably little information to allow this to happen. Such interactions between people and place were recognised by the NSW Parliamentary Inquiry into the *NSW Heritage Act* in 2021.

> The places, objects and sites that tell these important stories are not only significant for their physicality, but also for their less tangible, socially-mediated values. As the committee heard in evidence to this inquiry, these less tangible values derive from the purposeful interactions between social and cultural beings and the physical places they worshipped in, worked in, played in and transacted business in (NSW Parliamentary Committee 2021: viii).

The embodied, emotional experiences of archaeological places that many of the people interviewed for this research spoke of, supported a range of processes including deep connections and attachments to people and place over time. The resulting range of wellbeing-related outcomes included a sense of belonging, feelings of pride, happiness and satisfaction and the development of personal and community identity.

This evidence-based understanding of relationships between people and archaeological places in the present suggests a need for new ways of thinking about in situ conservation. Rather than trying to shape society to appreciate an archaeological view of the past, the practice of archaeological conservation can be shaped by the needs of and benefits to diverse communities. This requires acceptance that archaeological remains can do far more than simply teach people about the past. Having some archaeological remains in situ and available for public viewing allows future communities to have their own responses to archaeological places and to the past. Instead of the meanings of sites becoming dictated and fixed by the experts at the time of excavation, conservation rather than destruction of archaeological places means that the materiality of the past is still available for future generations to have their own experiences and find their own meanings. Retaining archaeological remains in situ and providing public access to them therefore becomes an essential output of archaeological work, equally if not more important than the weighty tome of archaeological recording or professional publication - archaeology for archaeologists. It is in the experience of archaeological sites as place, not simply resources that substantial public outcomes of archaeology as a practice appear to be delivered. As noted by David Lowenthal in the quote opening this chapter, these places have the capacity to be forces for creation in the present and the future.

These findings have implications for the ways archaeological purpose and value are defined and the decision-making frameworks that establish which sites to keep and how. They also have implications for the ways that archaeology as a discipline defines itself and subsequently how it is taught at universities. As noted by Atalay et.al. (2014):

> Archaeology needs disruption because when pursued as top-down, researcher-driven, or government-mandated practice, it can (and all too often does) disenfranchise people from their heritage in real and powerful ways.

Beyond the field of archaeology, observing how people and places come together to create the range of outcomes discussed throughout this thesis has implications for understanding how people make meaning from all material traces of the past in the present.

RETHINKING THE SOCIAL VALUES OF CONSERVED ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

The findings of this thesis have particular relevance to the ways that the social values of archaeological places, and heritage places more generally, are defined. Changing conceptions of heritage and heritage value have presented challenges to established regulatory frameworks for the identification and management of cultural heritage and there can be an uneasy tension in practice between conventional fabric-based notions of heritage and humanist approaches that see heritage as process rather than a series of things (Ireland, Brown and Schofield 2020). Fredheim and Khalaf have proposed that “if the language of heritage values is incapable of capturing the full range of ways in which heritage is valued, values-based approaches cannot be expected to result in appropriate conservation decisions” (2016: 469). The findings explored in Chapter 5 highlight that archaeological practice either ignores or too narrowly defines the heritage values of archaeological places, in particular social values. This issue was noted by Jeremy Wells in relation to urban heritage, including archaeological sites:

> …if one conceptualizes the heritage meanings associated with urban places as complex, layered, and trans-temporal, it becomes quickly apparent that the dominant ‘thin’ process for managing the richness of urban heritage completely disregards a deep understanding of the relationship between people and places (Wells et al. 2020a: 185).

This might be considered a surprising observation in an Australian context given the fact that the Australia ICOMOS *Burra Charter* has addressed social and spiritual value since it was written in 1979. Australian heritage scholar James Lesh however, has suggested that the

inclusion of social value in the Charter was 'tangential' (Lesh 2019: 43). Issues with the Burra Charter and its application include:

- the weighting of the values in the Charter, where the social values are outnumbered by the more professional historic, technical and research value;
- the emphasis placed on the role of experts over communities in identifying and managing heritage values; and
- the emphasis placed on values conservation rather than the benefits or outcomes of this process.

In their discussion paper on social significance for the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Australian heritage practitioners Denis Byrne, Helen Brayshaw and Tracy Ireland (2003) pointed out that the *Burra Charter* doesn't clearly define the four heritage values that it promotes, nor does it provide guidance on how to identify them. It focuses instead on how to manage the fabric of a place. They also observe that it enables the 'professionalised' categories (aesthetic, historical, scientific) to be on a par with the category of social significance, but because social value sits apart by its nature from the other three this means it is usually dominated or subsumed by the traditional categories of significance in practice (see also Lesh 2019: 45). The authors found this unacceptable, suggesting that social values should be given the greatest weight with historic, aesthetic and scientific values as a subset of social value. This reading of imbalance and emphasis on professional knowledge promoted by the Charter was examined by Waterton, Smith and Campbell (2006) in their discourse analysis of its text. In both emphasis and practice the Charter also falls short in grappling with the emotional and experiential aspects of heritage that the data in this thesis shows is so important to the delivery of public benefits including wellbeing outcomes (Waterton & Smith 2009).

Beyond the Charter itself there are significant shortfalls in concepts of social value in heritage practice that are guided by it. In my own experience reviewing and assessing others' heritage reports, I have observed that many heritage practitioners believe that social value is about community values in the past. Where there is recognition that it is about contemporary community values often this is only thought of in terms of the communities' ability to appreciate the professionally defined values - historic, technical and aesthetic values and in the case of archaeology, research value. Conversely there can be a belief that social values are completely distinct from and bear no relation to the other values (Byrne et.al. 2003). Social value is rarely assessed in non-indigenous communities by consulting those communities, or it is done superficially so that social values statements express the assumptions of the expert

rather than the perspectives of the public. Heritage practitioners also rarely have the skills and knowledge to use qualitative and participatory methods to assess social values (Jones 2017). This is despite the fact that social values are determined by people in a community, not by heritage professionals or government heritage administrators. In Australian jurisdictions like NSW, where four of the case study sites are located, the criterion of social value only allows a strong or special association with "a particular community or cultural group in NSW" rather than recognising value and benefit to the broader community. It does not account for common values held by individuals derived from daily life interactions with historic places. By focusing on association with particular cultural groups, the definition is far narrower than that used, for example by Historic England, which suggests that social value "derives from the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory… [and] is associated with places the people perceive as a source of identity, distinctiveness, social interaction and coherence" (Drury and McPherson 2008: 31, 32).

Other issues in practice include a lack of recognition by many heritage professionals of community knowledge and expertise and a view that it takes second place to professional assessments of value (Lesh 2009: 56). In her work on the Benalla Migrant Camp in regional Australia, Alexandra Dellios pointed out that community expectations around heritage value are not well accounted for in standard industry documents such as Conservation Management Plans (Dellios 2019). Dellios advocates a conservation approach that privileges lived experience and recognises ongoing and changing community associations. The emotional and experiential aspects of heritage, including archaeological sites, that are important to communities are largely ignored and don't fit well within the accepted frameworks for significance assessment. As the research presented in this thesis demonstrates, that absence is problematic.

