

Discovering Towneley Park: a digital and multimethod
approach to understanding the effects of a digital
heritage interpretation of a Lancashire park

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Abstract

Focusing on Towneley Park in Lancashire, this research explores the intersection of outdoor park heritage and digital heritage interpretation. The project aimed to forefront the opinions of local park users through interviews, field visits and the co-production of a digital heritage object: *Digital Towneley*.

The project contains four main aspects: (i) exploring the heritage meanings in a park space, (ii) applying a multimethods approach involving co-production, phenomenology and reflexivity, (iii) exploring the impact of a co-produced digital heritage object, and (iv) investigating how digital heritage is affected by socio-cultural discourses around digital media.

The thesis explores traditional ideas of heritage as generally informed by historical discourse (Samuel 2012) as well as everyday heritage meanings. These alternative perspectives, identified by Smith (2006) as Authorised versus non-Authorised Heritage Discourses, are seen throughout the participants' creation and communication of park heritage. The thesis puts forward the case that Authorised Heritage Discourses may be colonised by the lived experiences of the park users, thereby reinforcing the notion of agency in the heritage visitor.

In adopting a phenomenological approach, this research engages with the importance of space and place as factors in the creation of park heritage meanings. Through theories including Foucault's heterotopia (1986) and Deleuze & Guattari's rhizome (2013), this thesis works towards an understanding of park heritage as a trans-temporal and trans-spatial network constructed by people. In addition, the thesis explores the role of the physical environment as part of our cognitive and meaning-making processes.

The impact of digital heritage is explored in this project. Firstly, the effectiveness of *Digital Towneley* is discussed. This reveals the shortcomings of digital media in terms of embodied experience of place, but also demonstrates the potential of digital heritage to constitute authentic everyday heritage narratives around memory and legacy. Secondly, the thesis evaluates the role of digital heritage production as a means of challenging power structures at heritage sites.

This thesis contributes to our knowledge of the relationship between the digital and our affective experience of outdoor heritage. In addition, it contributes to our understanding of the underlying discourse of digital media and how this discourse may influence the impact of digital heritage.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The ideas bound up in this thesis were germinating as I ran through and explored the woodlands of the Forest of Dean as a child. I embraced the forest's arena of adventure, moving through it on foot and on bike; with friends, with family and alone. My own lived experience of the woodlands has continued to be dear to me and the narratives I acquired from its spaces and places have formed a crucial part of my identity. Partly dormant within me, it was when I studied heritage theory and archaeology that I came to realise more of the knowledge that I had acquired from being in the forest. In particular, the research of Bender, Hamilton and Tilley (2007) on Bodmin Moor opened my eyes to the ways in which we might enquire about our relationships with landscape. It was from the discovery of new ways of articulating my own experiences that I found the inspiration for this research project to explore the meanings of heritage places.

This thesis employs a multimethods approach, primarily combining phenomenological theories and narrative analysis with digital development and participant co-production, in order to uncover the heritage meanings of Towneley Park, Burnley, Lancashire. The park is situated next to countryside on the edge of Burnley and is managed by the local authority who provide and maintain a number of sports facilities, such as golf courses, football fields and tennis courts. The grounds are quite extensive and contain several walking routes and playgrounds as well as rivers and woodlands. In the centre of the park, Towneley Hall stands as the historical home of the aristocratic Towneley family. The building houses a museum and art gallery as well as performing the aesthetic function of a traditional stately home. As with many such estates at the turn of the twentieth century, the family were unable to afford its upkeep and the park and hall were sold to Burnley Council (then Burnley Corporation) in 1901 on the condition that it be kept in perpetuity for the leisure of the people of Burnley. The park has a number of values as a heritage site, including the historic hall building and landscaped gardens, longstanding sports clubs and outdoor heritage in the form of woodlands, fields and watercourses. In addition, the relationships of local people and communities with the park are an important element of its heritage meanings. The park

therefore represented an intriguing site for exploring outdoor heritage and its potential attendant meanings.

Engaging with local park users through interviews and visits to the park, I have aimed in this project to interact with the research participants on their own terms so as to illuminate the meanings of the park from their own perspectives. A significant part of this project has been the development of a web app called Digital Towneley¹. My aim with Digital Towneley has first of all been to represent Towneley heritage, as experienced by the participants, in a digital context. The content of the web app has been sourced from the participants' stories about their use of the park, both in the past and in the present. In this sense, Digital Towneley as a heritage interpretation has been co-produced with the participants and is a significant part of this thesis. However, it represents only part of the outcome.

Although this project started as an investigation into how park heritage may be interpreted digitally, the research process and Digital Towneley began to reveal much more. This thesis addresses a gap in the knowledge of communicating the affective aspects of park heritage meanings both in digital and non-digital contexts. Along with the fascinating lived experiences of the participants within the park, the interviews and field visits drew out wider connections to the park space involving government and society. In addition, discussions with the participants about Digital Towneley highlighted a wealth of information about digital media and the contexts in which digital heritage might be perceived and the potential for digital heritage to challenge established narratives. What follows in this thesis is an account of my research experiences with the participants, making use of a reflexive research diary, interview transcripts and participant observation.

1.1: Thesis Overview

Chapter 2 provides a review of the relevant literature and is split into three parts. To begin with, the chapter provides a discussion of heritage and heritage interpretation. This highlights some of the ways that power runs through the structures that inform how we

¹ www.heritagemeanings.com/towneley

value heritage interpretation, showing the relevance of theories by Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault concerning power and discourse. The chapter highlights Laurajane Smith's (2006) influential term Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) as the heritage discourses promoted and perpetuated by the establishment within Western society. The section also discusses digital heritage, examining notions of democratisation (Brabham 2012; Kidd 2014; Dahlgren & Hermes 2015), representation (Benjamin 1999) and hyperreality (Eco 1996). The second section focuses on outdoor heritage, exploring concepts of 'natural' as well as the meanings found in outdoor heritage and park landscapes. The chapter is concluded with the project aims and research questions.

Chapter 3 details the methodology for this project, where I establish the main theories incorporated into a multimethods approach aimed at discovering park heritage meanings from the participants' points of view and embracing both AHD and non-AHD values at Towneley. I make the case for adopting methods from the Leskernick project (Bender et al. 2007) in order to observe phenomenological and affective data from participants and myself. I underline the relevance of narrative analysis for the interpretation and analysis of transcripts and make the case for creative practice as a research process. The co-productive approach of this project is also outlined along with the benefits that it provides in terms of engendering trust and providing a space for discussing stakeholder tensions at heritage sites. This chapter also provides an overview of the development of Digital Towneley and the thematic framework upon which it has been based.

Chapter 4 discusses some of the strongest heritage themes that were identified from interviews and field visits. In the chapter, I distinguish broadly between traditional and non-traditional heritage meanings which correlate broadly with established historical and everyday heritage meanings respectively. I put forward the argument that, while historical knowledge is privileged over other knowledge in many cases, the participants are able to colonise Towneley Park AHD with their own lived experiences. The chapter also highlights some of the important features of the park and how they have intertwined with social and spiritual engagement with Towneley. The number of different timeframes and locations identified in participant narratives here support the notion that the park is experienced and re-experienced through multiple spatial and temporal contexts. Some of the heritage

meanings identified by the participants therefore relate strongly to the spaces and places defined by Towneley Park.

Space and Place are discussed as part of Towneley in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. My discussion of space identifies the experience of different kinds of spaces in the park, while also investigating how participant use of the park defines set places and concepts of the spatial. This discussion is supported with spatial theories including de Certeau (1984), Lefebvre (2014) and Massey (2012). I make the case that *Digital Towneley* has been able to successfully convey some of the aspects of Towneley space. Within Chapter 6, I explore the role of language in defining places by name. I also invoke Foucault's theory of the heterotopia (1986 & 1998) to explore the formation of discrete places within the park. Combined with the phenomenal nature of park spaces, I argue that Towneley contains heterotopias defined by our body's apprehension of the environment.

In Chapter 7 I discuss some of the ways that Digital Towneley has had an impact on the participants and how it may be perceived to have wider impact. The chapter argues that the web app resonates with the memories of the participants, but also that it offers common ground such that participants are able to experience a sense of collective memory and recapture lost memories. This chapter offers new insight into the potential for digital heritage to generate a legacy effect, capturing participant narratives for future memories. This chapter also explores the perception by some participants of Digital Towneley's potential to influence local government and make changes to the running of the park. Within this chapter I argue that an impact of Digital Towneley is the illumination of institutional agendas as perceived by the park users. The chapter also identifies the ways in which the participants discussed their reactions to digital media and technology more generally. Establishing that the participants are subject to a variety of socio-cultural contexts that influence their opinion and experience of digital media, the chapter highlights the need to consider context in the development of digital heritage.

Chapter 8 provides a summary of the overall findings in this research project and reviews the research questions in turn. Following this is a discussion of the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research. The chapter concludes with a summing up of the

contributions made by this research.

In the Appendices is a more detailed description of Digital Towneley development process (Appendix A), Ethical approval documentation (Appendix B) and documents relating to participant recruitment (Appendix C). Additionally, Appendix D provides questions used in the feedback interviews and Appendix E contains an example visual narrative from a field visit. Appendix F is an attached USB drive that contains screenshots of the Digital Towneley web app and an executable file to run the web application on a Microsoft Windows platform.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1: Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the literature that supports this research project. An aim of the project was to explore the heritage meanings in Towneley Park from the perspective of park users. In this respect, the literature review helps provide a foundation for approaching Towneley heritage by exploring the subject of heritage and the ways in which it is produced and bound up with socio-cultural values like class, gender and history (Bagnall 2003; Smith 2006; Ludwig 2016; Fredheim 2018). As part of this research project involved the development of a digital heritage object, the interpretation of heritage is a key aspect of this literature review. The chapter discusses the power of the curator as well as the various media of interpretation and their effects on visitor experiences (Gearey & Chapman 2006; Parry 2007). Here digital media is also discussed, first of all engaging with notions of democratisation (Kidd 2014; Dahlgren & Hermes 2015) and then the wider landscape of digital culture in contemporary society (Light 2014; Kende 2015).

The chapter then explores digital heritage representation more specifically, discussing the relevance of simulations, authenticity and perception (Baudrillard 2010). With the focus of this research being a park space, the literature review discusses theories of space and place generally (Massey 2012) and in the context of heritage sites. Here, the role of heterotopia is explored (Foucault 1998; Hetherington 2011) as well as the production and perception of space and the production of meaning in it (de Certeau 1988; Merleau-Ponty 2014; Bidwell & Winschiers-Theophilus 2012). Finally, the literature review explores natural heritage and park heritage more specifically. Notions of the natural (Massey 2012) and landscape (Cheape, Garden & McLean 2009) are discussed along with the phenomenological experiences of landscape (Bender et al. 2007). Parks and Gardens are then discussed in terms of the deposition of memories (Nora 1989) as well as the close links that parks have with local communities (Gough 2007; O'Reilly 2013). The chapter works towards the research questions for this project which, in addition to exploring Towneley heritage meanings, seek to show the

ways that digital heritage and its design can illuminate tensions between stakeholders in heritage contexts.

2.2: Heritage

Heritage Studies as a discipline borrows approaches from a variety of other fields including archaeology, history and sociology (Sørensen & Carman 2009) and this wide ranging aspect of heritage studies highlights the difficulties that can be had in attempting to crystalise a definition of the term. For Hewison (1987; 1989; 2014) and Lowenthal (1998), heritage is a poorer and less reliable history. Their concerns are twofold. Firstly, they perceive heritage as a step away from what they consider to be the objectivity of traditional historical approaches to understanding the past; the subjectivity of personal or everyday experience in heritage representation is to them frivolous or banal. Secondly, they are concerned that the commercialisation of heritage (in response to which Hewison coined the term the 'heritage industry') not only 'Disneyfies' history, but, for Hewison in particular, runs the risk of perpetuating inequalities within historical representation. In contrast, Smith (2006) also raises this concern, but argues that this is less the fault of 'heritage' than it is of the power structures that determine what heritage is and what it can communicate. Smith identifies an Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) which is used by institutional organisations and those in power, the effect of which is to maintain the prominence of various elitised groups' interpretations of heritage and heritage issues. Smith's contention is that the heritage of the common person and of the subaltern is overlooked in favour of a monolithic grand narrative heritage discourse, exemplified by the popularity of stately homes and monuments. As well as being focused on the tangible, the heritage industry has its origins in the legitimisation of established social hierarchies. Monumentalist approaches to heritage are persistent, made evident by the popularity of heritage sites comprising monolithic structures, castles and stately homes (Hewison 1987; Smith 2006). The role of these structures in society does not reflect the experience of the everyday person, but rather tells the story of the privileged few (Smith 2006: 22). The landscape of stately home ownership changed at the beginning of the twentieth century, with many wealthy families finding that the property upkeep was too costly. Despite the changing role of stately homes, the growing heritage industry maintained a privileging of these properties over other more everyday structures as organisations like

the National Trust became heavily involved in their conservation. This consequently perpetuated both their ownership as property and their privileged status as exemplary cultural objects. The relevance of these issues for exploring heritage at Towneley Park is clear. Not only does the park contain a stately home, its grounds are the one-time estate of the aristocratic Towneley family. While this research has investigated a variety of heritage meanings based on participant discussions, the context of Towneley Park as a National-Trust-esque site with tangible and obvious monuments, such as Towneley Hall and the war cenotaph, is important to consider.

Indeed, the prevalence of tangible monuments among UNESCO World Heritage Sites is clear to see and these sites also largely represent Western cultural interests. Smith (2006) argues that, rather than a fixation on the tangible, heritage should be conceived of in terms of use, since it is through the use of objects and places (i.e. their manipulation by our bodies or their integration into our cultural worlds through performance) that heritage is created. It may also be argued that western approaches to heritage have been imposed internationally through world heritage convention and that the accepted heritage discourse necessarily excludes crucial elements of cultures such as “memory work, performativity and acts of remembrance” (Smith 2006: 34). Even though such heritage uses are integral to the creation of meanings these factors are still not underpinning approaches to heritage and cultures, which are still subject to the arbitrary valuations of the elite as identified by Bourdieu (1993).

From the perspective of Waterton (2005), these official discourses should not be excluded from heritage representations because they do represent values of legitimate community groups, even if they are not representative of wider everyday society. Attempts at ‘community’ engagement may define communities from the outside and so still represent a top-down approach to interpretative processes (Waterton 2005; Watson & Waterton 2010; Smith & Waterton 2010). Even when communities are directly engaged during interpretative processes, a multitude of issues may prevent that community from feeling comfortable enough to contribute (Catalani 2004; Bender et al. 2007) or underlying political motives and ‘box-ticking’ may undermine genuine aims at inclusivity (Chirikure et al 2010). Indeed, along with authoritative institutions like museums, worldwide organisations like ICOMOS and

UNESCO or political motivations within states, the public² may feel alienated and disempowered by what can be exclusory processes and policy (Smith 2006). Waterton promotes community involvement in heritage research that aims to let communities define their own identities and to bring to light non-AHD values. For Fredheim (2018) this may be unrealistic and he argues that it is not possible to circumnavigate politics and existing power structures: “participation merely creates new arenas for power to be negotiated” (2016: 625). Fredheim is framing heritage in a contemporary neo-liberal context and highlighting that so-called democratising approaches are merely superficial; a cynical attempt for the elitised to maintain control and, therefore, the dominance of the AHD (see also Ludwig 2018). There is a strong correlation here with Foucault's discussion of the colonisation of local knowledges, whereby the subaltern's cultural discourse may become absorbed by the dominant discourse (1980). We may see, then, that challenges to the AHD are not clear cut, and may be influenced by agendas which result in the perpetuation of the AHD.

Fredheim's point of view paints a rather negative picture and overlooks the agency of individuals or communities even in the face of strong AHD contexts. In some cases, official bodies may attempt to define the meanings of cultural monuments or sites in ways that do not resonate with local populations. In such cases, local communities can determine their own meanings for heritage places through their own use of, and performance in, those sites (Bagnall 2003; Gough 2007). We can see, therefore, that AHD narratives need not necessarily drown out the unique experiences of heritage users.

Ludwig (2016) points to some of the ways in which AHD may be more nuanced as a discourse, with sub-AHDs that may stray far from elitised value judgements. Indeed, there are examples of the ways in which AHD has had some movement towards liberal values and has become more inclusive. One of the ways this has manifested itself is the inclusion of 'vernacular materials and construction techniques' as opposed to more traditional historical features of the built environment (Ludwig 2016: 816). The significance here is an indication that the AHD may be making a turn away from the privileging of the historical over the modern as culturally valuable; a common feature of dominant heritage discourse (Hewison

² Or, at least, those for whom a heritage has been constructed.

1989; Smith 2006). Examples of "more complex, multi-sensual experiences" of heritage is also noted by Ludwig in her interviews with participants (2016: 818); further indication that AHD values do not permeate the entirety of heritage experiences. Nonetheless, the AHD still occupies a significant position of power in the machinery of heritage. "[T]here remains a dominant 'controlling centre'" and this is manifested in the underlying discourse of local authority planning (Ludwig 2016: 822) as much as it may be in the underlying discourse of heritage bodies like the National Trust, UNESCO and ICOMOS (Smith 2006).

This 'controlling centre' that runs through heritage concepts means that a visitor must have the requisite socio-cultural literacy levels in order to comprehend heritage representations since museum experiences for the public rely on their position in the social hierarchy; only those who 'have received the means to acquire the means to appropriate' the aesthetic can benefit from the exhibit (Bourdieu 1993: 235). As a consequence, the availability of culture or heritage may not be an empowering or learning process if a visitor merely has a predefined meaning forced upon them; a meaning which they may well be unable to relate to their own life context (Hewison 1987).

Smith (2006) observes that the culture and heritage of the elitised few are prioritised through the authorised heritage discourse and that there is a strong link between many monolithic heritage sites and the natural heritages associated with them. The association is therefore that the natural environment is somehow the entitlement of the elitised. This is echoed by Ravenscroft (1995) who argues that the property power dynamic reinforces western capitalist inequalities which perpetuate the subjugation of the unlanded. Indeed, Simmons (2001) highlights how the separation of the environment into areas of various leisure functions is based on the expectation that the public will have the transport and therefore the financial means to access them. Furthermore, Suckall et al. (2009) and Wells (2011) highlight how the perception of natural landscapes and their cultural or leisure value is affected by social factors. These points can apply to museums and heritage sites more widely since they are a construct of middle class and elitised cultural value systems (Smith 2006). Here we can see that Bourdieu's (1986) forms of capital play an important role in our understanding of heritage. Bourdieu identifies economic, social and cultural capital each of which establish a hierarchy for people or objects within a social system. High social capital

represents greater or more influential social networks; high cultural capital represents access to education and comprehension of received cultural value; high economic capital is, more simply, access to money. The point that Bourdieu makes is that these capitals perpetuate a system of power relations that prevent those with low capitals from fair access to received (or creation of new) culture and society. The effect of land ownership is to separate a space from the wider populace, sometimes by making it physically inaccessible but always by entering it into the power discourses of law and society. Advantage and privilege gained through economic, social and cultural capital determine the few who are able to become land owners. We can see that this discussion relates more widely to barriers preventing access to a variety of heritage institutions, whether heritage buildings like museums and galleries or outdoor places like national or local parks. These barriers are manifested in the representation of heritage and, as such, the next section explores the curatorial voice as the influence behind heritage interpretation for AHD and non-AHD narratives.

2.3: Curatorial Voice & Heritage Representation

Challenges to the curatorial voice at heritage sites include the argument that it promotes 'bogus history' or at least distracts visitors from 'real' historical substance. The danger perceived here is that visitors will be denied an opportunity to access definitive historical truths and that this will see an end to the historical process (Hewison 1987; Walsh 1995; Besser 1997; Lowenthal 1998). This reveals the persistence of endism and positivism, despite convincing work which highlights the subjective nature of history and the illusory nature of linear history (Carr 1985; Fukuyama 1989; Baudrillard 1994).

The post-structuralist consensus is that history is not a closed system and may always be open for reinterpretation (Carr 1985; Hewison 1987; Walsh 1995; MacGregor 2010). Since cultural valuation is carried out by those at the top of the social chain, the positivistic idea that there is one 'proper' historical interpretation promotes established social hierarchies and excludes those who have not followed certain educational paths (Bourdieu 1993; Samuel 2012; Hooper-Greenhill 2004; Smith 2006). Moreover, the representation of objects can override some of their meanings. In describing the 'Objectified State' of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986) identifies that material objects can contain their own cultural value. These

values are defined by cultural capital systems that have been accumulated by social groups. Museum objects tend to have values that are defined by elitised cultural capital because they are often tangible objects linked to historical and monumentalist narratives (Smith 2006). To hear and understand the curatorial voice requires "the possession of the means of 'consuming' " the object (Bourdieu 1986: 247). We can see that the curatorial voice acts in much the same way as Benjamin's (1999) 'aura', which he describes as an influential accumulation of cultural and political values associated with an object and which has the effect of preventing some people from feeling able to engage with that object. Thus, the curatorial voice may communicate heritage values in a particular cultural language. This can occur through simple interpretive techniques such as the use of labels to identify, but also to predefine the meanings of, exhibits (Parry 2007). A drawback to a strong curatorial voice can therefore be a lack of multivocality and perhaps an exclusion of certain social strata from the institutional museum. But an absence of curatorial voice can cause other problems.