Place attachment is an important aspect of social value that is rarely considered in Australian heritage practice. The absence of consideration for emotion and attachment is, as pointed out by Australian heritage practitioner Chris Johnston, ironic given that community sentiment and activism drove the creation of formalised heritage management systems in the first place (Johnston 1992). As explored in Chapter 6, critical heritage scholar Jeremy Wells has gone as far as suggesting that the way people feel about heritage is essential to how and why they value it (Wells 2021: 31). To continue to ignore emotional attachments to heritage leaves the heritage industry and its governance structures at risk of further disenfranchising communities and undermining its own relevance and effectiveness.

In 2018 the Heritage Council of Victoria commissioned a review of social values assessment and management (Lovell Chen 2018), which adopted a more contemporary definition of social value that included "collective attachment to place that embodies meanings and values that are important to a community or communities … the reasons for communal attachment may be spiritual, religious, cultural, political or derived from common experience". But even this definition doesn't explicitly address emotional or experiential attachment. It also, like NSW, requires social value to be attached to a specific and identifiable group rather than allowing space for more general attachments. This is despite earlier analysis of social value done for the Australian Heritage Commission by Chris Johnston (Johnston 1992) that recognised wider, shared public attachments to place. Consideration of social value within the remit of doctrine like the Burra Charter, which is primarily place and fabric focused, is also not assisted by the work of scholars such as Laurajane Smith (2006; 2020; Waterton & Smith 2009) who reject the role of the material in the production of heritage value and heritage outcomes. The framework presented in Chapter 6 of this thesis for understanding the way outcomes of in situ archaeological conservation creates public outcomes suggests that both doctrine and heritage management frameworks need to embrace the entangled role of both the material and social aspects of heritage. In addressing some of the emotional and experiential attachments to place highlighted by this research, creating a new category of significance that measures the nature and strength of feeling about place is likely to be important.

RETHINKING DECISION-MAKING FRAMEWORKS

Current decision-making about in situ conservation of archaeological sites is based on professional viewpoints about the value of archaeology. Given the professional emphasis on research significance, many of the archaeologists interviewed and surveyed for this research felt that in situ conservation was a luxury rather than an essential output of archaeological endeavour. Where conservation was supported, it was seen primarily as a vehicle for interpreting archaeological research output to the public. Yet it is clear from the public interview and survey data in Chapters 4 and 5 that the public focuses on a broader set of outcomes from conserved archaeological sites and that learning about the past, while acknowledged as important, is not the highest priority. This has significant implications for archaeological training, practice and management frameworks.

The privileging of archaeological and academic heritage values over social or community values has been debated in Indigenous heritage management circles since the 1990s (Brown 2008, 2020) and has prompted a move towards community-informed and community-led

heritage practice. This is not the case for heritage that is classed as 'non-Indigenous'. Following from the observations above about social values in practice in Australia, an important step will be to recognise and properly understand the social values of archaeological sites by including all communities in identification of social and emotional values and decision-making about what to keep and how. This will require acceptance of the range of functions performed by in situ archaeological remains such as identity building, supporting connection and feelings of belonging, the creation of liveable urban environments and the associated wellbeing outcomes that flow from these processes. As noted by Sîan Jones, it is important to develop management frameworks and make place-specific decisions that support rather than disrupt the "subtle process of working out genuine or truthful relationships between objects, people and places in the past and present" (Jones 2009: 141).

Research value continues to be an essential aspect of archaeological work, but while tertiary training in archaeology continues to focus only on the production of knowledge and doesn't encourage students to explore the social dimensions of archaeological sites as places, not just as resources, the ensuing professional archaeological practice will continue to emphasise research value at the expense of anything else. In turn it will be difficult to shift the perceived role of archaeology in society to a more socially responsible practice that aims to deliver public benefits beyond learning about the past. As noted by Australian heritage practitioner Richard Mackay in his paper "Whose Archaeology? Social Considerations in Archaeological Research Design" (2006), in order for archaeology to move away from being a self-serving discipline, it needs to not only include communities in the identification of values, it also needs to deliver a wider community good. Or, otherwise put, 'Lying behind all action to identify, conserve and explain [heritage] there must be clear social objectives' (Yencken 2008).

As noted in the previous chapter, while many heritage professionals, in particular archaeologists, report responding emotionally to in situ archaeological remains in the same way as the public, this has failed to translate into public archaeological and heritage policy (Emerick 2016: 258). Siân Jones found a similar conundrum when interviewing archaeologists about object and place attachment in Scotland (Jones 2009). The findings of this thesis support Ionnis Poulios' view that:

> Conservation should move towards a completely different context of understanding and safeguarding heritage: shifting the focus from protection towards creation. Conservationists need to 'escape' from the discontinuity created between the monuments, considered to belong to the past, and the

> people of the present and also from the attachment to the fabric, and move towards embracing communities' associations with sites and the continual process of creation of the sites in the context of these associations (Poulios 2010: 182).

Or as James Lesh simply put it: "Safeguarding the relationship between people and place lies at the heart of heritage conservation" (Lesh 2019: 43). Academics such as Rebecca Madgin have undertaken research looking at emotional significance as a value that sits outside current assessment frameworks.[44] Although Madgin's work doesn't address archaeological places its findings clearly demonstrate the importance of understanding emotional attachment to historic places when developing heritage management frameworks. As noted by Wells,

> The role of emotion in the experience and valuation of heritage is a fundamentally human reason why such heritage is valued by laypeople... the recognition and protection of built heritage is universally supposed to be in the public good, yet the values and meanings of the public for their own heritage... are required, by law, to be sidelined (Wells 2020b: 11).

Emerick suggested that "If the heritage sector wants people to be involved and committed to heritage issues, then passion and emotion have to be accepted as parts of that dialogue" (Emerick 2016:273). Yet,

> The trope of 'community' is put to work in heritage to engineer alliances and investments that create a symbolic 'object' of collective identity, [but they] fail to enable the living 'subjects' of heritage, with their complex social positionings and experiences, to take centre stage (Dicks 2000).

Not only are emotional values not recognised, the emotional damage caused by the loss of significant heritage can also be ignored in current archaeological and heritage practice. A concept from environmental psychology mentioned in Chapter 6 that is relevant here is that of disrupted attachment (Brown & Perkins 1992), which is the opposing emotional process to place attachment. Not taking the emotional aspects of heritage into account in management frameworks can result in management decisions that disrupt experience, attachment and the wellbeing outcomes that flow from it. Heritage management authorities therefore, have a moral responsibility to consider these impacts in decision-making about heritage places.

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[44] https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/socialpolitical/research/urbanstudies/projects/whydohistoricplacesmatter/, viewed 30/07/22.

> Imagine how useful it would be to inform which places are worthy of conservation based on people's emotional attachment to them. Or, in a more direct sense, perhaps we should consider prioritising saving the places for which people have the strongest feelings. Thus, we switch from a search for cultural meanings to psychological ones that then inform practice (Wells 2021:32).

Another issue with decision-making frameworks that is lamented by Chris Johnson, former NSW Government Architect and current head of the Urban Taskforce, is bureaucratisation and what he sees as the prevalence of micro thinking in Australian heritage management, which stifles innovation and big picture solutions to urban problems (C. Johnson, 22 November 2018). He advocates management frameworks that more strategically and critically address the way heritage fits into the urban environment. As noted by consultant archaeologist Wendy Thorp, such a framework requires an understanding of "why we're doing it, who we're doing it for and what your objectives are" (W. Thorp, 14 September 2018). This, she suggests, is the only reasonable basis for making a rational choice about which archaeological remains to retain in situ, but it is something she doesn't think has ever been clear.