It can be argued that a curatorial voice is required to present some guidance for interpretation and to facilitate the public in making their own interpretation. The complete absence of a curatorial voice can leave the visitor feeling confused, make for a frustrating experience or leave exhibitions open to relativistic and unconstructive interpretations (Schildkrout 1991; Kalay et al. 2008). As such, traditional direction can help to highlight particular points of view and this can bring into focus issues which would otherwise go under-represented.

Including multiple viewpoints, however, is no mean feat. Hooper-Greenhill challenges curatorial multivocality and the 'universal museum', arguing that it may have the effect "of soothing, of silencing, of quieting questions, of closing minds" (1992: 214). Through the presentation of multiple topics, the museum may imply that the topic has been addressed and that a need for multivocality has been met. Similar concerns have been voiced about the way in which multivocality has been attempted in popular culture, with some commentators identifying the variety within broadcast media (e.g. the BBC Asian Network or BBC1 Extra) as segregation which acts as a barrier preventing subaltern culture from influencing mainstream media (BBC 2013). So, we can see that attempts at multivocality may result in the perception of an overbearing curatorial voice unless the museum works with the public in order to help

avoid disappointment and exclusion (Hooper-Greenhill 2004). Such concepts are key to this research project and the exploration of heritage meanings at Towneley Park. The importance of working with the public forms a crucial part of my methodology by aiming to involve local park users and forefront their own heritage perspectives. In this respect, it is important to engage with the literature on non-dominant or subaltern heritage narratives to see how they are represented or their under-representation is theorised.

With its close links to archaeology, heritage tends to adopt objective sound language that, as Spector and Whelan point out, has masculinist and positivistic qualities (Spector & Whelan 1989; Engelstad 1991; Spector 1996). As we have seen with the AHD, there is a privileging of the material and the monumental, but also of the so-called rational and non-emotional perspectives in heritage. The heritage industry is still predominantly populated by middle-class staff and volunteers (Deepwell 2006; Fredheim 2018), and so we can see that it is influenced by an established positivistic language and cultural capital. Feminist responses to heritage offer one way of subverting this dominant narrative that include exploring heritage meanings that are related to the body and to emotion.

An example of this was seen at the Women's Museum in Aarhus, which attempted in one exhibition to offer an alternative interpretation of women in history by using a phenomenological approach to evoke feelings of "fear, desire and pleasure". Here, the museum made use of lighting and space as stimulus to evoke emotional reactions to exhibitions. This acknowledged that there is more to be learned from a heritage concept than just its translation into text or traditional museum interpretation. Moreover, the museum actively employs staff uninitiated in museology to avoid what it considers boundaries of a male-dominated industry (Porter 1996). Such boundaries can include the academic language found throughout the heritage process, seen as exclusory from feminist perspectives because it favours positivistic discourse that masquerades as an attempt at objective interpretation. In order to get closer to human meanings behind an artefact it may be appropriate to use personalised narrative to achieve a more humanistic representation, while at the same time being frank about the biases and influences which inevitably affect interpretation. Such examples can be found in Spector's narrative interpretation of an awl based around the life of a girl from prehistoric times (Spector 1996) and the sympathetic and

emotional representation of two dinosaurs as mother and child meeting a tragic end (Smith 2006). The affective turn in recent years in heritage studies also demonstrates a call for more emotional interpretation and a recognition of the inherently emotional nature of heritage experiences (Smith & Campbell 2015; Ciolfi 2015).

In addition to textual language, systems of signs that result in the reduction of varied information to a simplified form can be viewed as promoting positivist epistemologies. Maps are a prime example, whereby there is a removal of emotional, aesthetic or cultural elements which may be important for the interpretation of culture. In the same way that traditional museological displays appear to crystallise objects, this can also have the effect of freezing time and abstracting landscapes by removing concepts of development and change (Tomášková 2007; see also Gearey and Chapman 2006). de Certeau (1988) and Massey (2012) point out how our use of space functions in several dimensions which go beyond the physical and occupy the subjectivities that we develop about the world and our environment. These qualities are not empirically measurable and in the majority of cases do not feature as part of heritage representations, giving way to the privileging of visual and material aspects of places and objects. We can see, then, how socially constructed language constitutes the approved heritage discourse which in turn may promote particular masculinist or authoritative agendas.

As Said (1995) points out, meanings, biases and prejudices are discretely woven into the fabric of interpretation. Approaches to the interpretation of heritage can be fundamentally exclusive. For instance, the connections between knowledge and building space which were formed during the renaissance era still heavily influence our concepts of knowledge today and as a consequence museum spaces are linked to western concepts of space and knowledge (Parry 2007). This can extend to the use and meaning of heritage in a much broader sense because concepts of space and knowledge in heritage sites are likely to be architecturalised (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004); we use representations of architectural space as analogies for the structure of knowledge. While this has proven a very effective way of memorizing factual data for centuries (Hooper-Greenhill 1992), it also serves to omit various qualities of our subjective world experience. By placing knowledge in a conceptual framework of buildings, and their associated hierarchies of rooms and levels, the knowledge

must undergo a conversion into a format with which it may not be fully (or perhaps at all) compatible³.

As an example, a study involving the Namibian Herero tribe showed that even concepts of space may be taken for granted. The researchers observed that the tribal community related the navigation of their world in a seemingly non-spatial way. For the Herero, a map as a replication of space had little meaning and they instead navigated the significant parts of their community in terms of the people in it rather than geographical waypoints (Bidwell & Winschiers-Theophilus 2012). The study points out how othered cultures may be mediated through Western ideas of heritage, but it also resonates with the notion that there are multiple ways of understanding the world around us. The assumption that we all have the same frames of reference is problematic because there are so many potential cultural and social factors at play; even when considering something as seemingly universal as the mortality of humans (see debate in Watson et al. 1991).

We may argue that all people have a commonality insofar as our bodies function as mechanisms of mediation (Merleau-Ponty 2014). In this way, all humans may be situated within the same limits of comprehending a reality, based on the languages that we are able to access as human beings; be they phenomenological languages or intellectualised languages (e.g. spoken or written) (Wittgenstein 2001). However, the examples above demonstrate that human communities develop distinct ways of interpreting and representing the world around them. This is partly explained by the various cultural capitals that communities will develop; for example, ideas of space are shown in the discussion above to be contingent on cultural context. Without the requisite cultural capital of the Herero tribe, it may be difficult to conceive the meanings that their landscape holds for them. In addition to this wider cultural capital, we develop our own world meanings as individuals. Bourdieu (1977) identifies the 'habitus' as a dynamic entity within us which defines how we perceive and respond to our socio-cultural environment. The habitus is, at the same time, informed by that perception and response and therefore develops through our lived experiences to form our unique perspectives.

³ See, for example, Deleuze & Guattari's (2013) theory of the rhizomatic structure of knowledge.

We can see, then, that the heritage meanings attached to places, objects and rituals are not simple to communicate. In this research project the heritage meanings attached to Towneley Park came from a range of participants as groups and as individuals. This discussion of alternative perceptions and interpretations reminds us that each of these participants (as collectives or as individuals) comes with their own cultural capital and habitus. My attempt to discover the participants' Towneley Park heritage meanings therefore aimed to provide the freedom for them to describe Towneley in their own terms.

As part of exploring the heritage meanings of Towneley Park, this project has engaged with the potential of digital representation. Developments in the exhibition of computer games as art has caused some considerable debate about whether digital media is or is not culturally valuable. In 2012 the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) created an exhibition displaying computer games which met with some opposition (Jones 2012, November 30; Moriarty 2013, March 7) although others praised it (McNicol 2013, March 10) and Manovich (2001) identifies the similarities between traditional and digital media. The argument about what is art is complex and highly subjective, but a select few within society are in a position which enables them to define and maintain limits about the valuation of culture (Bourdieu 1986). For Benjamin (1999) the mechanical reproduction of artworks at the beginning of the twentieth century weakened the establishment-produced 'aura' surrounding works of art and so provided the people with an opportunity to claim their own meanings and values. Video games may represent a similarly fluid quality of 'aura' as popular culture which is easily accessible to a large section of society and which is sourced from a range of independent or commercial producers. As such, we can see how digital media may work as alternative discourses to the AHD or the elitised who Bourdieu identifies. Digital media, then, may represent the threat that everyday culture and heritage poses to those who are conditioned through established epistemologies and cultural dogma to value monolithic, tangible and elitised cultural objects. The next section of the literature review explores digital representation and the potential for democratisation through digital heritage.

2.4: Digital heritage and the democratisation of the heritage experience

This section will explore the democratising potential of digital heritage. By 'digital' here I mean New Media heritage interpretations and their technologies. Manovich (2001) defines New Media as digital media which is manipulated by computer algorithmic systems. Thus, while a digital image (e.g. a JPG file) may represent a historical or cultural visual artefact (e.g. a place or object) the role of a digital artefact as an object is less important here than is the system in which that artefact may be put to use. This may be a database that allows virtual or electronic access to digital media, such as the Rijksmuseum or V&A museum websites. Access is important in this discussion.

Democratisation of heritage involves increasing the number of people who have access to heritage resources as well as involving non-professionals in the process of representing heritage. The issue is contentious, as highlighted by the establishment of a satellite gallery of the Louvre. Built in Lens, France, the expansion of the Louvre outside of Paris was intended to make the museum and its artwork more accessible. For one commentator (Jones 2012, December 4) this represents a dismantling of an ordered and meaningful collection of art that is being unnecessarily carried out for reasons of political correctness. On the other hand, Wainwright (2012, December 5) argues that the move brings influential pieces of artwork to an audience who would otherwise never have had access; even the design of the new gallery is open and democratising, he argues, demonumentalising the idea of a gallery and encouraging people to visit.

We can see, then, that 'democratisation' may be variously interpreted. Dahlgren & Hermes (2015) discuss two perspectives that may be taken in terms of democracy. Contrasting 'liberal' democracy with 'republican' democracy, they draw our attention to some important underlying concepts. While liberal democracy aims to engage the people, this is only insofar as electing or enabling others into positions of power. In addition, liberal democratic values embrace the 'rationality' of empiricism and perceived objectivity while rejecting the affective, lived experience aspect of political life. Conversely, republican democratic values embrace the affective and the performative. From a republican standpoint, to be a truly democratised citizen, one must be engaged "in the broad terrain of civil society through

which people develop experience and identities relevant for citizenship” (Dahlgren & Hermes 2015: 121). This has particular relevance to heritage, since a democratising heritage following the republican model resonates with Smith’s notion of the use of heritage, as well as the importance of acknowledging the affective aspects of lived experience and community heritage (Smith 2006; Waterton 2005; Smith & Campbell 2015; Ciolfi 2015).

It is in this context that I discuss the impact of digital heritage on the democratisation of the heritage experience; the opportunity for everyday heritage narratives to be embraced and included in heritage representation. This next section highlights some of the potential for participation and for exploitation through the involvement of social media and the seemingly democratising practices of crowdsourcing. In addition, the influencing discourses on digital technology are discussed to explore some of the ways it may circumvent or compound the AHD. This serves as an important foundation to investigate and critique the impact of Digital Towneley on the experiences of the participants in this research project.

In recent years, digital media has promised a democratising effect for the access to heritage online and through multiple media. In many ways recent advances in digital media have changed our ‘relationship to information, suggesting and creating new hierarchies, hegemonies and ways of imagining society’ (de Groot 2009: 92-6). Using digital media, visitors can become enfranchised through the prospect of becoming involved with heritage by being allowed to contribute their own opinions or potentially to recode digital formats and tell their own stories of history and culture (Apperley 2013; but see Schradie 2011 & Kidd 2014 and discussion below). In recent years the development of social media for heritage institutions has allowed the public several fora in which to express their opinions. The *A History of the World in 100 Objects* project provides one example where a forum enabled discussion between the public and the British Museum staff. Individuals were also able to submit their own objects to the online collection. Increasingly, social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook, as well as blogs, provide the public with the opportunity for open public discussion with heritage institutions. The use of these new outlets helps to blur the line between official and unofficial heritage (Giaccardi 2012; Purkis 2017). These online platforms give voice to everyday people whose own histories may otherwise be overlooked. By including non-AHD, or ‘unofficial heritage’, within the discourse of established heritage

sites, the everyday heritage valued by people is able to piggyback the legitimacy of mainstream heritage.

There are, however, problems with the digital process of democratisation. One of the main criticisms about social media in recent discourse relates to the level of security and privacy associated with being involved. Questions are asked about the motives of companies like Facebook and Google and the potential power they have with the information that they gain from us as users. In 2014, there was a public debate around the role of social media following a research exercise on Facebook. The study on Facebook involved the capture of users' profile data that raised two issues concerning the potential power of social media. First of all, the study was widely regarded as ethically unsound (Arthur 2014, June 30) and in this way demonstrates the potential for social media platforms to overlook the best interests of their users. Secondly, the study demonstrated the potential for Facebook to influence the emotional state of their users. This challenges the perception of social media platforms as democratising spaces insofar as the public is being manipulated by the social media platform; there is less freedom of choice and agency than we might think. Although earlier media such as tv and print can also manipulate, one of the differences here is the scale and speed with which online platforms can work.

Such concerns were compounded when, in 2018, a number of links were made between political campaigns and social media. In a notable example, a whistle-blower pointed to the actions of the Cambridge Analytica company on Facebook to influence voter behaviour in favour of the Republican 2016 presidential campaign. In addition, the role of social media platforms in promoting responsible free speech has come under fire in 2018 with platforms including Facebook, Youtube and Twitter permanently banning the far-right conspiracy site Infowars (Wong 6 September 2018). These examples show us that viewing the new media landscape as democratizing is problematic. While there are promises of multivocality, voices on these platforms, such as those put forward by Infowars, push alternative narratives based on misinformation and unfounded conspiracy theories. We can see, then, that incorporating new media technology into heritage contexts can come with problems. For some, heritage interpretations can run the risk of promoting prejudice. For example, the sanitisation of historical slave narratives (Schildkrout 1991; Gable 1996), and even by the iconography of

conventional museums being steeped in colonial meanings (Hooper-Greenhill 2004).

The recent debate surrounding social media demonstrates the potential for digital media to manipulate the viewpoints of its users, even influencing the process of democracy itself. In this way, digital media should not be seen as a no-strings context for the free expression of public and private heritages. The potential motives of companies like Facebook, Google and Twitter, and groups like Cambridge Analytica who are given access to their platforms, are called into question. If our data is available for online groups to harvest, and if this leads to influencing our socio-political behaviour, we should question what role we have as online heritage users. Are we free and agentic citizens, research subjects or workers?

Corbell, Hale & Jaja (2017) discuss a crowdsourcing approach to the collection of stories about Canadian identity. The high number of users demonstrates that people found the content and its representation compelling. However, the method of gathering data from the public should be examined to understand how it links to discourse and ideology. By looking at crowdsourcing, Brabham (2012) wonders to what extent the user is commodified rather than democratically liberated. Brabham argues that, while some view crowdsourcing as potentially organic creative mass cooperation, others identify that there is always a group or individual behind the movement. This places the 'crowd' in the role of the worker and so it may require commensurate worker's rights. This potential illusory quality of democratisation resonates with what Marx and Engels identify as the illusory freedom to own property (1967: 52). Moreover, when examining the status of the members of the crowdsourcing groups Brabham highlights that they are not 'amateurs' as is commonly believed. Rather, participants in creative crowdsourcing projects are often well-educated and have experience within a relevant industry. While access to these crowdsourcing projects may be open to all, Brabham explains that the success of exceptional individuals or groups within commercial crowdsourcing projects highlights the way that the medium may be particularly suited to certain members of society; i.e. those having received some form of academic or professional education. For Schradie (2011) this association with traditional or digital literacy is representative of a class divide, with those of working class backgrounds still being underrepresented in online media contexts. So, while general access to heritage materials or the consumption of heritage representations may be expanded, involvement in the

production of those materials or representations may still be restricted in the ways that Bourdieu (1993) identified with ‘traditional’ cultural media.

Issues of access to digital media (based on a variety of variables) further questions any claims that the heritage industry is democratised through the use of new media. At face value there are those who are excluded from digital heritage because issues of poverty and lack of digital skills prevent their engagement with digital technology (Go On UK 2015; CFAB 2018). This ‘Digital Divide’ is the gap between the digitally included and excluded. However, Kende (2015) identifies that the equation is not a simple case of the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’. Within the category of the digitally excluded (the ‘have-nots’) there are those who are interested in getting online and those who are not. Indeed, Kende points to data which suggests that poverty is not a dominant factor (Kende 2015; ISOC 2014). Rather, the attitudes or personal mores of the individual or community may simply result in a desire to stay away from digital media.

A UK drive to increase digital inclusion appears to have identified these kinds of personal choices as being on a scale of more or less ‘motivation’ (Go On UK 2015). This UK digital inclusion campaign resulted in the development of the gov.uk portal for government services (Arthur 2013, November 29) and continued with ‘Go On UK’ (GOUK)⁴, a campaign which aimed to reduce the 10.5 million ‘digitally excluded’. The GOUK campaign promotes digital inclusion, but does so with what appears to be a largely economic agenda. Its home webpage (www.go-on.co.uk) featured an image of a woman saving money in her piggy bank (Figure 1), while the research reports page housed a large image detailing the £1064 financial worth of digital inclusion per individual. On listing the “Benefits of digital for individuals”, the GOUK website provided report summaries from *Strategy&*, *Carnegie UK Trust*, *Digital Unite*, *Pricewaterhouse Coopers* and *BT*. The summaries of these reports include some social and perhaps cultural benefits:

feeling part of modern society,
staying in contact with family and friends,

⁴ Go-On UK has now been rebranded as the Doteveryone organisation, which aims to increase digital skills among UK residents.

*improving confidence,
reducing boredom,
providing access to hobbies.*

However, the main focus is on economic benefits:

*reducing strain on health provision and resources,
help people save money,
help people to pay bills,
increase individual earning power,
facilitate job seeking,
the monetary value of digital inclusion based on skillsets.*

The choice of key reports appears to demonstrate a focus on those conducted by businesses and economic groups (e.g. *BT* and *Pricewaterhouse Coopers*).

The image is a promotional graphic for Go On UK. On the left, a woman with dark hair, wearing a pink and orange striped shirt, is smiling and holding a pink piggy bank. To her right, the text reads: "10.5 million adults in the UK don't have Basic Digital Skills and are missing out on the benefits that digital technology can provide." Below this text is a button that says "Find out how you can help" with a right-pointing arrow icon. At the bottom, a dark blue banner contains the quote: "I saved money on my energy bill by comparing prices online!" in white text.

10.5 million adults in the UK don't have Basic Digital Skills and are missing out on the benefits that digital technology can provide.

Find out how you can help ➔

"I saved money on my energy bill by comparing prices online!"

Figure 1: Go On UK website image promoting financial benefit of digital literacy [Source: Go On UK 2015]

In 2016 Go-On UK merged with Doteveryone, an organisation aiming to expand the digital skillset of the public. We can see that within the context of GOUK, and now Doteveryone, there is little promotion of cultural or social benefits arising from digital inclusion. The

Doteveryone approach is therefore unlikely to promote perceptions of digital media which are associated with culture or creativity. Rather, the Internet comes across as an environment for saving money, improving home economic efficiency and helping businesses to contact customers or consumers. Given that the aim of Doteveryone is to reach out to those who are not accessing the Internet, it seems likely that the organisation's focus would influence non-users to think that the Internet was wholly economic. This economic focus resonates with Hewison's (2014) observations about Creative Britain and the 'real' capital/economic motives behind the promotion of creativity: the 'creative economy'. Moreover, it resonates with recent monetising discourse from the UK government in relation to culture (Higgins 2013, April 24) which has seen some criticism from the creative and heritage industries (Davies 2013).

The UK Government *Culture is Digital* report (DCMS 2018) moves towards identifying the cultural and social benefits of digital media and technology. There are several case studies in the report which explore various potential benefits of digital technology. Some of these, such as *The Mary Rose* heritage site, convey a narrative of cultural impact on visitors and as such engage with some meaningful discussion about the role of digital media in the heritage industry. Elsewhere, the report identifies the importance of digital accessibility (DCMS 2018: 46-7). However, the primacy of financial benefits is still a theme that runs through this document. The case study of *The Historic Royal Palaces* discusses an aim to “improve customer journey and experience”, but assesses the success of this in terms of “tangible business benefits” (DCMS 2018: 38). Similarly, a case study of *The National Archives* puts forward the argument that multinational digital companies like *Amazon* can offer lessons to the cultural sector for breaking down barriers to access (DCMS 2018: 51). Here, we can see the privileging of an economic and capitalist discourse as the expert narrative. This is something which Fredheim (2018) has noted as a growing trend in the contemporary heritage industry. While there may be practical benefits, the underlying discourse of a technology can laden it with value, as Wajcman (1991) and Shanks (2007) point out. For Drucker (2016: 301), approaches to representation in the humanities need to be developed using ‘humanistic values and methods’ or we run the risk of losing the personal and emotional content of culture. In this sense, the report overlooks the impact of applying business discourses in order to communicate cultural value. The *Culture is Digital* report

further aims to legitimise its position through 'consultation', but these consultations have not involved the public and have instead focused on cultural organisations and their partners. Considering the potential imbalances between cultural organisations and the public (Waterton 2005), this means that the report has overlooked an important aspect culture; i.e. the agency of everyday users and creators of culture.

It is also worth noting that the GOUK website aimed to identify the issues involved in digital engagement through four main categories of 'skills', 'access', 'cost' and 'motivation'⁵. What the site seems to demonstrate is an inevitability of digital inclusion that must follow the removal of these four barriers. However, the assumption that this would create positive motivation towards digital inclusion is perhaps simplistic, given what Kende (2015) identifies as groups who choose to be excluded. As Ben Light (2014) identifies, people may choose to disconnect for a variety of reasons. These reasons may be based on their own preferences, such as the extent to which they wish to share their personal data, or users may be concerned about the security of digital networks. The important point here is that people are able to make informed decisions about the level of their engagement with digital media based on a sophisticated analysis of issues including emotional impact, security, privacy and the ways they spend their leisure time.

The approach of GOUK may be perceived as patronising to those who have made choices not to engage with digital media and may even be threatening if they interpret the inevitability of digital inclusion as being forced upon them. There is a denial of individual agency in this approach to digital inclusion, which may also promote an inaccurate sense of digital democracy. Indeed, the idea of an overarching 'greater good' of digital inclusion resonates with the notions expressed by Brabham (2012) and Schradie (2011) that creative content in digital contexts is still largely controlled by an elitised few. Individuals may form the opinion that digital content and the digital 'world' is created and controlled by others much in the way that the non-digital world is. Within this digital power context, we may question to what extent AHD may be challenged by new media. Even if there are genuine democratic intentions behind a digital heritage project, new media may be perceived as a force for an

⁵ <http://www.go-on.co.uk/research/common-causes-of-digital-exclusion/> - a standard embraced by Doteveryone, also.

exclusive few who have the economic and cultural capital to excel with it. In this sense, it is easy to see why some would turn away from new media and choose to be disconnected (Light 2014). The impact here is that heritage meanings or narratives which challenge the AHD may be missed.

Nonetheless, there are examples of digital technology which appear to add democratising qualities to a heritage experience. The proliferation of handheld devices like smart phones, combined with the rise of social media and the associated ease with which images can be shared through it, has precipitated a rise of photography at heritage sites. Digital photography not only encourages visitors to recreate established representations, but also to explore “the unusual, the marginal, the hidden and peculiar perspective” (Coyne 2012: 173-4). Indeed, Van House (2009) discusses the use of photos arising from the phenomenon of the smartphone and highlights the social element of sharing photographs, particularly in person. An important aspect here is that photos are heavily associated with storytelling, which gives us an example of how visitors to heritage sites can, and want to, create their own narratives (Van House 2009). Examining other functions of smartphones, such as GPS links or QR code scanning, reveals how these devices may change interaction with heritage sites. For example, QR codes may engage heritage users by providing the opportunity to contribute to the narratives around heritage sites or objects. In the case of the QRator project at the Grant Museum, significant engagement from heritage visitors was demonstrated through increased volumes of written feedback. The museum had anxieties that this feedback would include spam or inappropriate comments from visitors, but such behaviour did not occur to a significant extent. As a result of identifying these fears, the relationship between museums and visitors was illuminated; i.e. a lack of trust shown by museums and the risk of trusting the public to contribute to museum discourse (Gray et al. 2012). The *QRator* project, then, appears to have been democratising by, on the one hand, allowing visitors to contribute to the museum narrative and, on the other hand, to transcend some of the barriers of trust or mistrust in the museum-visitor relationship.

The use of smartphones, whether through QR code systems or other software, can contest the role of the museum as the storyteller as well as link objects to the present and create genuine connections for visitors to feel. At the National Museum of Scotland, the *Tales of a*

Changing Nation project enabled visitors to contribute their own narratives to museum exhibits, in some cases contesting the museum's histories. In a separate Edinburgh-based project involving an app, *Walking Through Time* allowed city visitors to use their smartphones to access historical images of the city landscape and maps. Here, the smartphone technology allowed the visitors to develop a personal and affective link to the past lives or contexts of the city (Speed 2012). Since smartphones are familiar parts of people's daily lives, they already have an accessibility advantage for use at heritage sites. However, there are still issues of smartphone ownership and access to data networks, whether through public wifi or through private data plans, which present financial barriers to accessing these ways of interpreting heritage. In addition, user agency may be a significant factor here; some do not want to have their access to culture facilitated and may choose to disconnect from these kinds of networked experiences (Crawford et al. 2014; Light 2014).

The role of the digital does not always sit comfortably with heritage as it raises issues of authenticity through the wide proliferation of digital images. For some, the easy access to facsimiles of heritage objects in an environment chosen by the user may prevent them from accessing the accepted professional heritage interpretation (Besser 1997). Besser argues that a user/visitor may get confused between a digital image and the real object that it represents, invoking Benjamin's (1999) theory of the aura to suggest that meaning is lost in a digital object. While issues about meanings associated with digital media and their hyperrealising potential are very relevant (Hooper-Greenhill 1992), Benjamin's approach is clearly political (Parry 2007) and it is evident that his theory of the aura promotes the mass production of cultural objects as a way of democratising cultural interpretation and emancipating "the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual" (Benjamin 1999, 218). Consequently, we can see that the potential for creativity through the malleability of digital media can allow the public to develop its own heritage meanings. It is worth reiterating Brabham (2012) and Schradie's (2011) observations here that in some cases the creative re-interpretation of media may happen in a context facilitated by another group. In these circumstances we might question whether the artist has really been able to transcend an object's aura on their own terms. Furthermore, as discussed above, this recreating may be limited to those with the requisite technical knowledge and economic capital.

Caution must be observed when evaluating the qualities of digital resources because in many cases the functionality of a digital object may not differ significantly from its analogue equivalent. Manovich (2001) explains how the concepts of interactivity and malleability can be exaggerated when discussing 'new media'. This is an important point because the fetishism associated with new technology may eclipse the actual effect of new media. Visitors or users may feel as though they have been engaged with because a technology seems to 'react' to their input, but democratisation in any real sense may be illusory. The use of advanced technology can merely provide a visitor or user with the memory of the technology rather than the heritage meaning that the technology is trying to convey (Champion 2008). Here we can return to Marx and Engel's (1967) contention that capitalist society offers the illusion of choice to placate the masses (Elster 1986), a charge also levelled at heritage by Hewison (1987). In the same way, new media has the potential to deceive the public into thinking that it has served the function of legitimising their opinions.

Although innovative web apps (e.g. the Rijksmuseum) and minimalist user interfaces like Apple's iOS and Google's Android are more prevalent, digital culture is still largely text-based, since meaning on the web is predominantly still carried forth by the written word on websites or by associated meta data. Text can appear to be neutral and objective insofar as representing ourselves online using only words conceals other visual clues about our culture or background, like skin colour, age or gender. In a digital context, the potential for anonymity on the web may help to remove some social barriers and biases from social interaction. However, the equalising effects of new media need to be properly examined since we can see that technology itself can carry its own biases. Bidwell & Winschiers-Theophilus (2012) draw our attention to assumptions that technology is inalienable and their study highlights how the use of video cameras from Western perspectives privileges certain visual values over others. In the study, the Herero tribe members were less interested in filming one another during a conversation, choosing instead to let the camera film the ground. What the researchers demonstrate here is that technology is itself laden with cultural value and performance. Even largely textual digital environments (e.g. online forums) are still subject to gender-based social power relations (Nichols 1996; Turkle 1996) and sociolinguistic power relations (BBC 2013a). Indeed, the original context of digital media technology is one of patriarchal, commercial and military interest (Wajcman 1991) and so we

must not lose sight of the context within which technology has been developed and intended. Furthermore, on a fundamental level the underlying coding elements of digital media can limit the conclusions and creativity that can emerge from engagement with them (Shanks 2007). Various issues of bias, exclusion and othering are therefore still present in the digital world and it is worth noting that these factors may have an impact on any aims at democratisation.

The content of digital heritage, and not just the media, is also important. As Riessman (2008) identifies, narratives are a crucial aspect of our cultural lives and we can see the relevance of narrative to heritage contexts (Schorch 2015; Stephens 2014). These narratives may be traditionally textual, verbal or spatial (Tilley 1994). Digital media offers the public a means to engage with, co-produce or create their own, heritage narratives. As mentioned above, some identify the potential of new media to blur boundaries and facilitate the expression of multiple voices (Giaccardi 2012; de Groot 2009). Indeed, in a recent digital heritage project, Purkis (2017) explains that the participants were able to produce unofficial voices to challenge official histories and negative stereotypes of Ireland. Participants, or visitors, can also be enfranchised through co-productive approaches, sometimes using digital media contexts. Bailey-Ross et al. (2017) discuss the impact of the QRator project, which gave visitors to the Grant museum the opportunity to enter their own interpretations through touchscreen interfaces. The project engaged with 'radical trust' in giving the participants the freedom to input their perspectives. This resulted in foregrounding the visitors' interpretations to demonstrate that the museum regarded them with value.

However, Kidd (2014) draws our attention to the ethical implications of interactive new media constructs and asks how a heritage body may frame the contributions from the public. As we have seen above, digital media requires certain levels of skill and knowledge (cultural capital) and even wealth (economic capital) in order for people to have access. Importantly, it also requires a desire to engage with new media in the first place (Light 2014; Crawford et al. 2014; Go On UK 2015; Kende 2015). As such, the opportunity to engage with heritage through new media may be welcome to some and intimidating to others. We are therefore able to see that the nature of digital technology itself begins to frame the experience of public collaboration or community engagement – technology is not neutral, but affective and

agentic. Certainly, the facility of digital media to acquire narratives from the public has the potential to 'undermine the authority of the museum archive'. The form of narratives developed by the public for inclusion may contradict the form of narratives put forward by heritage institutions. Here, we see historical discourse pitted against affective accounts of everyday heritage. As we saw earlier, a museum's objective sound language may be contrasted with a more emotional language of lived experiences (Spector 1996; Smith 2006). The perceived authenticity of public narratives is based in part on their distinction from established heritage narratives; their quality of almost organic disorder. As such, this distinction between public and established heritage narratives 'reasserts the authenticity of the archive and thus its own particular "truth"' (Kidd 2014: 78). Despite the inclusion of the public voice there is a risk that new media helps to compound both the authority of the museum and by extension the authorised heritage discourses that are associated with it as an institution (Hooper-Greenhill 2004; Smith 2006). This situation is perhaps exemplified by the *A History of the World in 100 Objects* website, which featured a forum allowing the public to comment on individual objects and receive feedback from staff at the museum. While this represented an opening of dialogue, following the above discussion we might argue that this forum served to identify and confirm the museum as a definitive authority.

2.5: Digital Heritage Representation

This section will discuss some of the aspects of digital heritage representation. The topic is wide and varied and here I will focus on hyperreality, fidelity and simulation, as these aspects are important for considering the effect of Digital Towneley. Examples are discussed within digital heritage before looking at the complexity of digital heritage media in general and how we may theorise our perceptions and experiences of it.

Museum and gallery websites are now able to offer high resolution images of artefacts and artworks owing to software developments and increased download speeds. The Louvre presents the online visitor with the opportunity to compare artworks like the Mona Lisa with copies, other artworks or technical scans. Not only are these images seen together on the screen, but the visitor can magnify them to see considerable detail (Figure 2). In another

context we find an extremely high-resolution composite photograph of Tokyo taken by photographer Jeffrey Martin, which allows the viewer to zoom in to minute detail from a single vantage point high above the city⁶ (Figure 3).

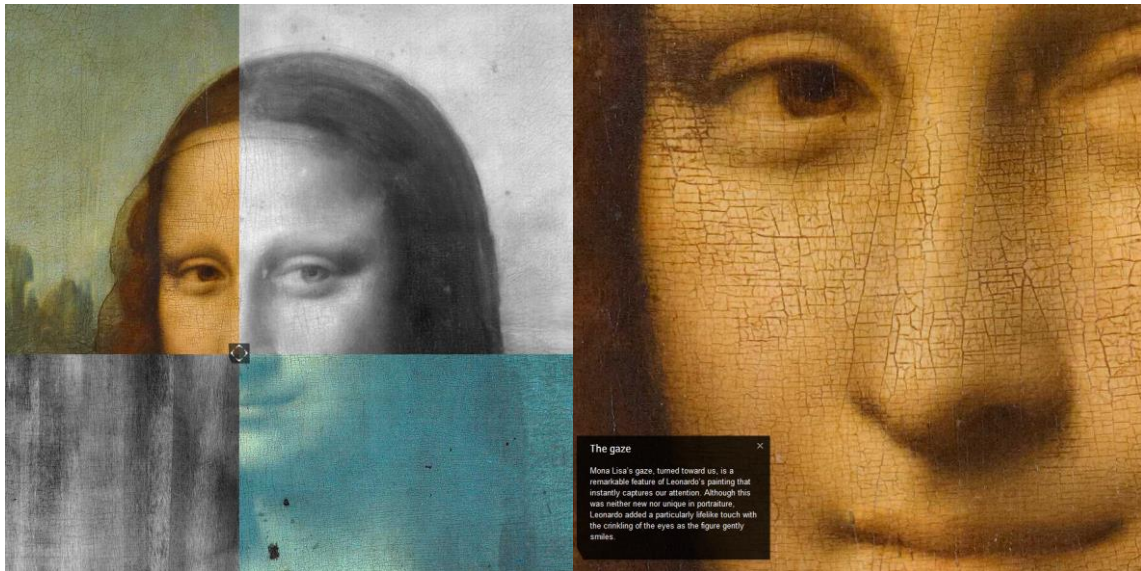


Figure 2: Mona Lisa viewed on Louvre website [Source: Louvre 2018]



Figure 3: Tokyo 120 gigapixel image with skyline and zoom [Source: Martin 2012]

The city photograph clearly brings to mind de Certeau's (1988) discussion of viewing a city from above wherein if the entire of a city is seen then a sense of definitive knowledge is

⁶ <http://360gigapixels.com/tokyo-tower-panorama-photo/>

created. By seeing the city entire, de Certeau argues, we would have the illusion of seeing the city as a complete object or artefact; but in reality we would be given only the image of the city, which would function as a synecdoche. In Martin's photograph we see the city as a whole and we are also able to see the city in detail. While de Certeau's model doesn't incorporate the capacity to magnify the image of the city, the photograph nonetheless is comparable to his discussion since the image suggests a similar capturing of 'the city'⁷. We may also draw a parallel with de Certeau's observations of viewing landscape from a train carriage where he describes the different modes in which we will view aspects of the scene: 'the more you see, the less you hold' (de Certeau 1988: 112). All at once we are able to see the landscape widely, in the instant, in passing and in anticipation as well as seeing the landscape from a separated liminal context (i.e. a train carriage). By magnifying Martin's image we are simulating travelling into it, much as de Certeau describes. As observers, we occupy a liminal space insofar as we are distanced from the real Tokyo through the interface of the computer, and its screen acts as the train carriage window. These modes of viewing are also applicable to the digitised Mona Lisa. The ability to magnify artwork on the Louvre website also shows us that viewers may engage with different modes of understanding: the Mona Lisa can be seen entire, or the detail of an eye or the minute detail of cracking paint may be observed. We may also apply the ways of seeing that Merleau-Ponty (2014) notes. For Merleau-Ponty our vision incorporates a number of modes of perception that may happen simultaneously:

'I apply my gaze to a fragment of the landscape, which becomes animated and displayed, while other objects recede into the margins and become dormant, but they do not cease to be there' (Merleau-Ponty 2014: 70).

Merleau-Ponty does not regard the film camera as having the same capabilities, since the screen is a medium without 'horizons'; unlike our own vision, the wider sense of a scene does not remain as the camera pans into an object. However, even with a static image, such as may be displayed on a screen, we are able to engage with a sense of travel through the

⁷ For de Certeau it is important that viewing the city from above does not involve being in the city and therefore does not involve a proper sense of what the city is. Although Martin's photograph allows us to see detail of the city and to an extent the behaviour of individuals, there is much that remains unseen and crucially there is much that remains unperformed by the viewer.

representation of 'space' (Tilley 1994; Riessman 2008; Massey 2012). Thus, we can see that the addition of magnification, which itself simulates travel or movement as well as the illumination of detail, can offer multiple perspectives from which to perceive a heritage object. Jewitt (2013a) notes these multiple perspectives as different modes and calls the combination of these modes a 'multimodal ensemble'. Jewitt identifies the different ways that a user may engage with computer content through the observation of their reactions (such as language, gesture and emotional expressions) and so highlights the multimodal potential of digital media. Although Merleau-Ponty would argue that the computer screen does not contain the horizons of our own vision, we can see that the magnification of images nonetheless emulates the multimodality of our own eyesight.

The images of scientific analyses on the Mona Lisa painting identify alternative aspects to just the image, and so the digital version seems to offer more information. This association with 'science' suggests a positivistic understanding of the artwork which may go towards confirming the Louvre as the expert, as does the online fora on the *A History of the World in 100 Objects* website.

For some these representations are a distraction from what they perceive to be 'real' historical or cultural content; not only are they inauthentic but the medium becomes fetishized as a focus (Baudrillard 2010; Besser 1997; Walsh 1995). For Baudrillard (2010) the Louvre's *Mona Lisa* would function as a simulation which begins to separate us from the meanings of the originals. As representations like this become symbols for the original pieces, Baudrillard argues, so do people begin to identify these representations before the originals. Thus, through the 'precession of the simulacrum', our frame of reference becomes the representation rather than the original object. The consequence of this is that media used for heritage representations can become the dominant context for meaning creation. Walsh (1995) demonstrates this by highlighting the prevalence at various heritage sites of a substance intended to simulate the smell of human excrement. The smell is used at the Jorvik Viking Centre in York to add realism to the Viking village, but Walsh argues that encountering the identical smell at other sites has the effect of creating a homogenous experience across heritage institutions. Thus, when encountering the smell elsewhere the visitor may have the Jorvik Viking Centre as the referent rather than concepts of squalor or

filth⁸. The Louvre's online *Mona Lisa* offers a more simulacral experience since the detail seen does not relate to the first-hand experience of seeing the painting, but the interactive tools that the website offers may be found elsewhere in similar forms. Changes in technology have facilitated the mass implementation of web apps that widen access to heritage through online contexts. On the one hand this resonates strongly with Benjamin's (1999) argument that it is possible to (re)claim meanings of artworks and dissolve political aura that act as barriers to access. On the other hand, digital representation may generate the homogeneity that Walsh describes, leaving visitors with what Eric Champion (2008) suggests might be the memory of experiencing a technology rather than of heritage content.

Umberto Eco's (1996) essays on hyperreality offer an alternative perspective by remarking that the fetish of the visitor may be authenticity itself rather than the medium of reproduction. The representation of original cultural artefacts can be ostentatious and even gaudy, with waxwork reproductions of Da Vinci's *Last Supper* being revealed with perhaps overblown pomp and ceremony (Eco 1996, 17). However, as Eco argues, if the visitors seek authenticity then the medium of representation needn't be the problem; all that matters is that the visitor is able to construct meaning that is relevant to them. Eco's approach is applicable to digital representations, which can vary in their style, but which do not need to be photorealistic 2D images or accurately depicted 3D generated worlds in order to convey meaning or have academic significance (Roussou & Drettakis 2003). Champion argues that it is the potential for 'interactive richness, rather than [...] a high-tech ability to reproduce elements of the real world' (2010: 14) which makes digital representation exciting. Flynn (2007) shows us that the multiple ways we understand both tangible and intangible cultural phenomena may be appropriately represented in multiple ways, but that each approach necessarily entails drawbacks. The use of avatars, for example, may focus attention on the corporeal interactions with a heritage site, but draw attention away from sensuous and cultural experiences (Flynn 2007: 89). On the other hand, artistic representations such as illustrations for the Çatalhöyük⁹ project can articulate multiple and subjective responses to heritage. Similarly, the Leskernick project's investigation of Bodmin Moor included landscape, environmental and ecological art as ways of interpreting and understanding the

⁸ These concepts themselves being an othering and value-laden representational effect.

⁹ <http://www.catalhoyuk.com/> [accessed October 2015]

past from contemporary perspectives (Bender et al. 2007). We can see reactions to digital representation are contentious, but with a consensus that digital media offers no more of a perfect approach to heritage representation than do traditional approaches.

These last examples show us that digital heritage need not be a simulation of real-world phenomena, but in some cases is ‘born digital’ – originating solely in a digital context. The term ‘simulacra’ is often applied to these objects in a pejorative way that suggests a lesser value than some authentic real-world-generated cultural object. But simulacra are of course everywhere, not just in the digital or ‘technological’ world. For Baudrillard (2010), the hologram is as much a simulacrum as is a god. Indeed, following Wittgenstein (2001) we can see that language itself is a simulacrum because language which symbolises our reality acts as the reality itself –an example of Baudrillard’s theory of the precession of the simulacrum. Our understanding of the world is founded on the language that we use to make sense of it to each other and so, as Wittgenstein argues, we are not able to refer to existential truths outside of our own experience¹⁰. Just as the digital world is created through a complex series of machine code and programming languages so too is the non-digital world created through a complex series of phenomenology, signs and symbols. In this way, we may argue that digital heritages are as culturally valuable as traditional heritages like statues, stately homes or mountain ranges. This last example is important to include because the scope of digital heritage goes beyond the individual object such as a website or a mobile app. Rather it is a digital landscape to be explored and perceived as a space. Computer user interfaces (e.g. Windows, iOS, Android) spatialize this digital world by representing it as file structures and cursor movements (Manovich 2001) in the same way that our own language actualises [a] reality for us (Wittgenstein 2001). In a way our own bodies are user interfaces¹¹ which phenomenalise, and allow us to engage with, reality (Merleau-Ponty 2014). These user interfaces navigate the vast network of connections that each object or phenomenon has. Digital heritage objects have these connections just like traditional archaeological artefacts (Hodder 1986) and are connected across the web to multiple people and multiple contexts all set within an ever-developing symbiosis. The context invokes Bourdieu’s (1977) habitus

¹⁰ Or more specifically outside of our ‘language’ since this would be imperceptible to us.