Tiered thresholds of modern heritage management and significance assessment (Local, State, National, World) are enacted by the administrative structures of government and do not necessarily reflect the reality of the ways people emphasise value. In an Australian context this has led to assumptions that State value is more important than local. While the number of people that may relate to a heritage item increase at each threshold, it doesn't follow that the value is higher. It is also true that the iconic has local value and meaning (Emerick 2016: 258). The data presented in this thesis supports an argument for more recognition of connections to heritage at a "local" level. It is here in the daily experiences of heritage as people move through the world to work, learn, shop, relax and socialise that the greatest net benefits and outcomes appear to lie.

In summary, the work of this thesis suggests it is important that future archaeological decision-making frameworks improve the breadth of significance assessment to better encapsulate the ways that the public experience and value archaeological places. However, while identifying and managing heritage values is a central part of official heritage management processes this shouldn't be considered an end in itself. Heritage values are conserved in order to achieve broader public outcomes and management-frameworks that focus on value conservation as the end product are likely to continue to disenfranchise

communities and fail to recognise and support the work that heritage does in society. One way to address this might be to develop benefit-based decision-making frameworks for heritage management. To do this effectively will require more research, tracking and efforts to measure the real-world impacts of heritage conservation and its outcomes particularly those outcomes relating to emotions, connection to place and the resulting personal and community identity and wellbeing. In simple terms, the process for a heritage decision-making body would not just stop at how a proposal for work to a heritage item impacts its listed heritage values. It would move through that into a second phase of decision-making that asks what will conservation of those values achieve?

WELLBEING INDICATORS

Wellbeing indicators are also likely to be an important pillar of a benefit-based decision-making framework for heritage. While in places such as the United Kingdom public benefit including wellbeing is increasingly recognised as an important focus for public policy, community wellbeing is not yet an explicit goal of government in most parts of Australia (The Heritage Alliance 2020). An exception is the Wellbeing Framework established by the ACT (Australian Capital Territory), but even in this case heritage is not identified as a core creator of community wellbeing. The environment is mentioned in the framework only in terms of people's interactions with nature. Other wellbeing factors explored in the previous chapter such as identity and belonging, health and social connection are identified as 'domains' of wellbeing with associated indicators, but heritage conservation is not connected into the framework as a way of achieving wellbeing goals. This can however be effectively achieved as organisations such as Historic England have demonstrated by: articulating its purpose 'To improve people's lives by championing and protecting the historic environment'; establishing linkages between wellbeing indicators and heritage (Reilly et.al. 2018); and the development of a Wellbeing and Heritage Strategy.[45] Impact measures such as Social Return on Investment are also being investigated by Historic England to measure and track the wellbeing impacts of heritage conservation activities.

> An account of social value is a story about the changes experienced by people. It includes qualitative, quantitative and comparative information, and also

[45] 19 May, 2022, https://historicengland.org.uk/whats-new/research/a-wellbeing-and-heritage-strategy-for-historic-england/, accessed 7 June, 2022

> includes environmental changes in relation to how they affect people's lives (Social Value UK quoted by Reilly et.al. 2018).

Measurements of subjective wellbeing (assessment of one's own life in relation to aspirations and goals) and affective wellbeing (feelings in the moment – sometimes captured via mobile phone app to track location and emotions at particular times) could be applied to people's interactions with and responses to heritage places and practices (Reilly et.al. 2018). So could impact assessment models developed in an Australian context for projects such as the Resilience Shield, which measures individual resilience over time (Pronk et.al. 2021). Such measures of impact are important to satisfy government policy makers (Fritjers et.al. 2019). Connecting heritage conservation practice more squarely to the reality of the way the public receive and value its products will not only serve to ensure that community values are better identified and supported but also that conservation can fulfil its potential as an active force for supporting individual and community wellbeing, now and into the future.

PRACTICAL ISSUES

In addition to the necessary conceptual shifts within official definitions of value and benefit discussed above and the associated changes to heritage management frameworks, the findings of the data analysis in chapters 4-6 also have practical implications for site selection and presentation. The need to place more emphasis on community experiences of significant archaeological places demonstrated in the data and discussed above suggests a far broader range of possible contexts for in situ archaeological conservation than the typical city-centre foyer. The high degrees of attachment to the Fitzroy Ironworks site despite its incongruous location in the carpark of the Highlands Marketplace in Mittagong, speaks to the effectiveness of regional conservation projects in places frequented by local communities. This site also speaks to a public desire for more considered integration of archaeological remains within new development. Local residents overwhelmingly expressing a preference for the remains to have been integrated with and surrounded by the shops rather than the carpark in order to facilitate regular interaction.

The strong public desire for connection to people and place suggests less emphasis is needed on the presentation of technical or didactic archaeological findings and more on the human stories of people and place in the past. A finding of the case study analysis presented in Chapter 4 is that reduced direction of visitor experience and more acceptance of the

importance of visitor agency archaeological interpretations would better support the ways people want to engage with these places and therefore the benefits that flow from these engagements. Above all, the essential process of historical imagination, a sense of time travel and emotional connection is important to understand and cater for, as these processes are core to the range of wellbeing outcomes archaeological places can deliver. This requires not only consideration of what might be actively done to archaeological places to support such experiences but also what needs to be left undone, both to give space to the visitor's own reactions and to guard against disruption of authentic experience and attachment.

Finally, assumptions that historic places are best managed as museums or dedicated historic sites, or that lack of engagement with such places denotes a lack of interest in the past, is clearly not reflected in the findings of this thesis. Instead, there can be seen an almost universal support for the practice of in situ archaeological conservation and allowing people to be able to experience archaeological remains where they were found, within contexts that allow new uses and allow experiences of the past amongst the daily business of life.

POTENTIAL FUTURE RESEARCH

Further research on the nature of the values and benefits of archaeological places, especially that which looks beyond research value, will continue to be essential in ensuring that public outcomes are understood and supported by archaeological practice. The research in this thesis could be extended and its findings about the importance of archaeological remains staying in situ could be further explored by collecting and analysing comparative data from archaeological interpretations where there is no in situ conservation.

Further work on archaeology and wellbeing is also clearly needed in an Australian context to better understand the relationships between experience of archaeological places and individual and community resilience. Such studies could track changes in wellbeing and resilience over time or consider the impact of the loss of significant archaeological places on individual and community wellbeing and resilience.

FINAL REFLECTION

Returning to the personal reflection that opened this thesis and that sunny winter's day protest at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, I can observe how much my own views on in situ conservation have changed through the process of researching and writing this thesis. While I had always been more supportive of in situ archaeological conservation than many of my peers I had started to question what, if any, public benefits resulted from people's experiences of the sites once the archaeologists had completed their investigations. I had, like many of the professional viewpoints explored in this thesis, held the view that the learning outcomes from such sites were questionable and therefore their value was limited.

Spending time at the five case study sites speaking to the people who are the intended recipients of the products of in situ archaeological conservation has been a privilege and has completely changed my views on its value and the value of archaeological practice more generally. Not only did I find widespread support for retaining archaeological remains and making them accessible to the public, I found deep connections to these places and a sense of pride that they have been kept for current and future generations. It became clear that archaeological places can deliver far more than information about the past. They can be widely valued in the present as a source of identity, belonging, connection, wellbeing and resilience. I have seen first-hand the power of people and tangible archaeological remains coming together to create emotional experiences that feed directly into the reasons why people value heritage.