¹¹ Of course, it is probably more accurate to say that user interfaces are like our bodies. We tend to describe our human position by using analogies of modern technology (Parry 2007).

model which is a complex relationship, both informed and informing, that we have with our social and cultural environment. New associations made with digital heritage objects influence our reactions at the same time as our interactions with those objects inspire further associations and influences; a digital habitus.

This digital habitus relates well to Smith's (2006) idea that heritage is 'used', with digital heritage objects being manipulated, and in some cases created by blogs, online fora or collection contributors as well as the redesign of digital heritage as technology develops. Digital heritage does not represent an end product, but rather a continuing aspect of the heritage process (Smith 2006). In this respect, digital heritage is part of the network that makes up meanings within heritage contexts. It is important to consider this kind of network model because, firstly, it acknowledges the relevance of the multiple narratives and media that are involved in the formation of heritage meanings and, secondly, it helps us to avoid the dominance of one world view.

As Deleuze & Guattari (2013) argue, arboriform (or tree-like) structures as models for understanding the world suppose a dominant 'trunk' from which ideas and meanings appear to spread as branches. Although divergent, the epistemological implication of this model is that there are definitive and exclusive ways of understanding the world. Such perspectives tend towards positivistic interpretation and grand narratives of religion, politics or culture. Deleuze & Guattari propose the rhizome as an alternative model, which exemplifies a complex and non-linear collection of links that acknowledges the symbiosis of the system; the interdependence of each factor. While we might argue that the structure of the internet does not precisely conform to Deleuze & Guattari's rhizome, the connections between digital objects found within it are nonetheless multiple and non-linear. In this sense, it contrasts with tree-like structures. Digital heritage, then, is a wide-ranging series of things and processes, of simulations and simulacra, in much the same way that 'traditional' heritage is.

Despite this similarity, digital heritage can offer new ways of understanding heritage issues. As we have seen above, there is the potential for increasing access and there is also the relative ease of creating digital content and their platforms based on the increasing

availability and reduced cost of digital technologies. Although we must bear in mind the limitations or biases that come with the nature of digital media (Shanks 2007; Wajcman 1991) the processes within digital media can illuminate heritage contexts. For example, Kidd identifies how the *Culture Shock!* digital memory project aimed to explore 'how autobiographical memory is collected, shared and institutionalised by the museum' (2014: 78). As part of the participatory project, the museum wanted to see how such an approach would integrate with their own museum practice. The project provided valuable heritage narratives from public participants and Kidd notes how the process of constructing this content through the use of digital technology can itself be a method of developing concepts of identity for individuals and groups alike. However, such participatory approaches also 'provide mechanisms for curators, education staff or marketers (say) to interpret and create additional layers of meaning' (Kidd 2014: 86). As such, we should remain mindful of the ways in which digital heritage approaches can intersect with a range of stakeholder agendas.

This project has involved the development of a digital heritage representation of a park space. The issues raised above are relevant to the construction and the effect of Digital Towneley. A very significant aspect of the park, of course, is its outdoor space and its role in the creation of meaning and identity for the research participants. The following section discusses heritage place and space as an important foundation for understanding the way the physical park may be used, but the literature was also crucial in informing my approach to the development of a digital representation of park space.

2.6: Heritage Place and Space

This section details the importance of the heterotopia in understanding the nature of places. It also reminds us that space is a network of connections and that our bodies form a crucial part of apprehending space and place. Our senses can impact on our experience of heritage interpretations in this respect. Virtual reality is also explored here and the ways in which one may experience a sense of space or place virtually is discussed. This leads into the ways in which we develop a relationship with spaces and perceive them in terms of simulations.

2.6.1: Heterotopias

Foucault puts forward the idea of a heterotopia; a term to denote a space that is separate from normal spaces (1986, 1998). The museum is included in this 'other' space, since it is a "place of all times that is itself outside time and protected from its erosion" (1998: 182). Foucault's principle here can be applied to heritage sites as separate places of more or less recent pasts. It is the nature of the heterotopia that it allows 'imagination' and 'adventure' (1998: 185), caused by the disruption of our understanding and cultural reference points that forces us to wonder what kind of place we have entered (Owens 2002).

We can therefore experience a sense of space or place that is unique to the museum or heritage site, which is different to a sense of place or space specific to other locations. The nature of their separateness allows the visitor to experience different ideas and concepts in relation to their own everyday world; the kinds of 'adventure' inspired by the disruptive nature of heritage sites can range from the playful use of simulated digestive systems at *Eureka!* (Halifax, UK) to the unsettling exhibition of the effects of Napalm at the *War Remnants Museum* in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

The meanings attributed to heterotopic spaces, however, are not static. As social fields change, the perception of spaces and places can change (Hetherington 2011). For example, Foucault identifies retirement homes as heterotopias of deviation (1998), but the meanings attached to retirement home spaces (or the effect of retirement homes on our discourse) may change as society changes its discourse surrounding age or infirmity.

These spaces are also not uniform. All spaces may contain other spaces. Most simply this can be seen in terms of buildings divided into rooms, which themselves may be divided into areas of power (e.g. teacher's desk versus students' desks). Less obvious borders may also define spaces and places. As de Certeau identifies, our own bodies and actions can define spaces, whether this be through movement and performance or through the observation of movement (these aspects are discussed in more detail below). Shepherd (2008) and Massey (2012) explain how our observation of a space involves notions and concepts of movement; for Massey a space observed necessarily involves the perception of its use. These same

principles apply to the heterotopia. At a basic level, museums and heritage sites may contain multiple exhibitions each with their own heterotopic effect. Hetherington conceives the heterotopia as a 'diagram' which allows discourse to be operationalised not through discourse but through a 'visible apparatus' (2011: 463). These diagrams are spaces outside of discourse, where different social or cultural rules may apply. In relation to these diagrams, Hetherington argues that our language can take on an imaginative quality and produce new ways of understanding. In this way the museum or heritage site may be seen as a diagram which helps to communicate the unsayable. Indeed, heterotopias are "not places as such but a relationship established between the non-discursive elements of the environment" (Hetherington 2011: 466) and we may also draw parallels to Bourdieu's habitus (a kind of personal internal heterotopia). Hetherington continues to explore Foucault's heterotopia and identifies 'relations', 'emplacements' and 'networks' as key aspects of our spaces. He applies the heterotopia model to gardens, theatres and cinemas which "bring together emplacements that are otherwise incompatible" (2011: 465). For Foucault, emplacements constitute our lived world: "We do not live in a void [,] we live inside an ensemble of relations that define emplacements that are irreducible to each other and absolutely nonsuperposable." (1998: 178).

Thus, the heterotopia is itself not a void, but an emplacement also connected to the world and constituted of its own emplacements. Since heterotopias begin as displacements within the established places of discourse (Hetherington 2011: 470), we may say that heterotopias can come about from the disruption to our own personal or everyday discourses. Events and relations involve objects or spaces which take on meanings. In this way we have the heterotopias of the sacred or the deviant (Foucault 1998: 180), which may be a gravestone or a whole memorial garden. In this way, the heterotopia resonates with the rhizome (Deleuze & Guattari 2013) and the network as we can see how heritage spaces may be constructed from heterotopia which are themselves networks of emplacements.

Foucault's heterotopia model provides a starting point to explore space and place in the heritage contexts discussed below. Further, it helps to explain not just the ways in which these spaces may be defined in terms of physical or virtual boundaries, but also the effects of these heterotopias on wider issues of discourse and power.

2.6.2: Space as a network

Smith (2006) identifies that it is our own engagement or use of space that creates heritage meanings. This use can be varied across the ranges of tangible and intangible heritages. For de Certeau (1988) our use of space is idiosyncratic as we learn about a place with our own bodies and our own ways of moving through spaces. This personal aspect of space echoes some of Lynch's (1960) observations on how we view our environment. Merleau-Ponty explores the very construction of space as something which is developed within our own mind as much as it is by exterior stimuli; that we conceive the entirety of objects and spaces even though we may not be able to see these entireties: "I can see one object insofar as objects form a system or a world, and insofar as each of them arranges the others around itself like spectators of its hidden aspects" (2014: 71). These observations about the nature of space show that our relationship with it is symbiotic and multiple, resonating with Deleuze & Guattari's (2013) rhizomatic model. Space does not branch out from us, nor ourselves from space, but in multiple aspects space is constructed and connected to our own ways of being.

2.6.3: Sound and space

Space within the museum is similarly multiple, linked to our bodies and our senses. However, particular focus on one sense may still have the effect of producing a sense of space. The effect of using headphones in a museum environment, as with an audio tour, may affect a visitor's sense of place since the use of a personal stereo is a private experience by its very nature (Bull 2004: 177) and this can have the consequence of isolating 'visitors into experiential bubbles' (Aoki et al. 2002: 431; see also Ciolfi 2015). However, it is my experience at the London *Churchill War Rooms Museum* that audio tours can feed the visitor information and detail that would otherwise have been missed, as well as provide the opportunity for the listener to feel engaged directly with the museum as though being let in on secret information. Use of mobile technology in Manchester Museum's *Ancient Worlds* exhibition also uses personal audio and while it could be argued that the visitors become 'bubbled' it can equally be argued that the technology offers different learning approaches to suit different learning styles.

Furthermore, sound itself is spatially structuring (Lane & Parry 2005), which means that audio representations of physical spaces have the potential to create the illusion of real physical space around us and the use of headphones can make the listener feel as though they are within the sound and that these sounds move with them as space centred around the listener (Jones 1993: 245-8). Consequently, the use of audio tours at heritage sites or museums may remove a visitor from the experience by constructing a soundscape whose qualities are incongruent with the heritage place; for example, the sound of a disembodied voice blocking out the natural sounds of the heritage site may well affect cultural perceptions. Of course, the reverse is also true and the beleaguered visitor herded along with masses of others may take refuge from the throng of other voices in a narrative soundscape.

These different ways of conveying information align with Foucault's heterotopia. Experiential bubbles within museums and heritage sites can be considered as emplacements or separate heterotopia. As Hetherington (2011) explains, the role of the heterotopia (or diagram) is to be a space which exists beyond our speech acts. The intangible 'space' created by a soundscape around a visitor can form a non-discursive way of engaging with both AHD (e.g. insight into the official actions in the War Rooms) and non-AHD (e.g. the affective nature of spaces) issues.

There is much here that overlaps with the simulation of place and space which will be discussed below, but it is important to draw attention to the temporal natures of different places and spaces. I have discussed above how a heritage site can be accessed only through the present, but the attraction of these sites is still (mostly) a desire to understand past places and spaces. As discussed, the Leskernick project aimed to use phenomenological approaches to get closer to an understanding of the past for archaeologists, but senses of place and space are also created for, and experienced by, visitors and tourists. In an audio tour available for the Battle Abbey grounds, visitors can hear sounds of the battlefield as they walk around the site of the Battle of Hastings (Battle 2013). The aim is to help empathically create a sense of place within the modern place of the abbey; to create a sense of a past space in which something happened. For Walsh (1995), such attempts to empathise are

futile because they cannot reproduce the physiological, social and environmental conditions of the past, but this point of view overlooks the benefits which can be gained from helping visitors to contextualise heritage within their own life conditions. It also denies lived experience and phenomenology as legitimate sources of knowledge against a perceived objective empirical knowledge; the value of lived experience and phenomenological knowledge is put forward by others (Merleau-Ponty 2014; de Certeau 1988; Bender et al 2007; Gosden 2008). Nonetheless, it should be borne in mind that, just as sounds are important for a comprehensive understanding of cultural meanings of place (Giaccardi 2008), so too can unwanted sound distract from them.

2.6.4: Virtual Space

As in the real world, virtual environments can elicit a sense of presence or place, making the visitor feel 'themselves to be somewhere different from their actual location' and to achieve this the virtual environment must make the visitor feel as though they are on some level participating (Di Blas et al. 2005). This sense of participation may be seen in spectator situations such as at football matches or musical concerts where part of the experience is to participate as part of a group (e.g. chanting, singing or dancing). These spectator situations can also be distanced through communication media such as television and radio, making them a sort of virtual event (Eco 1996). While these experiences have traditionally occurred in domestic settings using personal home equipment, more communal opportunities are becoming possible through live event watching at movie theatres or, as the 2012 Olympics highlighted (BBC 2013), turning public areas into theatres through the use of large television screens. These experiences are reminiscent of de Certeau's (1988) discussion of the view from a train window, similar to a screen in many ways and with the viewer situated in the no-place that is a train; constantly de- and reterritorializing. Digital heritage therefore has the potential to impart new liminal qualities to the otherwise established and familiar places in our lives.

For some, the effectiveness of this participation depends on the level to which a user can ignore technology as the mediation to the virtual environment (Carassa et al 2004: 7,10; Rodaway 1994: 176), although this is only based on a sense of place which is meant to

approximate in some way a real-world sense of place. We can say that the ability to overlook technological mediation is necessary to help mimic a sense of an already-extant space. However, it may also be possible to create a sense of place/space in a simulacral way insofar as an environment may be created entirely in a digital context and so can be considered 'born digital'. In such instances we might suppose that the technology itself is an important aspect of this environment. Consequently, we may view particular features of digital environments such as text-based interaction (e.g. forums and chat rooms) or graphical representations which are not life-like (the majority of virtual reality environments now do not demonstrate life-like fidelity) not as failures to help us overlook technological mediation, but as valid environmental characteristics in their own right. Indeed, technologies which offer their own peculiar characteristics may allow a form of transcendence towards transhuman senses of space and place (Haraway 1991).¹²

Since we are familiar with the concept that museums and galleries are not able to recreate a sense of place in a perfect way, we should not expect this from digital environments. Technological mediation is not always hidden in the real-world museum except in attempts to simulate environments such as at the *Jorvik Viking Centre* in York or the Victorian Street at *Salford Museum*. No matter what the successes of simulations are, a heterotopic sense of museum place remains no matter how effective the representation (Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam 2005; Walsh 1995). Considering these factors it is difficult to conclusively say that the participation required for a sense of place is exclusively reliant on the ignorability of technology.

Technologies can provide access to heritages and they can create new heritage spaces and places. In particular there is the potential for new kinds of heritage places which may have no materiality or no link to other materialities; places and spaces as signs with no real-world referent (i.e. simulacra). It is important that we begin to understand how to occupy and use these emergent spaces. The exploration of natural heritage meanings can help to illuminate some of the ways that we might explore and map intangible heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett

¹² Haraway does not argue for a transhuman sense of place and space in *The Cyborg Manifesto*, but her suggestion is that social hierarchies may be overcome by changing social contexts such that they do not hinge entirely on our 'humanity' (i.e. our bodies and bodily communications). In a similar way we may argue that technology may change socio-spatial contexts.

2004) and in addition may therefore provide useful approaches for illuminating the intangible aspects of digital heritage meanings.

Outside of the realm of the born-digital environment, there are many attempts to simulate natural phenomena or the biological senses in order to simulate a place or space. The vast majority of digital imagery is presented on a two-dimensional surface (i.e. a computer monitor), but, while it is worth noting research which claims no difference between eye movements when viewing original and digital versions of artworks (Saunderson et al. 2010), it is also important to note that two-dimensional representations do not facilitate the saccadic movements of the eye that happen whilst orienting oneself in a physical space (Parry 2007). Although the development of 3D technologies¹³ will most likely combat this issue as time goes on, the experience currently is less naturalistic because our body does not go through the same processes as it would in a real three-dimensional environment.

However, various methods of virtual access help to make the experience closer to how we interact with real world environments. The use of panoramic views in websites can help to approximate a visitor's natural experience (Di Blas et al. 2005; Goldbaum 2012), though Goldbaum's claims that this technique necessarily contributes to a sense of place needs to be explored in more detail. Champion (2008: 212), who uses the term 'cultural presence' points out that even if a sense of place is experienced by the visitor, it is not necessarily appropriate to the cultural setting. Champion (2008: 222) asks the important question 'how can we understand otherness of space?' explaining that senses of place will be experienced differently by those who create the spaces and by those who are visiting the spaces (Champion 2008: 224; see also Bidwell & Winschiers-Theophilus 2012). For example, investigation into the uses of and reactions to virtual reality heritage software have shown that it is possible to convey a genuine sense of scale using a simulated environment (Kim et al. 2006: 254), while Silberman (2008) reports that a sense of scale was not expressible for a digital recreation of the Unicorn Tapestries.

Qualities that some individuals may associate with a sense of place may not be necessary for

¹³ i.e. the cinematic 3D technique currently effected through the use of special glasses.

others. Considering the differences in spatial mapping identified by Bidwell & Winschiers-Theophilus (2012) it may not be reasonable to assume that a sense of scale is necessary to create a sense of place for everybody. Lynch (1960) notes that parallax effects of scenery may be important to create a sense of city space, for example, but also acknowledges the various factors of emotional and personal experience which create city place for people. Since the experience of heritage spaces is affected by such a great variety of factors (Parry 2007; Saunderson et al 2010; Taylor 2010) we must embrace the importance of subjectivities in the creation of (digital) place and space.

While digital environments which attempt to create museum or heritage places can do so by attempting to approximate real world phenomena, they can also create senses of place by attempting to control the user's behaviour. The North Michigan College maintains a virtual reality campus in the virtual world of Second Life where the Aho Museum can be found. This museum is represented as a 3D architectural structure, but serves as the focal point of a selection of digital art exhibits. Visitors to the campus are requested to behave in a certain way which is befitting for both the campus in general and the art gallery areas (SL 2018a). Some Second Life attempts at period simulation disable the avatar's ability to fly (SL 2018b) or at least request that they do not fly, while other Second Life destinations like the Space Centre (SL 2018c) are open for visitors to explore as they wish; on foot or by air. While the settings may appear to be less formal than real world traditional museums, attempts to control the behaviour of the visitor are likely to create a sense of curatorial authority; perhaps necessary for some in order to get a sense of heritage place. The rules applied to such spaces necessarily separate them from 'normal' space of virtual or non-virtual reality and therefore generate a heterotopic quality.

2.6.5: Our relationship with heritage space

While some appreciate a positivistic approach to heritage representation (Hewison 1987; Walsh 1995; Lowenthal 1998), others may find that the heritage space has great resonance for them as it is contextualised within their lives. Heritage space may be transitory, perhaps a one-time visit, which is enjoyed (or not) and used as a heritage place. For others, the experience of the heritage space may span across several visits each of which may take a

different form (e.g. a visit with friends, a visit alone, a visit with children), or even develop over time as a relationship with a heritage place (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). This may be a two-way relationship between the space and the visitor which is analogous to Bourdieu's *habitus* because both person and space are influencing and influenced by one another. Moreover, we impress our own spatial nuances to make spaces our own and give them meaning (de Certeau 1988). Whether transitory or more long-lived, the heritage experience involves a use of space; the visitor occupies the space and through this occupation creates what they perceive as the heritage place. That is to say the heritage place is the space with extra meanings. Some of these meanings have been identified by Bagnall (2003), who describes the performative nature of our use of heritage spaces. This resonates with how de Certeau (1988) explores the way that space is used by us and how the nuances we employ in this spatial expression are part of the meaning that we impart to that spatiality.

Key to this spatial expression is the notion of time. Taylor (2010) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) identify the personal meanings of museums, showing us how a heritage place can become a meaningful part of our lives. That is to say, being not only short term events but also events which run in parallel with our lives. In order for this to happen it is necessary to perceive these spatial processes on a timescale. Heritage is so strongly linked with time (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Harvey 2001) that any senses of place or space must necessarily include time-based subjectivities. Indeed, for Merleau-Ponty (2014) and Massey (2012) they are inseparable.

These time-based subjectivities can also transcend the spatial and become intangible. Falk and Dierking (2000) explore the continuation of the museum experience after the visit by identifying in what ways the knowledge gained from a visit has subsequently affected the visitor. They find that things gained from a museum visit can become integrated into lives outside the museum. While this may seem fairly obvious, we can take this further to show that heritage meanings may not need a physical heritage place or space in order to be active or effective, since these meanings are happening outside of the museum context.

This raises the possibility that some of the meanings can transcend the spatial. Examples of this may be identified in digital representations of natural environments like those found in

Second Life or in computer game representations of landscape. Although these representations may attempt to mimic or simulate real world environments they are able to create a sense of their own space and place; a sense of being somewhere other than (or perhaps in addition to) where one is geographically located. This is acknowledged by Di Blas et al (2005), but we can see how important it is to define their term “participation” as being much more than a social process with other people; rather, it is linked also to our passage through time and the emotional ties we may have with a place, space, object or event. This supports Foucault’s ideas which suppose multiple emplacements which constitute heterotopias, but this also resonates with qualities of the *habitus* and the rhizome insofar as the multiple connections that exist for meaning making.