Experiencing the case study places through the eyes of the people who interact with them daily has brought into sharp relief the limitations of existing heritage management systems. In particular, the seeming absence of interest in understanding or supporting community values attached to archaeological places or a desire to address the emotional connections that people form with the past in the present. If archaeologists embrace these values and aim to support them through their practice, the future possibilities for archaeology as a force to improve people's lives is vastly expanded. As Tracy Ireland reflected:

> Once you start doing a bit of research like this, about how people react to it and love it and what they can do and the social life that the ruins can go on to have, then maybe that means we might do archaeology for different reasons…if we set up a project to address a social issue – like here you've got a place that's dangerous or not very nice that people don't linger in – and we've got some

> archaeology and how might we display it address that social problem, that could be an interesting thought experiment (T. Ireland, 10 December 2019).

Take for example, a new community being established in western Sydney, or any big city. Like many new developments it is sterile and lacking in community cohesion. Although it seems to have been developed on a "greenfield site", it is in fact in a very old landscape. The echos of past lives are being revealed through archaeological work for new transport links to the area, but are being wiped away as soon as they are found. Imagine the possibilities for the wellbeing of this new community and its sense of place, sense of self and sense of connection if these archaeological remains were embraced within the fabric of new development - not just because archaeologists want to communicate the results of their research, but because of the broader social benefits. As Byrne, Brayshaw and Ireland (2003) have said, communities do not just happen, they are built. It is clear from the research undertaken for this thesis that archaeological sites have great potential to act as building blocks for community now and in the future.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW AND SURVEY QUESTIONS

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS – QUESTION SELECTION LIST

Professional background and experience

Your experience with in situ conservation?

Purpose/Benefit

Do you think in situ retention is an important heritage management practice? Why?

What do you think the purpose of the practice of in situ retention is?

What do you think the benefits (public or otherwise) of in situ retention currently are?

What do you think the benefits should be?

Do you have a good sense of what the public wants in regard to archaeological conservation? How?

Rocks example – Susannah Place v The Big Dig.

What?

Which sites should be retained? / Which criteria should be used?

In situ v not in situ.

Outcomes

Here v OS?

What do you think constitutes "good" in situ retention? Are there any sites that illustrate this?

What doesn't work in current practice? Are there any sites that illustrate this?

Size of display?

FGH Intentions

Your personal intentions for a site you have been involved with creating or managing?

Future

Do you think archaeological sites should continue to be conserved and presented to the public in the future? If so, what changes to current practice would you like to see?

Personal Experience As a Site Visitor

Do you visit archaeological sites that have been retained in situ?

What do you feel when you visit archaeological sites that have been retained in situ?

How much do you think these reactions have affected your professional approach?

Anything to Add?

HERITAGE PROFESSIONALS ONLINE SURVEY QUESTIONS

1) What is your area of professional interest? You can tick more than one box as appropriate.

Archaeologist

Interpretation Specialist

Heritage Specialist

Site Manager

Consent Authority

Architect

Educator

Historian

Other

---

2) Where do you practice?

ACT

NSW

Northern Territory

Queensland

South Australia

Tasmania

Victoria

Western Australia

Asia

Europe

Africa

The Americas

Oceania (outside Australia)

3)	What is your professional experience with creating or managing in situ historical archaeological sites? If you have no direct professional experience describe your interest in these places.
4)	Do you think it is important to conserve archaeological sites and present them to the public? Why?
5)	Which criteria do you think are important to use when deciding whether an archaeological site should be conserved in situ and interpreted?
6)	What do you think having in situ archaeological remains adds to people's experience of a place?

To help you answer, perhaps think about the experience that might be provided by an archaeological site that is not provided by another type of historic site, such as a building.

7)	What do you think are the key challenges in creating a conserved archaeological site? Note: This question is about the decisions and processes involved in deciding to keep an archaeological site and how to do it. Issues of interpretation and ongoing management are covered in the next two questions.
8)	What do you think are the key challenges in presenting a conserved archaeological site? Note: This question is about the decisions and processes involved in the interpretation of archaeological sites.
9)	What do you think are the key challenges in managing a conserved archaeological site? Note: This question is about the issues that arise when managing an archaeological site after the initial phases of conservation and interpretation have occurred.
10)	Do you think the current heritage management systems in Australia support good decision-making about the creation and management of conserved archaeological sites? Why?

11)	What do you think constitutes "successful" in situ conservation and presentation? Are there any sites that illustrate this?
12)	What do you think constitutes "unsuccessful" in situ conservation and presentation? Are there any sites that illustrate this?
13)	Think about your experiences as a visitor to conserved and presented archaeological sites. How do these sites make you feel? You can discuss a specific experience or speak more generally.
14)	Do you think archaeological sites should continue to be retained in situ and interpreted for the public in the future? If so, what changes to existing practice would you like to see?
15)	If there is anything else you would like to add that wasn't covered by the survey questions, please write your response here.
16)	If you would like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study, please place your email address here. This information will only be used for the purpose of providing you with feedback about the results of this study (expected to be available in mid-2020). Your details will be destroyed once feedback has been provided and will not be given to a third party. Your email address will be stored

separately from your survey response. Your survey response will remain anonymous.

PUBLIC INTERVIEWS – SCRIPT AND QUESTION SELECTION LIST

Hello - I am from the University of Sydney. I'm doing some research about the archaeology at this site and I was wondering if I could ask you a couple of questions about your thoughts and feelings about this site and other archaeological sites that you have visited and record your responses?

It should only take 5 mins or so and it's completely voluntary and anonymous. Your response will contribute to a better understanding of how people use and value archaeological sites, will support better decision-making by consent authorities, heritage practitioners and communities in the future.

By participating in this conversation you are giving consent for your responses to be used as part of this study. Your responses will be recorded using written field notes and may be audio recorded to support accurate inclusion of your responses in the study.

Gender: Male Female Non-aligned

Age Range (please circle): 18 – 29 30 – 39 40 – 49 50 – 69 70 and over

Purpose for visiting today:

Local Resident or Visitor/Tourist:

If Visitor/Tourist, what is your place of residence?

Do you look at the archaeological displays?

Is there anything you particularly like about the presentation of the archaeological remains?

Is there anything you particularly dislike about the presentation?

Do you think it is important to conserve archaeological sites and present them to the public?

Do you think that having the archaeological remains kept in their original location is important?

How does visiting archaeological sites that have been kept in their original location make you feel?

PUBLIC ONLINE SURVEY QUESTIONS

Thank you for your interest in this research project.

The practice of conserving and displaying historical archaeological sites in situ (in their original location) following archaeological investigation has been occurring in Australia's urban centres for the past 30 years. These sites can be found in a range of contexts such as museums, offices, hotels, restaurants and parks. Using interview, survey and observational data collected from heritage professionals and the general public this study seeks to better understand:

- what the practice currently aims to achieve;
- how people respond to conserved archaeological sites;
- the functions these sites perform;
- whether they produce public benefits or have the potential to and what these benefits might be;
- alternative ways of conceiving of and managing these sites in the future to maximize these benefits.

This survey is for visitors to conserved archaeological sites. You may have deliberately visited an archaeological display or you may have come across one while participating in another activity such as working, studying, shopping or sightseeing.