Our relationship with a space or place may also begin before we arrive, as we anticipate what kind of environment we will experience. It is our nature to anticipate a set of social circumstances and make allowances for it before it occurs (Bandura 2001; Gordon 1986). Indeed, Merleau-Ponty (2014) describes the ways in which we construct spaces and objects from incomplete information, all of which implies our capacity to simulate in general. We are so used to consuming signs as part of our cultural and social interactions (some of which potentially have no referent (Eco 1996; Baudrillard 2010)) that we may be conditioned to conceive of concepts even when distanced through time or space. In this sense, if we are able to conceive of a place or space before we have experienced it, then the qualities (tangible or intangible) which form a sense of place or space may be created purely intangibly or psychologically such that they may be “born-intangible”. As a consequence, we may see how digital virtual creations or representations of space and place can also be effective.

This section has provided a general approach to space and place and its representation in heritage and media contexts. Towneley Park's space, like all locations, has its own characteristics and features. Firstly, there is the 'natural' aspect of the park as an outdoor space, and then there is its many function as a park (leisure, sport, gardening, community etc.). It is to these more specific qualities of park spaces that the next section turns, providing an important background for exploring Towneley Park's meanings.

2.7: Parks and 'Natural' Heritage

The categorisation of parks is varied, since the term 'park' may apply to very large areas of land which are perceived to have remained unaffected by human intervention, such as the Lake District National Park¹⁴, as well as to smaller areas of land which have been landscaped for the specific purpose of recreation, such as the Millenium Park in London. Often these park areas obtain the qualities of 'nature' associated with the outdoors and sometimes the 'wilderness', ranging from the grass of playing fields to the more inaccessible terrain of dense woodland found beyond pathways. This section of the literature review will explore some of the ways in which park and garden areas are defined and the ways in which their heritage and use has been explored. In order to discuss these issues in a context of outdoor heritage qualities, this section will first aim to cover literature on interpretations and definitions of 'natural heritage'. The result should provide a background context within which to explore Towneley Park as the focus of this research project.

2.7.1: 'Natural' Heritage

One of the problems of the term 'natural heritage' is illustrated by Harrison and O'Donnell (2010) who draw our attention to the subtext of both the *UNESCO charter for World Cultural and Natural Heritage* and the *Australian Heritage Commission*. Within these documents we see the movement towards an acknowledgement of cultural landscapes, but which are nonetheless set up as a special type of natural landscape. The effect is to maintain a contrast between the idea of natural heritage and cultural heritage. This contrast can be problematic because it implies the possibility of heritage which does not rely on human culture for the creation of meanings; that heritage objects or places may somehow be innately imbued with meaning. Massey (2012: 201) highlights the fallacy of distinguishing between a 'natural' space and a cultural space, arguing in one case that urban areas contain 'natural' elements, too. Consequently, we can see that 'natural heritage' does not necessitate its own separated space; just like 'regular' heritage it is intertwined with our cultural activities.

¹⁴ I say perceived not to be influenced by human intervention, but of course the Lake District is heavily landscaped and marketed in many ways. The important point here is that, as a park, it represents wilderness.

Massey draws our attention to the dubious potential of the term 'natural'. Indeed, 'natural heritage' as a term has seen a focus on natural history; the taxonomical and scientific approach of representing the world's flora and fauna (Dorfman 2011). Although within this approach there has been acknowledgement of the human relationship with specimens (Long 2011), the wider heritage approaches to the outdoors are often less rooted in the human. Phillips' (1989) approach to the interpretation of countryside and the natural environment has a strong focus on the idea of conservation. While he is willing to engage with the value of entertainment and recreation as part of this interpretation, it is only as a means to an end: the 'communication of the conservation message' (Phillips 1989: 124). Further, Phillips' argument engenders a top-down approach which promotes 'experts' (i.e. heritage interpretation specialists) as having more knowledge than indigenous or local communities. Harrison & O'Donnell (2010) demonstrate how the roots of conservation lie in specific world views that value aesthetic principles and this clearly influences the approaches to 'natural heritage' near the end of the twentieth century. Property and ownership systems of natural environments can other the public by excluding them from the legitimisation of their own natural knowledges (Foley 1974; Ravenscroft 1995). Indeed, Bender (1992: 737) identifies concerns, which mirror Hewison's (1987), that the heritage industry was attempting to 'commodify and mummify the English countryside' and thereby perpetuate the exclusion of the general public from legitimising their own understanding of the natural world. These anxieties of exclusion are precipitated by the political approaches to heritage of the Conservative government in the 1980s and 1990s, but the homogenisation of heritage through concepts of AHD (Smith 2006) and community (Marshall 2002; Waterton 2005; Waterton & Smith 2010; Watson & Waterton 2010) are current issues which also affect natural heritage sites.

Writing more recently, Harrison & O'Donnell's (2010) approach details that we should be more aware of the reasons behind nature conservation and question who it is intended to benefit. However, their acknowledgement of human agency in the creation or destruction of habitats still places the focus of 'natural heritage' on habitats rather than the reactions of human groups or individuals to natural spaces. In contrast, Cheape, Garden & McLean (2009) attempt to engage with the human aspect of heritage and the 'environment'. Specifically avoiding the term 'landscape' as a laden term, they adopt 'environment' in order to access a

wider audience and their publication attracted several studies of human and emotional meaning within the 'environment'. These included the intangible heritage of the Western Isles (Robertson 2009), the emotional geographies of Australian aboriginal landscapes (Kearney 2009) and the lived experiences of hikers on a Scottish trail (Bold & Gillespie 2009).

'Landscape' as a value laden term is discussed thoroughly by Bender (2006), who highlights among various aspects the gender, political and gaze issues which concern the term. Indeed, Wells (2011) explores this aspect of the gaze by drawing our attention to the ways in which we represent landscape, historically through painting and more recently through photography. These representations, she argues, come from a sense of ownership of the land as well as separating out the pastoral ideal from the gritty reality of the wilderness; the latter being something that Phillips (1989) would also agree with. Cheape et al. (2009: 105) identify that heritage is 'plagued' by 'this problem of vocabulary and multiple uses of key terms [...] often serving to confuse rather than clarify'.

The natural environment itself has been othered through the process of modernisation, resulting in an exoticisation and romanticisation of nature (Gobster 2007). Spector's (1996) feminist approach identifies that emotional responses to archaeological findings and artefacts are dismissed by dominant and so-called rationalised epistemologies. In discussing a mountain range, Massey (2012) dismisses the ways in which some people perceive mountains as symbols of stability and timelessness, instead choosing to privilege the geologically ever-changing nature of mountains as their true nature. Thus, despite her rejection of scientific focus on spatial understanding, she nonetheless promotes geographical and scientific rationalism over our subjective and emotional knowledges of landscape. We can see, therefore, that our conceptions of natural or environmental heritage are a mixture of meanings originating from various disciplines and people. It is to the ways in which we ascribe these meanings to places that I will now turn.

On the one hand, any value we ascribe to something is cultural insofar as meanings are generated through the actions or feelings of humans. This approach is taken by Smith (2006) who describes heritage as a process of action, or of use; that heritage is not a tangible

object, but those intangible meanings we create through the use of such objects¹⁵. Indeed, our perception of the world is contextualised within a linguistic sense; for Foucault the relationships we have with the world and with each other are contingent on discourse, while for Wittgenstein the role of language itself defines the very terms with which we are able to comprehend our reality. Bourdieu's observation of cultural capital and the arbitrary nature of cultural valuation is also relevant here because we may say that just as art does not have innate value, neither does landscape nor the natural environment. The value that is associated with it is constructed by people. The great effort taken to orchestrate the national park space at Yellowstone in the 19th century provides an example of how our concept of wilderness and the natural are constructed. Native American inhabitants were forcibly removed from the Yellowstone Park area and later denied the right to hunt on the land. The vision of 'nature' and 'wilderness' here, influenced also by the Romantic movement, necessitated the absence of people (Harrison & O'Donnell 2010); a concept of wilderness which Tallack describes as an experience 'made impossible by [our] very presence' (2015).

On the other hand, perceptions of natural heritage as being separate from human agency are an important quality of landscape. Massey (2012) appears to hold a viewpoint that there are factual epistemologies applicable to natural spaces. Here, she refers to a scientific understanding of the world around us, its geology and weather systems over millennia. Massey argues that this approach does not negate the possibility of romantic visions of landscape, but she constructs an empirical context within which romanticism may occur. Writing about the Lake District National Park, she discusses the perception of landscape permanence felt by some people. In particular, Massey identifies the Lake District mountain ranges as the focus for public ideas of eternal and unchanging landscapes. While Schorch (2014) embraces the subjective feelings which form part of our understanding of heritage and the world, Massey dismisses the notion of permanence that people may feel because it is not scientifically factual. She approaches the idea of natural space as requiring a westernised understanding of its past, present and future. There is little acknowledgement that for an individual human, the scale of a mountain's change makes it relatively unaltered; that there are socially constructed understandings of the landscape which are valid.

¹⁵ However, see above discussion which outlines the relevance of tangible heritage to the creation of meaning.

Effectively, in discussing the Lake District, Massey rejects reactions to landscape which may be rooted in human feeling rather than 'science'.

Nan Shepherd (2008), writing about the Cairngorm mountains, approaches the landscape in a different way again. Shepherd describes a more emotional connection with the landscape, referring to mountains as 'old friends' and identifying a mysterious interaction between herself and the mountains. This approach is reflected in the definition adopted by Scottish Natural Heritage: "[Landscape] is about the relationship between people and place" (Cheape, Garden & McLean 2009). Indeed, Bender (2006) identifies the creative and the emotional influences of literature as important ways of engaging with concepts of landscape and the environment. In order to grasp the meanings within natural heritage, we need to step beyond the scientific and the academic.

The role of our bodies is also important to Shepherd, who notes how her subconscious self is aware of the landscape before she is; she implies that our bodies have a greater awareness of the landscape and the directions we may travel than do our conscious minds. Moreover, Shepherd explains the focus and mindfulness that occur when interacting with the landscape; the halt of time as she swims in a crystal-clear lake or the specific focus that she takes on parts of the shoreline as she looks across a loch. This description of landscape perception resonates with Merleau-Ponty (2014) who notes how our vision, despite always being in the same 'mode', may variously focus on an aspect of a landscape or draw back to take in the whole of the landscape. For Merleau-Ponty our bodies are integral aspects of the experience of our reality: "I consider my body, which is my point of view upon the world, as one of the objects of that world." (2014: 73).

As noted above, Bender et al. (2007) engage with the landscape of the Leskernick site on Bodmin Moor to acknowledge the influence that our own bodies, our emotions and our social relationships affect the ways in which we interpret our environment (also Tilley 1994). Along with Shepherd and Merleau-Ponty, we can see how this shows our understanding of natural heritage is contingent on our lived experience as human beings. It is important to note, however, that this understanding is not implied as common across cultures or times. Thus, values of natural heritage are not inalienable, but are multivocal and affective. We can

see that there are ways of knowing the landscape which become lost to us, either owing to the temporal distantiation of past cultures or more generally to loss through cultural translation.

For Wittgenstein (2001) these ways of knowing are still potentially available since they fall within the constructs of human language; they therefore have the potential to be conceived by ourselves. But there are also spiritual reactions to natural heritage, such as the Maori links to their landscapes (Harrison & O'Donnell 2010) or the reactions of visitors to trees and colours (Dwyer et al. 1991). A quality of natural heritage as having a meaning and consequence beyond the human being can be part of the values attributed to the natural world. These meanings would be outside of our reality. In the construction of reality from Wittgenstein's perspective, we cannot know what is outside our reality because it cannot be constructed with our language. However, the concept that natural heritage environments have such meanings, even though these meanings may be unobtainable, inconceivable or imperceptible to us, is a meaning in itself. Conceptions of natural heritage, then, may transcend human beings while at the same time originate in human values and meanings.

2.7.2: Parks and Gardens

In many cases, parks and gardens are defined through reference to historical landscapes, which refers to 'historic' in the sense that the park or garden can be tied both to events and to people who have become noteworthy throughout the course of history. Goulty (2003: 41) identifies that one of the drawbacks to this approach is a danger that focusing on historical contexts for parks and gardens will overlook their "aesthetic or cultural value". Another drawback here is that their associated historical narratives are determined by those who define the authorised discourses of heritage and history; they do not tend to include the views or historical perspectives of everyday current users of the parks. Furthermore, as Goulty implies, the association of parks and gardens with historical narratives overlooks the use of parks as a creation of history itself; its presentness and continuing role in the process of historical narrative. This resonates well with Smith's (2006) discussion of heritage values imposed by institutional or governmental agendas on the general public as well as Harvey's (2001) observation that heritage is a product continually refashioned in relation to the

present.

As Burgess et al. (1988) highlight, subjective feelings about park spaces can include reactions to the plant life or issues of local government in its management. Their research indicates that people may use parks as an escape from everyday life and the groups who they interviewed all identified the 'green' element of their urban park space as a pleasurable feature. However, they did not identify any particular characteristic of the park in isolation; their experience of the park was as a whole connected area of features. Their findings also revealed negative feelings associated with park space. The park users expressed fears of the park space based on experiences of racial abuse, while others felt that the park was not safe enough for their children to play in. These feelings of local residents demonstrate that their relationships with the park space can illuminate issues of cohesion and anxiety in the community as well as the relative safety of their homes. The research of Burgess et al. therefore describes the wider context and influence of park spaces; that they are linked to a social network of people who surround the parks and use them on a daily basis.

Indeed, reactions to the countryside in a study on residents local to the Peak District National Park revealed that sociodemographic factors have a bearing on how people perceive these outdoor spaces (Suckall et al. 2009). Combined with the above study we can see that although the green foliage of parks and gardens may be perceived as pleasurable, this naturalness of park spaces may be intimidating to some. These observations identify that reactions to park spaces (in this case the larger Peak District national park) can be affected by class factors. As such, we can see that Bourdieu's forms of capital are relevant to park spaces just as they have been shown to be relevant to heritage more generally. The hierarchies created through the forms of capital may apply barriers to accessing park spaces, which is not surprising if we see parks as a cultural aspect of society. As Bourdieu (1993) identifies, we must somehow be given the means to acquire an understanding of dominant cultural value. Nonetheless, we will see below that there are ways in which the public can subvert intended AHD definitions of parks.

This concept of a park as part of a network is further highlighted by Wilson and Hughes (2011) who discuss the role of New Labour in the development of Britain's park spaces. By

aiming to improve parkland throughout the UK, New Labour introduced a set of measures whereby parks could be graded and so achieve Green Flag status. As a consequence, we can see that the meanings of parks stretch out beyond just the park users. While those who use the park should not be overlooked, a park is subject to the agendas of its custodians so it cannot be understood in terms of its users alone.

Gobster (2007) identifies a 'museumification' process applied to the design of park spaces; whereby the locations may act like exhibits within a park space gallery. Even though the park users have agency, we may ask whether the design elements of a park, its curatorial voice, can promote certain ways of valuing its spaces. It is the agency of the park users or the viewers of the natural environment that Gough (2007) raises. Despite a London borough attempting to design and plan the use of a park based on a theme of peace, the local residents to the park decided on their own meanings for the design. Gough looks specifically at memorial parks designed to commemorate those lost in war and conflict. The underlying motive of such parks is that the statuary and layout are designed to be prompters or facilitators of memory. However, Gough alludes to the ways in which park layouts with organised and regular features can operate as perfect memory spaces because they are designed as a series of landmark locations. As such, park spaces become like the *Wunderkammer* memory spaces that Hooper-Greenhill (1992) identifies. To some extent our engagement with all spaces engages similar notions of memory association, as de Certeau (1988) and Lynch (1960) note about the ways in which we develop our own understandings of the city. However, park spaces as identified by Gough often incorporate discrete objects of sculpture or statuary to which individual or shared memories may be attached, whether these are state-sanctioned memorials or locally commissioned sculpture trails. Pierre Nora (1989) explains how we tend to identify geographically discrete areas within park spaces (i.e. areas which are separate from the wider park contexts). Nora's *lieux de mémoire* (*places of memory*) may vary in size from monuments or trees to regions within larger national parks. There is much overlap here with Foucault's heterotopia with these areas within parks forming emplacements of meaning.

The impact of specific places within a park can be seen with the example of Heaton Park in Manchester. In 1912, Manchester city council transferred the 19th century façade of

Manchester city's town hall to the park in what appears to have been a symbolic attempt to assert civic importance and authority within the park space. The effort seems to have been in vain since visitors were unaware what the façade was and so must have found it difficult to discern what it was meant to represent (O'Reilly 2013). The example resonates with discussions of simulations and simulacra by Baudrillard (2010), since the façade was unable to function as a symbol and so it unintentionally became a simulacrum. Both in Gough's memorial park and Heaton Park the authorised heritage was therefore unable to impose its symbolic order. However, today the towering ionic columns in Heaton Park may still present an imposing presence similar in effect to the classical architectural form of the iconic museum building (Hooper-Greenhill 2004). Thus, along with subjective reactions to 'nature' (Suckall et al. 2009) we may see that park spaces can contain forms and objects which discourage engagement for groups of people in the same way that museums may do (Bourdieu 1993).

Gough goes on to talk about the role of the garden as a dramatic stage for the playing out of seasonal cycles which we then relate to our own mortality. To counter this, he argues, a gardener may offer the appearance of defying death by maintaining flowers and other plants in garden areas. As Gough argues: 'a well-tended garden is a "symbolic bulwark" against disorder, decay and the occasional randomness of death' (2007). Here, we can see that elements of a park, like the flowers, may reinforce the established order of western power; the colonial notions of taming the wild and the fallacy of the rural idyll (Wells 2011). The presence of architectural structures such as stately homes or follies (like the colonnade at Heaton Park) compound that sense of order over nature.

We have seen that parks may develop over time according to the ways in which the public use the park (Gough 2007) or based on state intervention (Wilson and Hughes 2011). As such the role of parks changes over time – although historical associations with park spaces remain very important whether for newer parks or for older ones re-designed. The historical nature of some parks will have determined their setting relative to local residents. For example, Adirondack Park in New York was built as a space to be integrated into the existing residential area (Bray 2004). In contrast, Heaton Park in Manchester was originally a privately-owned estate which became council land and is now found on the outskirts of

modern residential areas. The ways that these parks are accessed are therefore different. Adirondack Park is easily accessible to the local population, but Heaton Park despite now having houses close by still requires a special effort from many of its intended visitor base (O'Reilly 2013).¹⁶

Bray (2004) identifies that there was a movement in the 1960s towards the opening up of park spaces to local communities in the US. He highlights that a common discourse around parks, however, is still one of refuge with the park seen as a space in which people may escape from the real world. Drawing on the opinions of park planner Roberto Gambino, as well as approaches to landscape by the Council of Europe and UNESCO, Bray points out that parks cannot be separated from the multiple associations that we have with landscape, culture and the intangible. We can therefore see that, whether the park has been designed as a separate space like Heaton Park or a fluid space like New York's Adirondack Park, there are undeniable links to the local community, the city, town or the cultural and social fabric to which that park belongs. As we have seen with heritage more widely, these notions resonate with the rhizome and the habitus (Deleuze & Guattari 2013; Bourdieu 1977). The park is a node of connections, it is continually affected and affecting and it is both bounded and unbounded.

There are examples of archaeological representation that cover dig sites like Catalhoyuk. Online representations of monuments or heritage sites also exist, such as the UNESCO 360 panoramas or virtual environments in Second Life. However, the role of digital media in understanding outdoor heritage is under theorised. Ciolfi (2015) and Kidd (2017) identify that there is still a gap in the research to explore outdoor heritage through the lens of digital technology. Their own recent heritage projects highlight the importance of embodiment and emotion, not just in the context of outdoor heritage but also in the design, application and use of digital technology.

¹⁶ When originally set up by Manchester council, Heaton Park's location along with public transport costs made it difficult for the working classes to visit the park (O'Reilly 2013). While the park may now be more accessible to a wider demographic, the location of the park still creates a different experience to a localised and integrated urban park for the majority of visitors.

2.8: Conclusion and Project Aims

The literature review highlights that the facilitation of multiple voices or narratives within heritage still requires research. There are problems with ‘community collaboration’ approaches that relate still to notions of ‘top-down’ research approaches and cultural epistemologies (Waterton 2005; Bender et al. 2007; Watson & Waterton 2010; Smith & Waterton 2010).¹⁷ These aspects highlight the continued relevance of Bourdieu’s habitus (1977) and forms of capital (1986) since the formation of cultural value is still highly contingent on class and privilege (Smith 2006; Hewison 2014; Fredheim 2018).

Recent approaches to heritage research identify a gap that the study of the affective can fill (Kearney 2009; Smith & Campbell 2015; Ciolfi 2015). Acknowledging emotive or everyday human reaction to heritage and to research itself contests the traditional epistemologies of history and archaeology (Porter 1996; Spector 1996; Bender et al. 2007) and instead argues that there is more to be learned than just that which is circumscribed by such traditionality. Smith’s (2006) notion of Authorised Heritage Discourse represents this traditionality and, while AHD is not something which should be ignored (it requires its own analysis after all and itself represents the viewpoints of a section of society), a fuller understanding of heritage meanings can only be achieved by seeking in addition the viewpoints beyond the purview of AHD. It is for this reason that my project has attempted to engage with heritage meanings from the points of view of everyday park users. To this end, I have taken on board the importance of our own bodies as mediators of cultural phenomena and the multiple modes that we use as phenomenological beings to understand those phenomena (de Certeau 1988; Bender et al. 2007; Jewitt 2013a; Merleau-Ponty 2014). Within this phenomenological approach are issues of communicating the world to ourselves through less traditional epistemologies, acted out by our bodies or verbalised as narrative (Lynch 1960; Tilley 1994; Wittgenstein 2001; Bagnall 2003; Riessman 2008; Massey 2012; Schorch 2014; Stephens 2014). Following this it has been my intention with this project to develop a methodology which adopts these less traditional epistemologies in an attempt to forefront the participants’ viewpoints about the park. Co-production is a useful approach in this regard, as

¹⁷ Further discussion of this can also be found in Chapter 3.

it values the input of participants and encourages development of their own interpretations (Bailey-Ross et al. 2017; Graham 2017). An aim of this project is to explore the different heritage meanings of Towneley Park that are experienced and created by the participants.

The affective aspect of research as well as of heritage has some notable lacunae in terms of digital heritage development. The experience of the digital developer during the development process is under researched. This is surprising considering the exponential rise in digital technologies. As we have seen from projects like the Leskernick excavations (Bender et al. 2007) and the box-ticking agendas of heritage bodies (Chirikure et al. 2010), there is much to be learned about the motives involved in the production of heritage representations (Purkis 2017). Indeed, in light of drives to increase digital inclusion based on commercial benefit (Go On UK 2015; DCMS 2018) it is necessary to understand the contexts within which the public are experiencing and forming conceptions of digital media, as this underpins the experiences of digital heritage. The need for the theorisation of this process of constructing cultural digital representations is therefore apparent.

The literature review has covered the theorisation of heritage representations (both traditional and digital) which identify issues ranging from visual representations, simulacra and interface to concepts of democratisation and access (Walsh 1995 ; Eco 1996; Kenderdine 2007; de Groot 2009; Baudrillard 2010; Giaccardi 2012; Kidd 2014; Dahlgren & Hermes 2015). It is clear that a variety of issues are pertinent in terms of digital heritage and so an aim of this research is to shed light on the process of digital heritage development by making transparent the steps and the agents involved throughout. This is relevant to the affective approach to heritage and links strongly to the benefits of reflexivity and positionality (Bender et al. 2007; Trussell 2010) as well as gender roles and the curatorial voices that may be dominant (Porter 1996; Spector 1996; Smith 2006; Tomášková 2007; Flynn 2007). Within digital technology we also find bias which can promote particular epistemologies or interpretive outcomes (Shanks 2007; Bidwell & Winschiers-Theophilus 2012). This research project aims to illuminate the conflicts and biases within the context of digital heritage development. Further to this I have aimed to show the ways in which users may react to, or engage with, digital heritage representations by identifying how Digital Towneley has affected the participants as an object and as a process in which they have been involved.

The whole process of developing a digital object, seen from inception through implementation and then feedback, is also something which my project aims to explore and document through the use of a reflective journal. In relation to Kidd's (2014) observations about the role of a heritage memory project, we can see that heritage projects can reveal not only multiple opinions on heritage, but also shed light on the practices of heritage institutions. In addition, co-productive approaches can help to reveal and discuss tensions between heritage stakeholders (Graham 2017). To this end my project also aims to identify in what ways a digital heritage project may illuminate the practices of, and communication between, the various stakeholders in a heritage site like Towneley Park.

It has been seen that issues of space and place within outdoor heritage contexts are complex and contested (Harrison and O'Donnell 2010) like many heritage sites and objects, with connections to memory, communities and time (Nora 1989 ; Bray 2004; Massey 2012). Bearing in mind how appropriately the rhizome (Deleuze & Guattari 2013) and the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) conform to the park as an entity of many connections, this project has aimed to identify how a digital heritage object may illuminate the complex communications that occur as part of the park. As such, this project involves the drawing out of narratives and discourses from the various stakeholders attached to the park.

In summary of the above discussion, I have developed the following research questions for this research project.

2.9: Research Questions

What Towneley Park heritage meanings do park users engage with and create?

Which research approaches help uncover heritage meanings along a spectrum from Authorised and non-Authorised Heritage Discourses?

How can a digital heritage object represent Towneley Park heritage?

How do socio-cultural discourses around digital media affect the experience of digital heritage?

In what ways does the design and use of a digital heritage object affect the lives of Towneley Park users?

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1: Introduction

This chapter lays out the methodology of this research project, covering first of all an overview of the research process before providing detail on the methodological approaches taken in this project. The methodological approaches begin with an explanation of an important foundation of this research in terms of my aims to put the participants at ease. Following this, the chapter explores how the project aimed to embrace the participants' own perspectives of the park through qualitative methods inspired by phenomenology and constructivist approaches including a reflective research journal. The chapter then highlights the role of creativity within this research project as a methodological process itself, covering the inherent creativity of engaging in heritage sites as well as the production of written and photographic media for the project and the process of developing a digital heritage object: Digital Towneley. Narrative analysis is then addressed as a useful tool for approaching my interactions with the participants and their own interactions with the park space and Digital Towneley. The chapter then details the process of recruiting participants and carrying out the interviews, field visits and resulting data analysis.

In this way, the chapter provides support for my adoption of a multi-methods approach incorporating a multi-modal thematic analysis through the lenses of narrative, discourse and phenomenology.

3.2: Method Overview

For this project, I interviewed and visited the park with twenty-five park users over the course of a year. I started by interviewing the participants using a semi-structured narrative approach (Hollway & Jefferson 2000), which was intended to allow the participants to express their own perspectives of the park. These interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed for analysis.

Nineteen participants returned to engage with the second stage of the research, during which I conducted field research through participant observation in a participant-as-observer role (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2007). This entailed visiting the park with the participants so that they could show me first-hand how they used the park. I made notes on the actions and dispositions of the participants and took photographic records of the routes we travelled. Each one of these visits was translated by myself into a written creative account to aid analysis.

Using methods including discourse and narrative analysis (Riessman 2008), I was able to develop a thematic framework around which to base a digital representation of the park (Digital Towneley). Using the transcripts and creative writing accounts I was also able to develop textual narrative content for Digital Towneley after consulting with the participants. The process also facilitated my choice and curation of photographs to be included in Digital Towneley. In developing the Digital Towneley architecture and user interface, I also provided a means of exploring its textual and photographic media content. In this sense, I was able to develop a further narrative insofar as the digital object provided users with choices.

Finally, twelve of the participants agreed to meet with me for semi-structured narrative interviews and provide feedback about Digital Towneley specifically and any other factors that the participants felt were important with regard to the research project or Towneley Park more generally.

Throughout the project, I kept a reflective journal to document my own perceptions of the project and to acknowledge my bias (Bender et al. 2007). I also took photographs and video of the park and carried out archive research into Towneley. Figure 4 provides a visual overview of my research process.

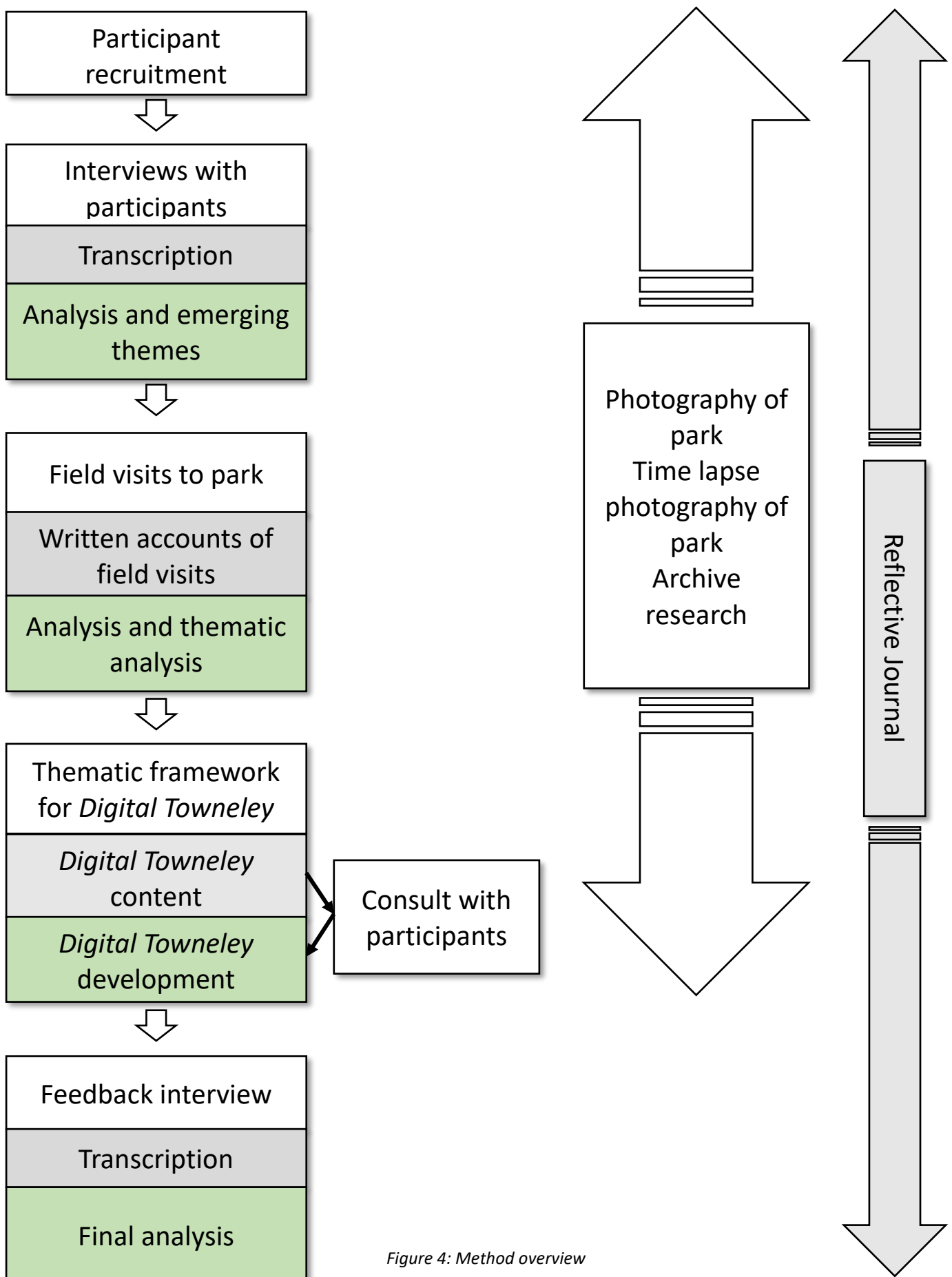


Figure 4: Method overview

3.3: Methodological Approaches

3.3.1: Multimethod approach

Multimethod research takes the approach of "employing two or more different methods or styles of research within the same study or research program rather than confining the research to the use of a single method" (Hunter & Brewer 2015: 187). Hunter & Brewer (2015) argue that a multimethods approach is useful in social science contexts because it can more closely approximate real world situations by engaging with the world's multiple nature. Multimethod approaches have been taken in Heritage Studies, which often adapts and adopts various methods from other fields of study (Sørensen & Carman 2009; Andrews 2009; Uzzell 2009). The benefits of such a multi-disciplinary approach co-ally with the benefits of a multimodal approach (Jewitt 2013b) insofar as they help to engage with the multiple ways in which humans can engage with the world and the multiple perspectives humans may have of heritage and culture.

As an aim of this research is to engage with AHD and non-AHD Towneley heritage meanings, a multimethods approach presents the benefit of being open to both of these heritage perspectives. In particular, in the context of park heritage, the acknowledgement of (i) our phenomenological and affective relationships with outdoor landscapes and (ii) our engagement with historical and traditional aspects of outdoor landscape heritage. We can see the application of this kind of approach in the Leskernick project (Bender et al. 2007). Although the Leskernick project was a mixed-methods approach (i.e. involving qualitative and quantitative methods), the project incorporated multiple qualitative methods to capture a wider range of landscape meanings. For example, creative practice and reflective journals allowed the collection of affective responses to landscape that complemented more traditional survey drawings and measurements.

I adopted a multimethods approach for this research project because I expected to encounter a variety of data. This is supported also in the literature, which identifies the multiple nature of heritage experiences and interpretations. For example, Ciolfi (2015) identifies the importance of the physicality of the heritage environment as well as the

actions of heritage users, while Kidd (2017) and Bailey-Ross (2017) identify that the world itself is multimodal and visitor/user responses in themselves can range in their meaning or intensity. Furthermore, Ludwig (2016) identifies the complexity and multi-sensual nature of heritage experiences as part of her research.

This research has therefore incorporated multiple methods, primarily including narrative analysis, phenomenology, discourse analysis, digital development and creative practice.

3.3.2: Co-production and community heritage

Co-production involves participants in the creation of data as part of the research process. In co-productive heritage projects, participants take part in the production and definition of heritage meanings and heritage interpretations. This means that the opinions and perspectives of the participants are embraced and valued on a level footing with those of the researcher or institution. Conceptually, co-production recognises that there are multiple viewpoints and interpretations (Graham 2016) and the approach can add to a sense of community and a feeling of wellbeing (Bailey-Ross et al. 2017). Lynch and Alberti (2010) detail 'radical trust' as an approach which provides participants with the final say over their contributions. It is important to point out that I retained control in a number of respects, such as editing transcripts for Digital Towneley content and developing Digital Towneley itself. While this project has not used 'radical trust' as a strict model, I adopted a co-productive approach to this project that aimed to allow participants to identify their own meanings and interpretations. Participants contributed to the content of Digital Towneley and validated the narratives as part of that process. Additionally, the field visits to the park were a process of producing heritage through the use of a heritage site (Smith 2006) and so the co-productive aspect of this project ran throughout.

My approach to working with the participants is based on methods used in 'community archaeology', 'community heritage' (Keitumetse & Nthoi 2009; Watson & Waterton 2010) and affective 'emotional geography' (Kearney 2009). These methods argue for the importance of individuals and groups to define their own identities and embrace the affective as a significant aspect of heritage meaning.

Much work has identified that communities are not monocultures, but are multivocal and multi-layered (Marshall 2002; Waterton 2005; Waterton & Smith 2010). Moreover, these investigations into the nature of 'community' identify the difficulty (or invalidity) of ascribing groups of people as a community from the outer context of academia. Although the participants may have in common a relationship with Towneley Park, it is not for others to decide that this makes them a community. Indeed, it is important to note that, as the researcher, I have created the participant group through a process of recruitment and, as indicated above, I do not intend as part of this research project to represent a particular community.

3.3.3: Embracing AHD and non-AHD Towneley heritage meanings

I chose Towneley Park as the focus for this research for a number of reasons. While it was geographically practical for field visits, the park also contains a range of outdoor or natural environments, features and agencies which are less frequently investigated for their heritage values than are traditional AHD heritage sites; the park therefore presented an opportunity to cover a gap in the heritage literature. Further to this, Towneley Park also includes aspects of traditional built heritage, making it a stereotypical "heritage site" insofar as it includes a stately home and museum. As such the site contains the potential for contestation between different heritage values. In this way, the park offers a context within which to explore the effect both of my methodological approach and the development of digital heritage on the expression and interpretation of a range of heritage values.

My aims in this research have been to explore the non-monumental and intangible heritage aspects of the park. Following Waterton's (2005) advice, this has not been with the aim of excluding traditional heritage values which may be associated with, for example, Towneley Hall, but rather my intention has been to develop an approach which acknowledges the multiple ways that a heritage site may be understood.

My approach is therefore to include, along with traditional AHD themes, the intangible, the present, space, narrative and the affective (Tilley 1994; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006; Waterton

2005; Bender et al. 2007; Smith and Campbell 2015). The literature identifies a strong precedent for these values being important aspects of how we understand and engage with heritage spaces and objects. It is in this context that I am defining the participants' viewpoints as heritage – i.e. the participants' movements through the park, their feelings about it and the stories they tell about it are what constitute a heritage of the park¹⁸. Since I may count myself as a heritage professional in this research¹⁹, my approach resembles a scenario in which the heritage of a community is decided by a privileged few. However, my approach fundamentally differs from this scenario by providing the participants in this research with the freedom to express their own park meanings on their own terms.

Just as de Certeau (1988), Tilley (1994) and Riessman (2008) identify narrative spaces, my interviews and field visits with participants created discursive spaces within which we explored the nature of Towneley Park. These discursive spaces represented the heritage meanings of the park and in many cases they overlapped with traditional heritage concepts. However, it was also important that the participants' input defined the shape of our discursive spaces so that their own non-traditional park knowledge could be included within the concept of Towneley Park heritage.

3.3.4: Affective and phenomenological methods

The social contexts explored in this research were less suited to structured museological quantitative methods. The data sought here were not primarily quantitative, instead the effects of the heritage objects under scrutiny were very subjective. This and the 'natural heritage' focus of the research mean that the phenomenological approaches to landscape archaeology demonstrated by Bender, Hamilton and Tilley (2007; Tilley 1994) have been an important influence on this research methodology. As demonstrated in the study at Leskernick (Bender et al. 2007), the relationships we have with landscape, as well as others involved in research, has an influence on our interpretation of cultural artefacts. As such,

¹⁸ A heritage or heritages as defined by the participants.

¹⁹ I am educated within the discipline of Heritage Studies and Archaeology, as well as being white, male and middle class. I therefore fit the demographic of what Waterton (2005) and Smith (2006) would identify as part of the Heritage Management system; just as they would identify themselves so.

approaches used in phenomenological archaeology have helped me to embrace the ways that we²⁰ use the park as well as the relationships that we have with its landscape and relationships between research participants, including myself.

A key element of this archaeological approach is its rejection of positivistic interpretations of culture. Positivistic approaches consider it possible to fully capture a definitive understanding of past cultures and landscapes. As Bandura (2001: 15) notes, 'the environment is not a monolithic entity', but is multiple and complex. The subjectivity of the natural environment resonates with research into our relationship with natural, park and rural environments (Dwyer, Schroeder & Gobster 1991; Schroeder 1996; Harvey & Riley 2005). These works highlight how meanings in these outdoor places are influenced by a multitude of factors in the same way that this has been acknowledged of material culture. Complex networks of meanings are attached to archaeological artefacts (Hodder 1986) and these are influenced by the things that we experience in our life with the continual production of our habitus (Bourdieu 1977) as well as the aura attached to objects (Benjamin 1999). Just as de Certeau (1988) describes the creation of meanings attached to our use of city spaces, Smith (2006) describes the ways that heritage is constructed by our various uses of it as a product, performance or ritual. The multiplicity of experiencing and understanding places like Towneley Park provides a rationale for a constructivist approach to this research. This constructivist approach is manifested in allowing meanings to present themselves throughout the research process by being co-productive with the participants.

Owing to the importance of human agency in the construction of heritage meanings, the investigation of discourse (e.g. Foucault 1980) combined with the concepts of language-constructed reality (e.g. Wittgenstein 2001) poses problems in the investigation of heritage since this approach may deny people agency in social creation (Kincheloe & McLaren 2000; Goulding 2000). For some (Gubrium & Holstein 2000), such postmodern approaches to qualitative analysis of discourse are deceptive because they can imply full understandings of 'the nuances of everyday life'; a concern echoed in critical archaeological literature (Tomášková 2007; Flynn 2007). Within this context, this research project does not attempt to

²⁰ By "we" I mean both myself and the research participants since we have all been involved in using Towneley Park throughout the research project

capture a full understanding of natural heritage meanings through data analysis. Although postmodern theories will be applied to assist in data analysis, my intention is to use these theories to inform the analysis, much as Bender et al. (2007) and Charmaz (2000) identify, by including the subjective expressions of the project participants through the use of language, metaphor and visual media as research data and as manifested in Digital Towneley.

By employing phenomenological approaches to their work at Leskernick, Bender et al. (2007) hoped to gain a closer understanding of the site's past and the lives of its people. The project team put themselves into the landscape by living and working on Bodmin Moor and so engaging directly with the outdoor physical environment; their emotional and corporeal responses to the environment were seen as valuable and informative. The Leskernick approach attempted to identify meanings from landscape and the artefacts found within it as well as the subjective associations of human agency. I realised that the aims of the Leskernick project correlated well with those of my research project and so I conducted field research (visits to the park by myself and with participants) as a part of this research project.

3.3.5: Analytic Bracketing

'Analytic bracketing' (Gubrium & Holstein 2000) will be used as an approach to mitigate the neutralising of human agency that discourse analysis may bring about. In terms of analytic bracketing, my multimethod approach to this research has aimed to enable alternative perspectives as and when needed. As Holstein & Gubrium (2011) explain, there is no set approach for determining when an alternative approach is appropriate or when it will yield results. In this sense, I have been influenced by Grounded Theory approaches (Glaser & Straus 1967; Charmaz 2000) as well as approaches from narrative analysts (Riessman 2008; Schorch 2014), all of which employ a dynamic progress during research that enables the researcher to react to the changing research landscape. These multiple methods have offered me the opportunity to explore the data from the perspectives of the lived experiences of the participants. On the one hand the 'language'²¹ of the participants may be explored theoretically, and on the other hand 'language' may be explored as applied to

²¹ Language here is in a Wittgensteinian sense and so includes the many ways in which we perceive and re-communicate the world around us

everyday life contexts as observed and experienced with the research participants (Holstein & Gubrium 2005; Holstein & Gubrium 2011). In this way I have used analytic bracketing with the aim of recognising the human agency of the participants in this study.