This survey should take between 5 - 10 minutes for you to complete. Most of the questions are open-ended to allow you to express your thoughts and feelings about archaeological sites that you have visited.

Your response will contribute to a better understanding of how people use and value archaeological sites and what the public benefits of these sites could be. This will support better decision-making by consent authorities, heritage practitioners and communities in the future.

This survey is anonymous. By completing this survey you are giving consent for your responses to be used as part of this study.

For further information see the Participant Information Sheet here (hotlink).

Gender:

Age Range: 18 – 30; 30 – 50; 50 – 70; 70 and over

Purpose for visiting today:

Local site user or visitor:

If visitor, local resident or tourist:

If tourist, what is the place of residence/origin:

Are you filling in this survey about a specific archaeological site? [drop down menu of case studies here].

What do you think about the presentation of this site? You can answer this question generally or give specific examples.

Have you visited other archaeological sites that have been retained and presented to the public? Which sites?

What do you think about the presentation of these sites? You can answer this question generally or give specific examples.

How does visiting conserved archaeological sites make you feel?

Do you feel connected to the past?

Do you understand the presentation of the archaeological site?

Is there anything you particularly like about the way the archaeological remains are presented or explained at these sites? You can give specific examples.

Is there anything you particularly dislike about the way the archaeological remains are presented or explained at these sites? You can give specific examples.

Do you think it is important to conserve archaeological sites and present them to the public? Why?

Do you think having the archaeology conserved in its original location is important? Why?

Do you think the public benefits from being able to visit sites like these? What are the benefits?

Is there anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX B

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT SHEETS

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM – KEY INFORMANTS

I, ... [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of Sydney now or in the future.
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- I understand that I may stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me unless I consent to being identified using the "Yes" checkbox below.

Yes, I am happy to be identified.

No, I don't want to be identified. Please keep my identity anonymous.

I consent to:

Audio-recording	YES	☐	NO	☐
Reviewing transcripts	YES	☐	NO	☐

Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?

YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered YES, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: ____

☐ Email: ____

....

Signature

....

PRINT name

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT – KEY INFORMANTS

What is this study about?

You are invited to take part in a research study about the in situ retention of archaeological sites in Australia.

The practice of conserving and displaying historical archaeological sites in situ (in their original location) following archaeological investigation has been occurring in Australia's urban centres for the past 30 years. These sites can be found in a range of contexts such as museums, offices, hotels, restaurants and parks. Using interview, survey and observational data collected from heritage professionals and the general public at a number of case study sites this study seeks to better understand:

- what the practice currently aims to achieve;
- how people respond to conserved archaeological sites;
- the functions these sites perform;
- whether they produce public benefits or have the potential to and what these benefits might be;
- alternative ways of conceiving of and managing these sites in the future to maximize these benefits.

A specific area of interest is the value placed on the sites being in situ and how this relates to their affective nature.

You have been invited to participate in this study because you have professional experience in creating and/or managing conserved archaeological sites. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to take part in the study. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don't understand or want to know more about.

Participation in this research study is voluntary.

By giving consent to take part in this study you are telling us that you:

- Understand what you have read.
- Agree to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- Agree to the use of your personal information as described.

You will be given a copy of this Participant Information Statement to keep.

Who is running the study?

Caitlin Allen is conducting this study as the basis for the degree of PhD at The University of Sydney. This will take place under the supervision of Associate Professor Annie Clarke.

What will the study involve for me?

Your participation in the study will involve an in depth interview in which you will be asked to share your experiences and opinions about the practice of retaining archaeological sites in situ.

The interview will be arranged at a mutually suitable time and location.

An audio recording of the interview will be made to facilitate the preparation of a written transcript.

You will be given the opportunity to review the transcript of your interview before it is included in the study.

How much of my time will the study take?

The interview should take approximately 1-2 hours.

Do I have to be in the study? Can I withdraw from the study once I've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to take part. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relationship with the researchers or anyone else at the University of Sydney.

If you decide to take part in the study and then change your mind later, you are free to withdraw at any time. You can do this by contacting Caitlin Allen by email at call6124@uni.sydney.edu.au.

You are free to stop the interview at any time. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased and the information you have provided will not be included in the study results. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer during the interview.

Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

Aside from giving up your time, we do not expect that there will be any risks or costs associated with taking part in this study?

Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

Your response will contribute to a better understanding of how people use and value archaeological sites and what the public benefits of these sites could be. This will support better decision-making by consent authorities, heritage practitioners and communities in the future.

What will happen to information about me that is collected during the study?

Your name and work title will be collected and stored with your interview transcript. Your interview will be recorded using an audio device and a written transcript of the interview will be produced. The transcript may be done by a professional transcription service.

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to us collecting personal information about you for the purposes of this research study. Your information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise.

Your information will be stored securely and your identity/information will only be disclosed with your permission, except as required by law. Study findings may be published, but you will not be identified in these publications unless you agree to this using the tick box on the consent form.

During the study the data will be stored in the University of Sydney Data Research Store. This data store is housed on a secure Australian server. It is password protected and only the two members of the research team will have access to the data during and after the project.

The study results will be published in a student thesis and may also be published in journals, book chapters and conference presentations.

The data will be retained indefinitely and may be made available to future research projects. By providing your consent you are allowing us to use your information in future projects. We don't know at this stage what these other projects will involve. We will seek ethical approval before using the information in these future projects.

Can I tell other people about the study?

Yes, you are welcome to tell other people about the study.

What if I would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information, Caitlin Allen will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage

during the study, please feel free to contact Caitlin on [redacted] or by email at call6124@uni.sydney.edu.au

Will I be told the results of the study?

The results of the study will be made available via a completed PhD thesis. Results may also be disseminated through journal articles, conference papers and book chapters. You can elect to be informed once results are available by ticking the relevant box on the consent form.

What if I have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

Research involving humans in Australia is reviewed by an independent group of people called a Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the HREC of the University of Sydney *[INSERT* protocol number once approval is obtained*]*. As part of this process, we have agreed to carry out the study according to the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)*. This statement has been developed to protect people who agree to take part in research studies.

If you are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact the university using the details outlined below. Please quote the study title and protocol number.

The Manager, Ethics Administration, University of Sydney

APPENDIX C

LISTS OF INTERVIEW AND SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

KEY INFORMANTS

Name	Profession	Organisation	Case Study/in Situ Site Associations	Interview Date
Alison Frappell	Site Manager	YHA (Big Dig Centre)	Big Dig	20th February 2018
Angie McGowan	Archaeologist Consent Authority	Formerly from Heritage Tasmania	Medical Sciences Precinct	4th March 2019
KI1	Archaeologist Consent Authority	NSW Heritage Division	(V by Crown, Glasshouse)	14th February 2018
Craig Barker	Archaeologist Educator	Sydney University Museums	N/A	29th May 2019
Chris Johnson	Architect	Former Government Architect	Conservatorium of Music	22nd November 2018
Elisha Long	Former Site Manager Heritage Architect	Sydney Living Museums	N/A	19th November 2018
Guy McEwan	Site Manager	Sydney Conservatorium of Music	Conservatorium of Music	25th June 2018
Helen Nicholson	Educator	Private Practice	Big Dig	18th June 2018
Jane McMahon	Interpreter/Archaeologist	Godden Mackay Logan	N/A	5th November, 2018
Jeremy Smith	Archaeologist Consent Authority	Heritage Victoria	N/A	27th June 2018
Linda Emery	Historian	Berrima and District Historical Society	Highlands Marketplace/Fitzroy Ironworks	1st March 2018
Mark Dunn	Historian and Tour Guide	Private Practice	N/A	21st March 2018
Mary Casey	Archaeologist	Casey & Lowe	The Conservatorium of Music (Parramatta Justice Precinct)	1st February 2018
Natalie Vinton	Interpreter/Archaeologist	Curio Projects	Fitzroy Ironworks, Big Dig (Parramatta Justice Precinct, Towns Place)	3rd August 2018
Peter Tonkin	Interpretation	Private Practice	Medical Sciences Precinct, Museum of Sydney	15th February 2018
Richard Johnson	Architect	Johnson Pilton Walker	Museum of Sydney	13th November 2018

Name	Profession	Organisation	Case Study/in Situ Site Associations	Interview Date
Richard Mackay	Archaeologist	Mackay Strategic	Big Dig, Medical Sciences Precinct, Fitzroy Ironworks	15th February 2018
Sarah Farnese	Tourist Centre Manager	Southern Highlands Tourism	Fitzroy Ironworks	1St March 2018
Susan Sedgewick	Site Manager	MOS	MOS	7th August 2018
Ted Higginbotham	Archaeologist	Higginbotham and Associates	(V by Crown, Glasshouse)	6th November 2018
Tracy Ireland	Academic	University of Canberra	N/A	10th December 2019
Wayne Johnson	Archaeologist	Place Management NSW	Big Dig, MOS	6th February 2018
Wendy Thorp	Archaeologist	Private Practice	N/A	14th September 2018

ANONYMOUS PROFESSIONAL SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

Title	Profession	Place of Practice
PS1	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist	NSW
PS2	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist	NSW Oceania
PS3	Archaeologist Site Manager	Victoria Europe
PS4	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist	NSW
PS5	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist Historian	NSW Victoria
PS6	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist Historian Site Manager Interpreter	Queensland Victoria
PS7	Educator	NSW

Title	Profession	Place of Practice
PS8	Archaeologist	WA
PS9	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist Historian Site Manager	NSW Queensland
PS10	Archaeologist	NSW
PS11	N/A	ACT NSW Queensland Victoria Asia Oceania
PS12	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist	NSW Victoria
PS13	Archaeologist	NSW
PS14	Archaeologist Site Manager Educator Academic	ACT NSW
PS15	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist Historian Architect	Asia
PS16	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist	NSW
PS17	Interpreter Educator	Europe
PS18	Archaeologist	ACT NSW Queensland Western Australia Oceania
PS19	Archaeologist	NSW
PS20	Archaeologist Educator	WA
PS21	Archaeologist	ACT NSW Asia
PS22	Archaeologist	NSW Victoria
PS23	Archaeologist Educator	Europe
PS24	Archaeologist	NSW
PS25	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist Educator	The Americas
PS26	Archaeologist Educator	NSW Queensland
PS27	Archaeologist Educator	Tasmania

Title	Profession	Place of Practice
PS28	Site Manager	NSW
PS29	Archaeologist	ACT NSW Queensland Western Australia Tasmania Victoria
PS30	Archaeologist Heritage Specialist Site Manager	Tasmania Oceania
PS31	N/A	Western Australia
PS32	Archaeologist Historian	NSW

ANONYMOUS PUBLIC INTERVIEWS AND SURVEYS

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
BigDig 1a	Female	18-29	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Not at All (Not Seen)
BigDig 1b	Female	18-29	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Not at All (Not Seen)
BigDig 2a	Female	70-79	Australian Visitor	Australia - Elsewhere	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 2b	Female	70-79	Australian Visitor	Australia - Elsewhere	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 3a	Male	50-59	Australian Visitor	Australia - Elsewhere	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 3b	Female	50-59	Australian Visitor	Australia - Elsewhere	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 4a	Female	18-29	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 4b	Female	18-29	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 4c	Female	18-29	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 5	Female	40-49	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 6	Female	70-79	Australian Visitor	Australia - Elsewhere	Holiday	No	Frequent Deep
BigDig 7a	Female	40-49	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 7b	Female	70-79	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 8a	Female	60-69	International Visitor	UK	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 8b	Male	70-79	International Visitor	UK	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 9	Male	18-29	International Visitor	North America	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 10a	Female	50-59	International Visitor	Europe	Meet With Friends	No	Frequent Deep
BigDig 10b	Male	60-69	International Visitor	North America	Meet With Friends	No	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 11	Male	30-39	International Visitor	North America	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 12	Male	18-29	International Visitor	North America	Holiday	Yes	Not at All (Not Seen)
BigDig 13a	Male	30-39	International Visitor	UK	Holiday Staff	No	Frequent Deep
BigDig 13b	Male	50-59	International Visitor	Pacific Islands	Holiday	No	Frequent Deep
BigDig 14a	Male	70-79	International Visitor	UK	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 14b	Female	60-69	International Visitor	UK	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 15a	Male	50-59	Local	Australia – Local	Leisure	No	Frequent Shallow
BigDig 15b	Female	50-59	Local	Australia – Local	Leisure	No	Frequent Shallow

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
BigDig 16	Male	30-39	Australian Visitor	Asia	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 17a	Male	30-39	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 17b	Female	18-29	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 18	Male	30-39	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
BigDig 19a	Female	50-59	Visitor International	UK	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 19b	Male	60-69	Visitor International	UK	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 20	Male	18-29	Local	Asia	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
BigDig 21	Female	18-29	International Visitor	North America	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig22a	Female	40-49	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Holiday	No	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 22b	Male	40-49	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 24a	Female	18-29	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 24b	Female	18-29	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 25	Female	40-49	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 26a	Male	50-59	International Visitor	Asia	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 26b	Female	50-59	International Visitor	Asia	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 27a	Male	50-59	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 27b	Female	40-49	International Visitor	Europe	Holiday	Yes	Infrequent Deep
BigDig 28a	Female	70-79	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Holiday	No	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 28b	Male	70-79	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Holiday	No	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 29	Male	50-59	International Visitor	North America	Holiday	No	Infrequent Shallow
BigDig 23	Female	50-59	Local	Australia Local	Leisure	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 46d	Male	50-59	Local	South America	Staff	No	Frequent Deep
Hobart 46c	Female	40-49	Local	Asia	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 46b	Female	30-39	Local	Asia	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 41b	Female	30-39	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 41a	Female	30-39	Local	Australia Local	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 40b	Female	30-39	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 33b	Female	50-59	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
Hobart 31b	Male	30-39	Local	Europe	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 29b	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 28d	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 28c	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 28b	Female	30-39	Local	N/A	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 28a	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Meet With Friends	No	Frequent Deep
Hobart 25c	Female	18-29	Local	Australia Local	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 25b	Male	18-29	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 23b	Female	18-29	Local	Europe	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 21	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 17d	Male	18-29	Local	South America	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 17c	Male	18-29	Local	South America	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 17b	Female	18-29	Local	Europe	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 15a	Female	18-29	Local	Australia Local	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Hobart 15b	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 10a	Female	18-29	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 10b	Female	18-29	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 9b	Male	18-29	Local	Asia	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 9a	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 8c	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 8b	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 8a	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australia Local	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Hobart 2b	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 6	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Asia	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 7	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Asia	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 12	Female	30-39	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Not at All
Hobart 13	Male	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Hobart 14	Female	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Deep