3.3.6: Reflexivity

As part of this research project, I recorded my thoughts and experiences in a reflective research journal. The aim of this was to account for myself as researcher by locating myself in the work, but also, through acknowledging my relationships with research participants, to work towards unearthing “the lived experiences of research participants and the meanings they ascribe to those experiences” (Preissle et al. 2015). The Leskernick project (Bender et al. 2007) involved traditional archaeological fieldwork²² combined with a phenomenological approach whereby the researchers acknowledged their own subjective experiences both in terms of emotions or power structures²³ and the effects of the environment (emotionally and physically) on the human body. These subjective values were expressed by all research staff through the writing of reflective journals. A similar use of reflective journal as part of a research approach can be found in Trussell’s work (2010) where the opinions and subjectivities of interviewed participants were under study. Following these approaches, I adopted the use of a reflective journal throughout the research process. On a functional level, the journal provided a record of my influences in terms of the interpretive process of developing *Digital Towneley*. However, the reflective nature of the journal offered further value by drawing out some of the aspects of my roles as researcher, designer and participant.

On one level, the participants in this research project may be likened to the research staff involved in the Leskernick project since they have been instrumental in the development of the digital object and in the co-creation of ‘data’. However, there was too little time to co-ordinate a series of participants’ reflective journals. Consequently, my own reflective journal works in part as a medium in which to situate the reflections of the participants. In addition

²² For example, standard archaeological methods of mapping and measuring the site such as field walking and excavation

²³ For example, between colleagues on the dig site

to this, my interactions with and perceptions of the participants were situated within the written creative accounts of my field trips with the participants. Although these creative accounts have been constructed by myself, its creative nature allows for the reader to recreate a field trip context (Hawthorn 1997). In this sense, the creative accounts offer an opportunity to explore the participants' points of view beyond that possible from an interview/transcript approach. Furthermore, my own re-readings of these creative accounts encouraged me to reflect on the field trip experiences throughout the research process.

3.3.7: Creativity as Method

In addition to the creative accounts of the field trips, there were several creative processes involved in my approach to exploring the heritage meanings of Towneley Park. Firstly, my interaction with the park is creative insofar as it generates heritage, with or without participants, through a process of using the heritage site and performing heritage acts (Bagnall 2003; Smith 2006). There is a second aspect of creativity in this project linked to the development of Digital Towneley and its constitutive creative parts.

Further to the methodological influence on this research, the Leskernick project (Bender et al. 2007) also provided inspiration for the creative aspects involved. In their attempt to learn more about the ancient inhabitants of Leskernick, Bender et al. explored their social and corporeal reactions to the environment, but they also engaged with the environment creatively. As they explain, "[w]e argue that the production of art in the present can be dialectically linked to an active interpretative understanding of the prehistoric past. We see it as a part of the process of interpretation" (2007: 311). The team explored the landscape through the creation of visual art, including maps, photos, paintings and 'installation art' (Figure 5). In this way, artistic approaches helped the Leskernick team to conceive of the archaeological site beyond empirical and traditional measurements. An affective, imaginative and creative engagement with the landscape was shown to be valuable in terms of understanding what it might mean to human communities.

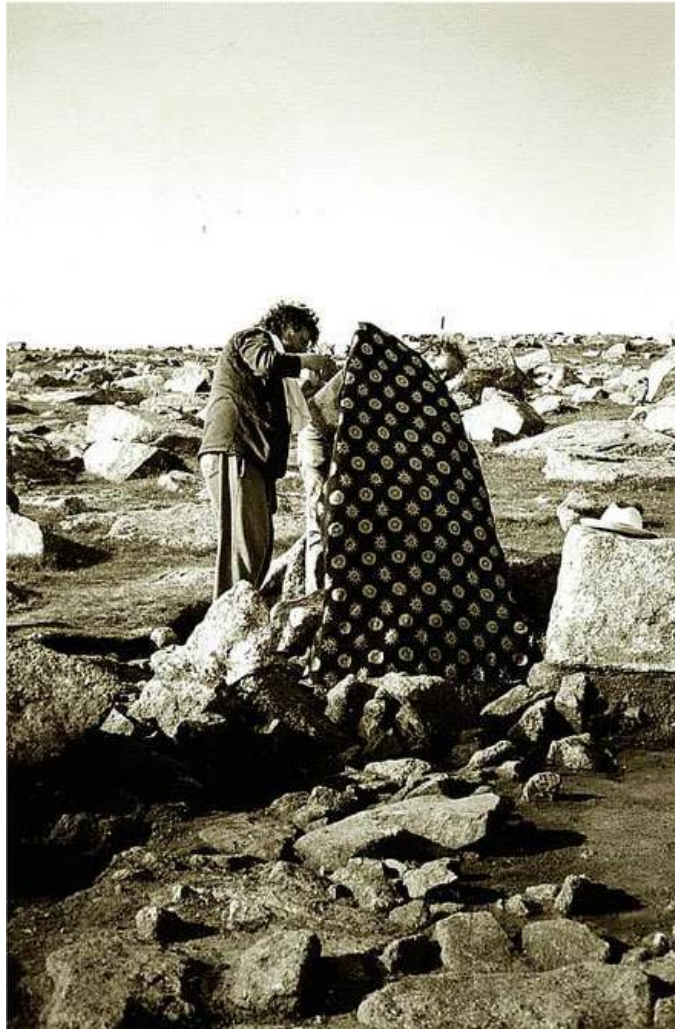


Figure 5: Wrapped stone installation art (Source: Bender et al. 2007)

We see similar approaches at Çatalhöyük (www.catalhoyuk.com) where a variety of artistic representations provide a way of exploring possible Neolithic histories that lay beyond those attainable through traditional historical research. Supported by these examples at Leskernick and Çatalhöyük I have adopted a creative approach to this research project. The effect of creative practice in this regard is twofold: firstly, the process of creative or artistic practice itself functions as a form of discourse about the park and the participants; secondly, the resulting impact of creative heritage representation helps to draw out further narratives about Towneley. I have engaged in multiple media, bringing photography, video, graphic design and digital development together in this project. Throughout this research I photographed and took video of the park as a way of communicating the park to myself. The act of capturing images, of which my aims were to somehow represent my various lived perceptions and experiences of the park, forced me to consider the park's features; e.g.

spaces, colours, textures, smells. Time-lapse photography, which did not make it into Digital Towneley, nonetheless forced me to consider the ways in which the park functions ‘out of hours’ – for example, the cool of the night causing the camera lens to mist over in the moist morning air reminded me of the park’s wildness. Thus, creative practice in this research served as a methodology for facilitating my phenomenological and ontological awareness of the park. In addition, these creative objects served as a record of my field trips to the park and so helped me to capture ambience and experiences that I may otherwise have forgotten.

My own creative activity in the park, then, helped me to develop a perspective outside of the empirical and traditional and to connect with the affective and imaginative relationship that we may have with a park space. Complementing this, was the development of Digital Towneley as a representation of the park and the participants’ viewpoints. Purkis identifies, “the digital process of making and presenting digital heritage can be conceptualised as a creative and producing curatorial process” (2017: 435). As a significant creative process within this research project, the development of *Digital Towneley* deserves specific mention here.

3.3.8: Developing Digital Towneley

The Digital Towneley web application was based on the thematic framework developed from analysis of the interviews and field visits (Chapter 3.3.9). The textual content of Digital Towneley was formed from two sources. Firstly, I edited and curated snippets of the interview and field visit transcripts to provide stand-alone statements related to each participant. My rationale for selecting these snippets was ‘highly interpretive’ but aimed to keep the stories intact, as described by Reissman (2008: 74). Secondly, for each participant, I wrote a more detailed ‘biography’ based on the combined data of the interviews and field trips. Some poetic license was taken by myself in the production of these biographies and so these texts were effectively a product of creative writing. I provided each participant with a copy of the texts, seeking their approval for inclusion on Digital Towneley. Through this approach, I offered participants the opportunity to comment or make changes as they saw

fit²⁴. Once the web app had been completed, it was made available online and I shared the link with the participants through email. For those participants who did not have email access, I presented Digital Towneley in person during the Feedback Interviews. Although the web app was available publicly, it was not submitted to search engines or promoted through social media as this project focused only on the participants' reactions. However, the participants were free to share the link as they wished.

Visual content was sourced from my own photography during the field visits as well as some photographs supplied by the participants. Additionally, I produced a hand-drawn map to represent the park space and to allow users to navigate the content of Digital Towneley (Figure 6). For this I used a cartoon-style approach with the aim of countering the positivising effects of map representations (Tomášková 2007). An animated humanoid character was also included, which would react to user input and therefore visualise human movement across the park space.

I sought inspiration for general user interface design of Digital Towneley from colour guides (color.adobe.com) and by viewing winners of the Museums and the Web Awards (MW 2015). I was able to adopt elements of some of these examples and develop the final style of Digital Towneley with separate sliding screens dedicated to narratives and images. The colour scheme for the application was based on the environmental colours of Towneley mentioned by the participants (e.g. autumnal leaf colours, tree greens and browns) and the signage found in the park (dark background with white font).

In terms of the project's interview and visit data, it was clear that the connections between the various park and participant meanings were not limited to the geography of the park or the sensual experiences of the park. The non-linear nature of the participant narratives suggested that a non-linear approach would work well as a representation of this network of meanings. The concept of Geoff Ryman's (2015) web novel, *253*, was therefore influential in my development process as it presented a way of exploring a series of connected stories

²⁴ Details of changes are discussed in Chapter 8



Figure 6: Digital Towneley Map

through a non-linear route. Moreover, Ryman's online novel offered the potential for the reader to make choices. This correlated well with Bianchi's (2006: 454) exploration of digital heritage interface design, whereby visitors are able to 'divert from a path' as they explore the data. In this way, the creative process of developing Digital Towneley correlated with the creative act of place, space and heritage making in the park space itself.

We can therefore see the development of Digital Towneley as a creative process. Based on the Leskernick approach, I considered the creative development of Digital Towneley as having the potential to enable discourses alternative to the AHD. In support of this, Purkis (2017) argues that the development of digital content outside of the context of traditional heritage organisations opens up the opportunity to blur the line between official and unofficial heritage (see also, Giaccardi 2012) and that the inclusion of local community narratives may encourage debate around these divisions. I also intended for Digital Towneley, and the participant reactions to it, to work towards the improvement of vocabulary for "asking about and articulating empathy within digital heritage research" (Kidd 2017: 11). In this way I aimed to contribute to the body of knowledge surrounding digital media and heritage.

A more detailed description of the Digital Towneley design process can be found in Appendix A.

3.3.9: Thematic Framework

This section details the method for developing the thematic framework on which Digital Towneley was based. The framework was developed from the themes that emerged from early analysis of the data and also informed the following findings chapters.

The transcription process produced emerging themes and I was able to combine these with meaning condensation of the transcripts to develop them further. This initial examination of the data revealed three strong themes in particular: *history*, *space* and *community*.

History: It is notable that the initial interviews revealed all participants as feeling a sense of history, whether in a traditional or personal sense and that eighteen of them expressed both. Here we can see the significance of history in the lives of the participants in terms of the kinds of traditional histories that tend to retain cultural dominance (Carr 1985; Samuel 2012; Smith 2006) and the more personal histories that constitute our everyday lived experiences (Lefebvre 2014; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006).

Space: The topic of *space* was mentioned by seventeen of the participants in referring to the park as an open space. Space was a significant theme for the participants and revealed various priorities. The sense of an accessible space was important, as was the magnitude of the park space. Use of the park and travel to/from it was also expressed in terms of the senses perceiving space and implicit notions of space. We can see how Merleau-Ponty's (2014) phenomenological work applies to direct spatial perception, while the implicit impact of space on the construction and performance of meanings was also important (Nora 1989; Massey 2012; Riessman 2008).

Community was a clear theme and manifested itself in various themes: the park belonging to the local council as an integral element of the local community; the role of the park as a

space in which communal activities may occur; the concept of community embodied within the park; links to the people of Burnley over long periods of time; wider ideas of county or national communities. From these varied definitions and concepts of community, we can see that Waterton's (2005) work applies insofar as 'community' must be decided by the participants.

A range of comments by the participants added depth to these three themes. The comments touched on topics including the sporting or leisure activities the participants engaged with; notable architectural, landscape or environmental features of the park; the ways in which the participants perceived the park through the variety of our senses. Some of the more material and tangible aspects of the park began to emerge. For example, different participants expressed the importance of 'history', 'rivers' or 'trees' with reference to various specific features of the park. This ties in with our embodied experience of space and place. As Dudley (2010) identifies, materiality is an important aspect of heritage, and Smith (2006) and Tilley (1994) further identify the importance of phenomenological experience in the use and creation of cultural meaning.

There were also 'affective' meanings of the park expressed through the interviews. This was evident from the reactions of the participants more generally, since they expressed emotional responses or connection to the park. More specifically, however, the participants spoke of tensions and value judgements which addressed, for example, the different groups making use of the park and the different ways that others may use the park space. The importance of human emotion in constructing heritage meaning has been noted by Bagnall (2003) and Smith & Campbell (2015). The interviews were narratives between people (myself and each participant) and these narratives represented perceptions of the park and engagements with the park from emotional/human perspectives.

To interpret this data for digital representation I incorporated approaches by Nicks (2002) and Bianchi (2006), focusing on the development of a thematic framework in much the same way as a museum exhibition would be designed.

The interrelation of the themes became evident to me through the process of designing

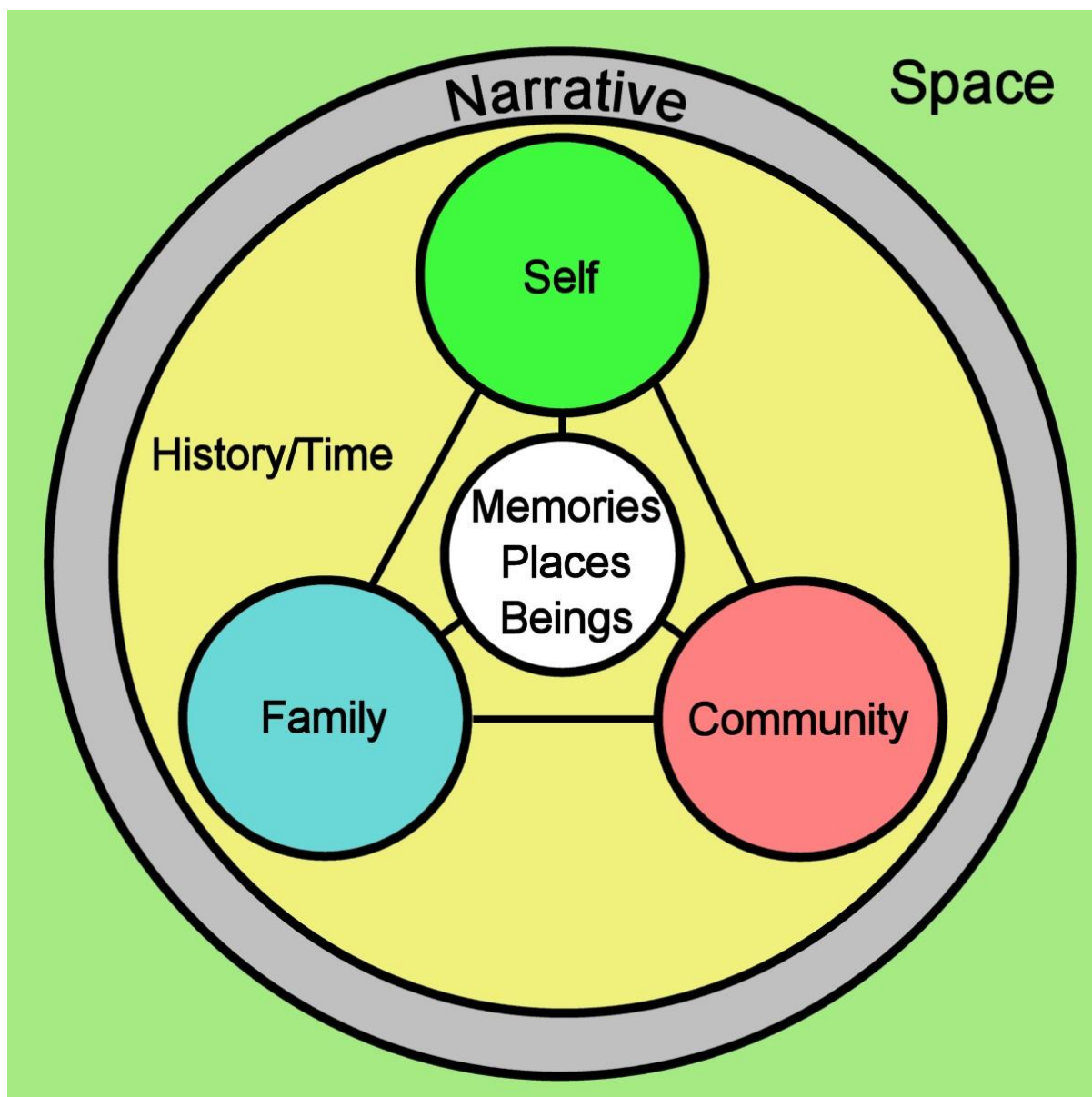


Figure 7: Thematic Framework of Towneley Park Heritage Meanings

Digital Towneley, but also from my direct communication with the participants as the project progressed. The ways that the participants associated memories with spaces in the park (Nora 1989) and how they developed and informed those memories through their own heritage performances within those spaces (Smith 2006) demonstrated an interconnection of meanings. These themes were connected to the wider contexts of history and time that the participants perceived in the park – this included affective personal histories as well as more traditional historical narratives and notions of linear time. In response to this I adopted Nicks’ notion of a *contextual thematic framework* as a way of “organising themes and topics within a single superstructure that provides an overall context” (2002: 363). The continued

importance of narrative and space as aspects of the meanings of the park provided an 'overall context' for the thematic framework.

The resulting framework (Figure 7) is a combined result of the data itself and the process of developing *Digital Towneley*. It is important to note that, although the surrounding 'space' category and subsequent series of rings imply a hierarchy of themes, there is no hierarchy. The categories identified in the diagram should be considered as interpermeable and related because this was what was found from the data. The emergence of this framework correlates well with alternatives to traditional hierarchical structures demonstrated through the rhizome (Deleuze & Guattari 2013) and the self-defining model of Bourdieu's habitus (1993).

Ultimately, this thematic framework functioned as the structure of Digital Towneley. In addition, it was useful as a foundation from which to develop further analysis of the data that I discuss in the following chapters.

3.3.10: Narrative analysis

The narratives that I incorporated into Digital Towneley were influenced by the ways in which the participants communicated and used the park space. From my reading of Tilley (1994) I had been open to the potential for spatial narratives to form part of the methodology for this project. Indeed, as the story-based nature of the participant communications became clear through the research process, so did the relevance of a narrative analytical approach. As such, I was influenced by Riessman's (2008) approach to narrative analysis, which identifies that 'texts' may vary widely from interview transcripts to poetry and visual sources. I was therefore able to interrogate various aspects of the data in terms of narrative analysis; for example, photographs provided narratives of space, interviews provided personal narratives and participants performed narratives of space during the field trips.

Herman and Vervaeck (2005) look at narrative analysis from a literary perspective. They identify the role of sentence structure in determining the agency of the character and thus the potential for interviewees to distance themselves or associate themselves with the

actions, or with other characters, in their stories. Moreover, they identify the agency of the reader whose interpretation through the process of reading (or otherwise taking in) the story is crucial to the creation of its meaning. Riessman (2008) explains through the use of examples how narrative analysis need not be literary in focus. Depending on the aims of the research, she explains, the content may be important or the form may be important. Riessman resists offering a set of guidance procedures for carrying out narrative analysis, emphasising that there are too many factors at play (referring to both academic disciplines and the 'texts' to be considered) for any standardisation.

Fraser (2004) establishes that a narrative approach is "able to authorise the stories that 'ordinary' people tell" (2004: 181). The result, Fraser argues, is that the professional approaches of social workers may be democratised by making them accessible to the interviewees. She explores further some of the implications of this sort of constructivist approach by referring to scholars who wonder whether the constructivistic turn of the 1990s is based on a desire for escapism. In this context, critics of constructivism argue that it is used to escape from a social degradation. There are correlations here with the heritage industry; resonating with Hewison's (1987) arguments that heritage is a constructivist escapism from a declining British society. Fraser's response is to argue that constructivist approaches like narrative analysis are only escapist if they do not engage with social realities or if they deny social realities. In many ways, this approach mirrors Smith's (2006) standpoint that the Authorised Heritage Discourse is not a universal reality; in heritage contexts, constructivist and subjective approaches which engage with the everyday person's point of view help to prevent the authorised heritage discourse from distorting heritage meanings through mediation.

It is for these reasons that narrative analysis was a relevant and useful tool to deploy for this research project. As identified by Fraser (2004), the potential for narrative approaches to demystify the professional in a research context means that my role in the research project may have appeared less intimidating to the participants. Stephens (2014) adopts a narrative analytical approach because it provides a better chance of identifying the meanings specific to a local community rather than those identified by heritage professionals. Consequently, I argue that the use of narrative analysis in this project has helped to identify the participants'

reactions to Digital Towneley in terms of their own local voices. In turn, this has meant that the impact of Digital Towneley could be assessed based both on the perspectives of the participants and on the agendas of the heritage industry.