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
Hobart 17a	Female	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 18	Female	50-59	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 19	Male	30-39	Australian Local	Australian Local	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 20	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Student	No	Not at All
Hobart 23a	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 24	Female	18-29	Australian Elsewhere	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 25a	Male	18-29	Australian Elsewhere	N/A	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 26	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 27	Female	30-39	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 28e	Female	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 29a	Male	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 30	Female	40-49	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 31a	Male	30-39	Australian Local	Asia	Student	No	Infrequent Deep
Hobart 32	Male	50-59	Australian Local	N/A	Maintenance Contractor	No	Not at All
Hobart 33a	Male	40-49	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 34	Male	60-69	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 35	Male	50-59	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 36	Female	40-49	Australian Local	UK	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Hobart 37	Female	40-49	Australian Local	Asia	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 40a	Female	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 43	Male	50-59	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Deep
Hobart 44	Female	18-29	Australian Local	UK	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 45	Male	40-49	Australian Local	North America	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 46a	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Asia	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 1	Male	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Hobart 2a	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 3	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Student	No	Infrequent Deep
Hobart 4	Female	30-39	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
Hobart 5	Female	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Hobart 38	Female	30-39	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Mittagong 42b	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Infrequent Shallow
Mittagong 39b	Male	70-79	Australian Local	UK	Shopping	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 35b	Female	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Not at All
Mittagong 31a	Male	30-39	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Leisure	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 30b	Female	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Shopping	No	Infrequent Shallow
Mittagong 30a	Male	80-89	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Not at All
Mittagong 29c	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 29a	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 27b	Female	60-69	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 26b	Female	50-59	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 24b	Female	60-69	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Leisure	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 23b	Male	18-29	Australian Visitor	Australian Elsewhere	Meeting with Friends	No	Not at All
Mittagong 23a	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Meet With Friends	No	Infrequent Shallow
Mittagong 21b	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Meet With Friends	No	Not at All
Mittagong 19	Male	40-49	Australian Local	Australian Local	Leisure	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 18b	Male	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Infrequent Shallow
Mittagong 16	Female	80-89	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 15b	Male	80-89	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 13a	Female	40-49	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 13b	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 12a	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 11a	Female	60-69	Australian Local	Australian Local	Leisure	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 9	Male	40-49	Australian Local	Australian Local	Meet With Friends	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 8b	Female	40-49	Australian Local	Australian Local	Meet With Friends	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 8a	Male	40-49	Australian Local	Australian Local	Meet With Friends	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 7a	Male	40-49	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Leisure	No	Infrequent Shallow

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
Mittagong 6b	Female	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 6a	Female	30-39	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 5	Male	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Shopping	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 3a	Male	90-99	Australian Local	Australian Local	Leisure	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 1	Female	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 2	Male	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Leisure	No	Infrequent Deep
Mittagong 3b	Female	60-69	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Infrequent Shallow
Mittagong 4	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Leisure	No	Infrequent Deep
Mittagong 7b	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Leisure	No	Not at All
Mittagong 10	Male	80-89	Australian Local	Australian Local	Leisure	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 11b	Male	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 12b	Male	40-49	Australian Local	Australian Local	Meet With Friends	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 14	Male	40-49	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 15a	Female	80-89	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 17	Male	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Leisure	No	Infrequent Shallow
Mittagong 18a	Female	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 20	Male	50-59	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Leisure	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 21a	Female	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Meet With Friends	No	Not at All
Mittagong 22	Female	40-49	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Meet With Friends	No	Infrequent Shallow
Mittagong 24a	Male	60-69	Australian Local	Australian Local	Leisure	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 25	Male	18-29	Australian Visitor	Australian Elsewhere	Leisure	Yes	Not at All
Mittagong 26a	Male	50-59	Australian Local	Australia Local	Staff	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 27a	Male	60-69	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 28	Female	40-49	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Leisure	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 29b	Female	30-39	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Staff	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 31b	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australia Local	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 32	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Staff	No	Infrequent Deep
Mittagong 33	Male	30-39	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Infrequent Deep

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
Mittagong 34	Female	30-39	Australian Local	Asia	Staff	No	Not at All
Mittagong 35a	Male	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Not at All
Mittagong 36	Female	50-59	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Not at All
Mittagong 37	Female	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 38	Female	50-59	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Shopping	No	Not at All
Mittagong 39a	Female	60-69	Australian Local	UK	Shopping	No	Frequent Deep
Mittagong 40	Male	40-49	Australian Local	UK	Shopping	No	Frequent Shallow
Mittagong 41	Male	40-49	Australian Local	Australia Elsewhere	Shopping	No	Infrequent Deep
Mittagong 42a	Male	18-29	Australian Local	Australian Local	Shopping	No	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 35b	Female	30-39	Australian Elsewhere	Australian Elsewhere	To see a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 34c	Male	30-39	Australian Visitor	UK	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 34b	Male	60-69	International Visitor	UK	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 32b	Male	60-69	Australian Local	Australian Local	General Visit	No	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 27b	Male	50-59	Australian Visitor	Australian Elsewhere	To see a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 24b	Female	40-49	Australian Local	N/A	To see a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 23b	Female	30-39	International Visitor	South America	Tourist	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 19b	Male	50-59	International Visitor	Europe	Tourist	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 14	Female	N/A	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Deep
MOS 11b	Female	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	General Visit	No	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 9	Male	40-49	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
MOS 8	Female	50-59	Australian Local	N/A	To see a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 5b	Male	30-39	International Visitor	UK	Tourist	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 3b	Female	50-59	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	School Research	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 5a	Female	30-39	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Meet With Friends	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 6	Female	50-59	Australian Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Deep
MOS 7	Male	50-59	Australian Visitor	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Deep

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
MOS 10	Female	30-39	Australian Visitor	UK	To See a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 11a	Male	18-29	Australian Local	N/A	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 12	Male	60-69	International Visitor	Europe	Tourist	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 13	Male	40-46	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Family Outing	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 15	Female	50-59	Australian Local	N/A	Volunteer	No	Frequent Deep
MOS 16	Male	70-79	Australian Local	N/A	Volunteer	No	Frequent Deep
MOS 17	Female	40-49	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 18	Female	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Elsewhere	Volunteer	No	Frequent Deep
MOS 19a	Female	40-49	International Visitor	Europe	Tourist	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 20	Male	70-79	Australian Local	Australian Local	Family Outing	Yes	Not at All
MOS 21	Male	50-59	Australian Local	Australian Local	Family Outing	Yes	Not at All
MOS 22	Female	50-59	Australian Local	Australian Local	School Research	No	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 23a	Male	30-39	International Visitor	South America	Tourist	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 24a	Male	40-49	Australian Local	N/A	To See a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 25	Female	40-49	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Family Outing	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 26	Female	30-39	Australian Local	N/A	To See a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Not at All
MOS 27a	Female	50-59	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	To See a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 28	Female	40-49	Australian Local	UK	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 29	Male	40-49	Australian Local	Australia Local	To See a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 30	Female	30-39	Australian Local	N/A	To See a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 31	Female	30-39	Australian Local	N/A	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 32a	Female	60-69	Australian Local	N/A	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 33	Female	40-49	International Visitor	North America	To See a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 34a	Female	60-69	International Visitor	UK	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Deep

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
MOS 35a	Male	30-39	Australian Local	Australia Local	To See a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 36	Male	18-29	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	To See a Specific Exhibit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 37	Female	30-39	Local	UK	Hosting a Tourist	No	Not at All
MOS 38	Male	60-69	Local	N/A	Meet With Friends	No	Frequent Deep
MOS 3a	Male	50-59	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	School Research	Yes	Infrequent Deep
MOS 2	Female	40-49	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 1	Male	50-59	Local	Australia Local	To see a Specific Exhibit	No	Not at All
MOS 4a	Male	40-49	Local	N/A	Meet With Friends	No	Frequent Deep
MOS 4b	Male	50-59	Local	N/A	Meet With Friends	No	Frequent Deep
MOS 8b	Female	50-59	Local	N/A	Meet With Friends	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
MOS 39	Male	40-49	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Meet With Friends	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
Con 10b	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Con 27a	Male	70-79	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Attending a Concert	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
Con 26a	Female	70-79	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Attending a Concert	Yes	Not at All
Con 25b	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 23b	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 22d	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Con 22c	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 22a	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 20b	Male	18-29	International Visitor	North America	Student	Yes	Not at All
Con 18a	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 17a	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 16a	Male	50-59	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Attending a Concert	Yes	Infrequent Deep
Con 15a	Male	70-79	Local	N/A	Attending a Concert	No	Frequent Deep
Con 13a	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Con 12	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Not at All
Con 11a	Male	18-29	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Con 10a	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Con 9c	Male	18-29	Local	Australia Local	Student	No	Frequent Shallow

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
Con 9b	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 9a	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 8c	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 8b	Female	18-29	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 8a	Female	18-29	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 7a	Female	70-79	Local	N/A	Attending a Concert	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 3 a	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 20a	Male	70-79	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Infrequent Shallow
Con 22b	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 23a	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Con 24	Male	30-39	Local	Middle East	Staff	No	Frequent Deep
Con 25a	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Con 27b	Female	70-79	Australian Visitor	Australia Elsewhere	Attending a Concert	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
Con 16b	Female	50-59	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Attending a Concert	Yes	Infrequent Deep
Con 13b	Male	18-29	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Infrequent Deep
Con 11b	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Infrequent Shallow
Con 9d	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 8d	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 7b	Female	70-79	Local	N/A	Attending a Concert	No	Frequent Deep
Con 6	Male	70-79	Local	Australia Local	Attending a Concert	Yes	Infrequent Shallow
Con 5	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 4	Female	18-29	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 3 b	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 2	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 1	Male	40-49	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 18b	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 17b	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 15b	Female	70-79	Local	N/A	Attending a Concert	No	Frequent Deep
Con 14	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow

Title	Gender	Age	Residence	Place of Origin	Reason for Visit	First Visit	Engagement Level
Con 28	Female	30-39	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Staff	No	Frequent Deep
Con 43	Female	40-49	Local	N/A	General Visit	No	Infrequent Shallow
Con 42	Female	18-29	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 41	Male	50-59	Local	N/A	General Visit	Yes	Infrequent Deep
Con 44	Female	40-49	Local	Australia Local	General Visit	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 40	Female	50-59	Local	N/A	Hosting a Tourist	No	Infrequent Deep
Con 39	Male	70-79	Local	N/A	Incidental Visit	No	Infrequent Deep
Con 38	Female	40-49	Local	N/A	Incidental Visit	No	Infrequent Deep
Con 37	Female	30-39	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 36	Male	50-59	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 35	Female	40-49	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Deep
Con 34	Male	40-49	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 33	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Con 32	Female	18-29	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Con 31	Male	18-29	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Deep
Con 30	Male	50-59	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 29	Male	30-39	Local	N/A	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 19b	Male	18-29	Local	Australia Local	Student	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 19a	Male	50-59	Local	Australia Elsewhere	Attending a Concert	No	Infrequent Deep
Con 19c	Female	50-59	Local	Australia Local	Attending a Concert	No	Frequent Shallow
Con 21	Female	30-39	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Not at all
Con 28	Female	30-39	Local	N/A	Staff	No	Frequent Shallow

APPENDIX D

QUIRKOS DATA CODES

Quirkos Code	**Quirkos Parent Code**	**No of Codes**
Attitude to history/archaeology		
Interested in history/archaeology	Attitude to history/archaeology	59
Not interested in history/archaeology	Attitude to history/archaeology	4
Not personally interested but important for society	Attitude to history/archaeology	12
We don't have much history/history not old	Attitude to history/archaeology	47
Ambivalent about value of history/archaeology	Attitude to history/archaeology	2
Society not interested in the past	Attitude to history/archaeology	7
Passing interest in history	Attitude to history/archaeology	1
Presentation		29
Presentation positive	Presentation	53
Presentation negative	Presentation	57
Enough information	Presentation	23
Not highlighted enough	Presentation	78
Signage not engaging	Presentation	27
Presentation indifferent	Presentation	3
More display size	Presentation	51
Less display size	Presentation	0
Happy with display size	Presentation	13
Highlighted in tours	Presentation	18
Not enough information	Presentation	53
Wrong location	Presentation	10
Hidden/Secret/Discovery	Presentation	9
Glass walk overs	Presentation	37
Low Understanding	Presentation	8
More access	Presentation	3
Hasn't read signage	Presentation	4
Feeling about archaeology in situ		19
In situ positive	Feeling about archaeology in situ	126
Unable to specify positive feelings	In situ positive	1
In situ negative	Feeling about archaeology in situ	9
Insituness		14
Doesn't go to museums	Insituness	31
Understanding	Insituness	60
Authentic	Insituness	59
Untouched	Insituness	18
No special contribution	Insituness	10
Experience	Insituness	113

Imagination	Insituness	57
Special value	Insituness	26
Focus (merged)	Insituness	22
Prompts Inquiry (merged)	Insituness	37
Freedom of Interpretation	Insituness	1
Context		6
New and Old	Context	109
Confusing	Context	12
Audience demographic/interest level	Context	1
Location within the site	Context	40
Prefer site without new buidling over the top	Context	19
Prefer site in a museum or dedicated context	Context	9
Functionality	Context	31
Difficult to See	Context	15
Respectful of the past		45
Engagement		18
Frequent	Engagement	3
Infrequent	Engagement	6
Connection (merged)		91
Why remove it?		8
Overseas examples		27
Audience		1
Of interest to visitors	Audience	25
For locals	Audience	15
Cost concerns		2
Functions		0
Wellbeing	Functions	16
Distraction	Wellbeing	3
Antidote to modern society	Wellbeing	3
Perspective	Wellbeing	28
Identity	Functions	60
Future	Identity	11
Archiving (merged)	Functions	74
Liveable Environment (merged)	Functions	13
Unique Design	Liveable Environment (merged)	89
Enjoyable place to be	Liveable Environment (merged)	38
The vibe	Liveable Environment (merged)	37
Public art	Liveable Environment (merged)	3
Placemaking	Liveable Environment (merged)	14
Knowledge (merged) (merged)	Functions	92
Knowledge	Functions	34
Connection	Functions	64
Tradition	Functions	13

Public access and ownersip (merged)	65
Public access and ownersip	2
Non-related but interesting	1
TOTAL NUMBER OF CODES	**2356**
TOTAL NUMBER OF QUIRKS	**83**