Riessman (2008) discusses the effect of discursive approaches to interviewing versus discrete open or closed questions. Although my own interview approach involved some prepared questions in order to prompt conversation, my aim of a mutually constructed discursive account of the park through an open ended interview correlates well with Riessman's. This approach is potentially more equitable as an interview process (Riessman 2008) and links well to Smith's (2006) notion of heritage being constructed through use. The co-construction of a narrative account of the park is akin to the creation of heritage between myself and the participants. For Riessman, such an interview approach may be fruitfully explored through the application of narrative analysis and, in line with this, narrative analysis has been a fruitful analytical tool for my research.

In heritage studies, narrative analysis has been adopted as a means of exploring the meanings of heritage places and objects. For Schorch (2014), narrative interrogation has the potential to gain insight into some of the meanings which we express through lived experience. He identifies that 'some meanings remain feelings without further linguistic expression', for example the term 'mountain feeling' as the abstraction of our knowledge and experience of a mountain (Schorch 2014: 26). Expressions like these, which do not necessarily attempt to describe the meanings behind heritage places, seem almost to admit to the ineffability of space and place experiences. We use language to bring landscape into heterogeneous context for others (Tilley 1994) just as language itself provides us all with a common ground from which to approach reality (Wittgenstein 2001). Narrative approaches to the creative expression of landscape are commonly taken (Foley 1974; Shepherd 2008; Tallack 2015) and Schorch's use of narrative analysis highlights the relevance of the technique for the excavation of meaning from people's experiences of place. Such narrative approaches are relevant to the heritage focus of my research project with participants communicating their experience of the park through a variety of story content. Schorch's identification of 'mountain feeling' is analogous to the amorphous sense of Towneley Park as a whole that the participants expressed. We can see, therefore, how narrative analysis was

useful in decoding some of the affective signs within participant stories of Towneley Park.

Stephens (2014) explores the use of narrative in a heritage context and extends this to the possibility of spatial narratives from the use of landscape and architecture. His interviewees reveal a variety of feelings about an abandoned building, ranging from its effect on their emotions to thoughts about the future. Stephens identifies narrative as one potential way of 'understanding the cultural significance of a place' (2014: 429).

This notion of narrative being applicable beyond the use of written or spoken language is also covered by Tilley (1994) who describes our use of space and the creation of notions of place and landscape. For Tilley, the use of space is analogous to a narrative, with the areas revealing or unfolding themselves through the process of movement through space; much like the way a story is revealed in the telling. In this way Tilley links the use of space to a 'speech act' (1994: 28). Similarly, Michel de Certeau (1988) suggests that we may express 'turns of phrase' in our movement as we walk through the city space (see also Lynch 1960). During my interviews and field trips with participants, it became clear that place names were important for the users of Towneley Park. The participants would refer to specific areas of the park and specific names were important for some (e.g. P1 and P6) because they felt that the names gave people a common frame of reference for communicating about the park (see chapter 6.3).

Wittgenstein (2001) argues that our realities and the meanings we apply to them are structured depending on our language. While this may work individually, we must also share some element of language with others in order to comprehend at least parts of the same reality. The participants in this research project share aspects of spatial or spoken language in terms of Towneley Park. Tilley makes it clear that landscape must be 'talked about, recounted, or written and depicted' (1994: 31) in order to convey some of its meanings to others. Names are common ways of including places in our cultural narratives, but the stories we tell may also reference wider narratives. In this way particular places can behave as symbols for cultural stories or events.

It is with these approaches in mind that narrative analysis may be seen as a lens through

which to usefully explore the meanings found in the performance of the Towneley Park space in terms of spatial, linguistic and visual narratives.

Some drawbacks to narrative analysis are, firstly, that participants may be reticent to discuss meanings in a narrative format. As Riessman explains, this can occur when “events may be fleetingly summarized [and] given little significance” (2008: 25). I experienced reticence from some of my participants, but I found that the first interview seemed to function as an ice breaker which helped to make the participants feel more at ease during the visit around the park²⁵.

A second drawback to narrative analysis is that the participants may wish to express themselves in a narrative way, but that the method may not be available. For example, Riessman (2008) describes how participants may not wish to narrate linguistically, but instead be more comfortable with art or drama practice. As far as was possible, I made it clear to the participants in my research that any form of meaning expression would be appropriate for the project. Nonetheless, not all avenues of creative expression were practicable and so I may have missed out on some meanings which participants would have preferred to express in alternative formats.

3.4: Ethical Considerations

In compliance with the University of Salford Ethical Approval procedure, I carried out an assessment of the ethical implications for this research project. This outlined my intended method for recruiting participants and how I would conduct the research project in terms of engaging with people and respecting their privacy. Permission was gained from the local authority to conduct research in the park. My ethical approach, which received approval from the University of Salford’s ethics committee (Appendix B), has been guided by the “Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association”.

²⁵ What Glaser & Strauss (1967) refer to as establishing a rapport with participants.

3.5: Participant Recruitment

The aim of this research was to explore the heritage meanings of Towneley Park for park users. In addition, the project aimed to investigate the effect of translating park heritage to a digital context. Probability sampling was not necessary for this project, since the research project was not investigating the features of the population specifically. Rather, the quality of the participants as park users was the most important factor. As such, I used a non-probability sample for this research project. This was partly a convenience sample owing to my reliance on the responses to recruitment material. The sample was also purposive, as my own subjective judgement was involved in selecting the sample study. In this way, I have not intended to provide a sample that is representative of sociodemographic status. In my subjective judgement here, I have determined that the participant cohort is a representative sample of park users only insofar as they are park users (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2007).

Having chosen Towneley Park as the focus of the project, I began identifying ways to contact users of the park in November 2013. I made visits to the park to gain a broad understanding of how the park was used by visitors and I sought to identify groups or organisations whose members might be willing to participate in my research.

To recruit participants, I initially approached gatekeepers of organisations and groups related to the park and immediate area. These included Burnley Council, The Friends of Towneley Park (FOTP), religious communities and social community groups. Further contacts were made in some cases and all contacts identified were sent a copy of a recruitment leaflet outlining the initial intention of the project (Appendix C). The recruitment poster was also placed around the park itself, in a local community centre and in the local college. Further to this I handed out copies of a recruitment leaflet to visitors within the park. I chose a circuitous route within the park which had very public visibility and I ensured that my identification was visible throughout this process. I also approached some of the park's sporting groups directly by telephone.

In the end, participants were successfully recruited through a number of avenues, with the

most successful being through the FOTP (60% of participants) and the remainder recruited through approaching park users, from responses to posters and from friends and family (40% of participants) (See Table 1). Each of the participants was given a covering letter and information sheet and a consent form (Appendix C). The latter was returned to me before the interviews took place.

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| FOTP Members | 9 |
| Friends | 6 |
| Bowlers | 2 |
| Unaffiliated park users | 2 |
| Council professionals | 2 |
| Professional park users | 2 |
| Golfers | 1 |
| Footballers | 1 |

Table 1: Make up of Initial interview participants

Participants took part on a voluntary basis and each person who responded to my initial communication was provided with a participant information sheet which detailed the aims of the research at that stage and made clear what kinds of activities they could expect during the course of the project. A consent form was also provided for each participant to sign. The risk of harm or distress being caused to participants was negligible, but the consent form made it clear participants would remain anonymous throughout the research process. The consent form also made it very clear that any participant could withdraw from the project at any time without having to give a reason. These documents worked to ensure informed consent from the participants.

Audio recorded interviews and transcripts of interviews were kept in a secure location and

used only for the purposes of this research project, including publications and presentations.

While the risk of harm or offence was negligible I had nonetheless considered the importance of the park's environment as part of my project. The Friends of Towneley Park provide a code of conduct for visitors to the park and my aim had been to use this as a basis to challenge any environmentally or socially inappropriate behaviour. Further to this, a risk assessment was carried out to address potential hazards in field visit contexts. There was no intention to have unsupervised contact with minors or with vulnerable adults as part of this project and so a Disclosure Barring Service check was not necessary.

3.6: Initial interviews

Initial interviews were semi-structured insofar as they began with some ice-breaking questions and included four questions (Table 2) that were intended as prompts for the participants to talk about the park from their perspective. My interview technique was based on narrative interviewing as described by Hollway & Jefferson (2000), the key aspect of this being that the "agenda is open to development and change, depending on the narrator's experience" (2000: 31). The rationale for adopting this approach was twofold. Firstly, its link to the spatial narrative of landscape as described by Tilley (1994) suggested its relevance to communicating meanings of park landscape. Secondly, it recognises the human emotional content of stories and its link to lived experience (Hollway & Jefferson 2000) which resonates well with the affective nature of heritage (Smith & Campbell 2015; Ciolfi 2015).

- What is your earliest memory of Towneley Park?
- What would you say is the most important thing about Towneley Park?
- How would you describe the park to somebody who had never been?
- Is there anything else important about the park that you feel you haven't been able to express?

Table 2: Initial Interview Questions

Interviews were conducted with twenty-five participants during the months of February and April 2014. Where possible, I offered flexibility for the location of the interview so that the participants would feel comfortable. In some cases where I had previously met the participants, or the situation had been risk-assessed with a supervisor, the interviews were conducted in a participant's home. Most interviews were conducted in public areas. The largest portion (40%) of the interviews took place within Towneley Park café locations, while the remainder were shared between private homes (36%), the park itself (16%) a public house (4%) and a local government building (4%) (see Table 3).

As part of my aim is to facilitate the expression of heritage meanings beyond the AHD, it was necessary to establish an environment in which the participants felt safe and comfortable to talk about the park. While I did not expect to be discussing topics which would make people feel vulnerable or upset, it was nonetheless important that my approach aimed to encourage participants to be honest and feel free to express their opinions. Although I did not adopt counselling techniques for the interviews, I followed Hollway & Jefferson insofar as I aimed to listen well and reflect back, using questions and comments, a recognition of participant emotions. As Hollway & Jefferson identify, this approach can be effective in eliciting "information which goes beyond rationalisation and opinion, which conveys emotional significance" (2000: 87).

Although the participant information letter indicated that focus groups would be involved, this approach did not seem appropriate once the interviews had begun and the importance of specific participant experiences became apparent. As Brinkmann (2013) indicates, focus groups are not appropriate for descriptions of individual experiences. The interviews were therefore conducted with single individuals and pairs. There were 7 couples with whom I conducted interviews and field visits. I did not feel it was necessary to split these couples for individual contact because their use of the park as a couple was a significant element of their normal experience of Towneley. Personal interviews were therefore more likely to encourage participants to express the kinds of opinions that I was seeking to include in this research; personal, human and emotional as well as traditional heritage values.

Interviews developed naturally around the prompting questions and formed a dialogue between myself and the participants. Despite this, some participants were more comfortable speaking about the park than were others. For example, P20 showed evidence of reticence until our conversation had digressed enough times to put the participant at ease. As indicated above, the conversational nature of the interviews established a rapport between me and the participants.

| Participant | Group | Interview Location | | Participant | Group | Interview Location |
|-------------|---------|--------------------|--|-------------|------------|--------------------|
| P1 | FOTP | Participant's Home | | P14 | UPU | Café B |
| P2 | FOTP | Participant's Home | | P15 | Golfer | Café B |
| P3 | FOTP | Café A | | P16 | Bowler | Café B |
| P4 | FOTP | Participant's Home | | P17 | Bowler | Café B |
| P5 | UPU | Café B | | P18 | PPU | Offshoots |
| P6 | FOTP | Public House | | P19 | Friend | Researcher's Home |
| P7 | FOTP | Café A | | P20 | PPU | Café A |
| P8 | FOTP | Café A | | P21 | Footballer | Café B |
| P9 | FOTP | Towneley Hall | | P22 | Council | Towneley Park |
| P10 | FOTP | Towneley Hall | | P23 | Friend | Participant's Home |
| P11 | Council | Council Office | | P24 | Friend | Participant's Home |
| P12 | Public | Participant's Home | | P25 | Friend | Participant's Home |
| P13 | Public | Participant's Home | | | | |

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| UPU = Unaffiliated Park User | PPU = Professional Park User |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|

Table 3: Participant affiliations and interview locations

The context and general aim of the research was made clear to the participants through explanatory documents and consent forms which identified the original general aim of the project to explore 'natural' heritage. Nonetheless the participants expressed meanings ranging from their sensory experience of the park to opinions about parking facilities. This correlated with Andrews' (2009) discovery of an unexpected variety of meanings attached to maritime heritage in Bermuda. There were a number of reasons why natural heritage was not the focus of the interviews in many cases, such as confusion concerning terms or concepts and the personal investment and priorities of each participant. While the majority of participants at least made reference to the natural environment of the park, other heritage and leisure uses of the park predominated. It became clear to me that notions of

'Natural Heritage' were too restrictive for the purposes of this project. I became more flexible with the terms I used to define meanings of Towneley Park, tending towards 'outdoor heritage' as a general descriptor. At this stage I adopted the term "Towneley Heritage" in order to serve as a reminder that the meanings expressed by the participants involved more than 'natural heritage' and are very specific to Towneley Park.

I took written notes during each interview to aid the transcription process. These notes also allowed me to return to points made by the participants during the interview process. In the majority of cases (80%) the interviews were recorded. In other cases audio recording was either refused or impractical. In each of these instances the interview was written up as a document immediately following the interview, including as much context as could be recalled from memory and written notes. One of the interviews (P5) also involved a walk around the park, which I wrote down in my notebook and later transcribed.

3.7: Field trips

I contacted the participants during June 2014 in order to arrange visits to the park. My experience from the interviews had highlighted several practical necessities for me. First of all, as discussed above, I dismissed the idea of a group visit to the park because this would not have been the normal way that participants engaged with the park. It was also possible that conflicts between the different roles of park users would have had the potential to cause disagreement or to discourage some participants from speaking or acting freely²⁶. For example, P1's role as organiser of the FOTP might overshadow any other FOTP members. Strong personalities combined with firm convictions about the role of the park could have caused conflict during the visits themselves. Conflicting viewpoints had already been noted between, for example, the bowlers and members of the eco-garden Offshoots who had differing opinions on the most appropriate use of the original kitchen garden area. I therefore decided to visit the park with individual participants, or with couples in the cases where these existed (e.g. P1 and P2).

²⁶ Although the free nature of expression may well have been influenced by my own role as researcher, I was able here to at least partly sidestep the potential for other participants to intimidate or discourage one another.

I had been thinking about the visits and mentioned in my reflective journal that video recording as a way of capturing the engagement of participants with the park may not be the best approach:

The first field trip tomorrow has me anxious about method. Initially I had thought about using video recording to capture how people engaged with the park space. But my experience in some of the interviews showed how difficult it was to operate a recording device and take written notes at the same time [...] The visits will be with individuals or couples because this seems a more natural approach, but it therefore means that video recording would be obvious and intrusive, perhaps intimidating.

[Reflective Journal 15/06/2014]

My decision to exclude video recording was vindicated during my first visit with P6 where it was obvious that filming would have stunted our conversation.

During the visits, I took hand written notes. Although I did not take any photographs on the first visit with P6, I realised on reflection that this would after all have been unintrusive. During each of the following visits, therefore, I took pictures of park features that participants pointed out or that functioned as waypoints relevant to our discussion and journey. In the end, nineteen of the original participants responded to my request to meet in the park and so I conducted fourteen field trips with individual and paired participants (Table 4).

| Participants | | Participants |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| P1 & P2 | | P11 |
| P3 | | P15 |
| P4 | | P16 + P17 |
| P5 + P14 | | P19 |
| P6 | | P20 |
| P7 + P8 | | P21 |
| P9 | | P24 + P25 |

Table 4: Individual and coupled participants for field visits

The notes and photographs from the field trips served as a reminder of the walks and discussions. This facilitated my writing of creative accounts of the trips, which were

descriptive as well as emotive in terms of my interpretation of the field trips. These creative accounts constituted an important part of the written content for Digital Towneley, along with the excerpts from the interview transcripts. The photographs taken here, along with those I took on my solo visits to the park throughout the research project, were used to provide visual content for the digital representation.

3.8: Feedback interviews

As a final engagement I met with twelve of the participants and gained feedback through interviews about Digital Towneley and the research project more generally. I contacted the majority of the participants by email, with a link to the web app and requesting to meet for an interview. I made it clear that the web app should not be considered a 'complete' or 'finished' object. Digital Towneley could have been developed further, but it was necessary to stop in order to evaluate the project. Moreover, in terms of a co-productive approach and to maintain the potential for including the local discourses of the participants (Foucault 1980; Waterton 2005) it was important that participants felt free to express any changes that they considered may be necessary. Explaining that the web app was open to further development therefore provided a context in which the participants may have felt able still to meaningfully contribute.

Following the London Charter guidance (LC 2009: 4.4), I wanted to make clear, in terms that could be understood by the participants, what the aims of Digital Towneley were. In this way I was attempting to prepare the participants for the experience of using Digital Towneley. I was striving for the commitment cost of engaging with the web app to be as low as possible, and there was some danger that this cost would be increased if the participants had to battle against their preconceived expectations of Digital Towneley. Thus, I hoped that my email contact would set the 'tone' of the web app by making clear that it was not aiming to be an historical document. The participants could adjust their expectations if necessary.

Although I had developed relationships with the participants, the anxieties of P4 demonstrated that the participants may have felt anxious about discussing a digital representation with me. To combat this, I made it clear that I would like to discuss their

reactions to the web app, but I explained that I would also like to discuss anything about the park that they would like to raise. Although Digital Towneley had the potential to enable discussions of the park in AHD and non-AHD terms (Purkis 2017), making a digital object the focus of discussion may have been uncomfortable or alienating for some of the participants. Discussing the park was important for exploring whether Digital Towneley, or the research process more broadly, had had an impact on the participants' park perceptions, but I also hoped this topic would be familiar and provide a comfortable context for the feedback interviews.

As with the initial interviews these feedback interviews were narrative based and semi-structured (Hollway & Jefferson 2000) with some questions to address the aims of the project. At this stage in the research some significant themes had emerged and I responded to these by incorporating them into the prompting questions for the interview. In this way, I asked the participants questions to prompt conversations about how Digital Towneley, and their involvement in the research project, may or may not have changed their perspective on the park. I also asked them directly for their opinion on the software application and its content. For this I took the same kind of approach as I had done previously with the participants, asking them only what they considered to be most important in the Digital Towneley representation. The prompting questions explored concepts of space and place, perceptions of the park and also digital media generally. A full list of these questions can be found in Appendix D.

These questions were not asked in any particular order and I included them as and when it seemed appropriate as part of the conversation. I also altered the structure of the questions where necessary. For example, it was evident during the first feedback interview that the question regarding sense of place was confusing and so I endeavoured in the following interviews to be clear and use accessible language.

At the beginning of each interview I reiterated that Digital Towneley was not in a completed state and was still open to input and development from participant comments. I hoped that this would clarify the remaining potential for Digital Towneley's development and would encourage the participants to make more comments about the application. I was also

hopeful that this would lessen any anxieties participants may have had about raising negative aspects of Digital Towneley.

To each feedback interview I took a laptop which contained a copy of Digital Towneley. Where participants were willing, this allowed me to observe their use of the application directly. In two cases where participants were less willing to use the laptop (P4 and P11), I was able to manipulate or demonstrate Digital Towneley to aid the conversation. In all interviews, the copy of Digital Towneley was also useful as a way, both for participants and myself, to clearly refer to specific features of the application.

During each interview, I made notes using pen and paper which recorded physical reactions and gestures during the use of Digital Towneley (or reactions more generally in the cases of P4 and P11). These reactions and gestures offered insight into how participants felt about Digital Towneley as well as the various modes (multimodal ensembles) they employed during the context of the interview (Jewitt 2013a). I audio recorded these interviews with the exception of P12 & P13 where a technical error caused a failed recording. In this latter instance, I wrote down the interview from my hand-written notes on the following day.

3.9: Transcription

The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed by myself. In cases where there was technical failure (e.g. recording equipment stopped), I detailed unrecorded exchanges at the end of the transcripts. The transcription process was aided by the written notes which I had taken during the interview process.

Where the initial interviews and the feedback interviews were audio recorded, I transcribed these into text files. This transcription process requires brief acknowledgement because these transcripts do not provide full records of the face-to-face communication in the interviews themselves, nor does their text record the entirety of the spoken content (Riessman 2008). In an attempt to address this, I have conceived the interviews as co-created narratives. As such, the transcripts include my own side of the conversations as well as the participants'. This is an important aspect of the interview process for this project because the

representation of the interviews as co-created conversations allows the interviewees to be identified as 'active research participants' (Riessman 2008: 32).

In the transcripts, I have also noted the location and provided descriptions of how the participants have moved within the interview location (e.g. walking or gesturing). This information is important because it works towards the aims of this project insofar as it acknowledges the phenomenological aspects of the interviews. Their inclusion has, for example, allowed me to keep in mind the relevance of a participant's gestures during the conversation.

The visits to the park were transcribed differently. Following each visit, I wrote a narrative account using my written notes and the photographs I had taken as memory prompts. The process proved quite effective, with the photographs acting as a kind of storyboard for each journey. This had a similar effect to the memory palace methods mentioned by Hooper-Greenhill (1992), which meant that the images helped recall movement through the park, but also the topics discussed. An example of a photographic record is provided in Appendix E.

3.10: Data Analysis

The first stage of data analysis was the transcription of the interviews and field visits (Schorch 2014). The process of transcription gave me the opportunity to re-experience my communication with the participants. This resulted in the identification of emerging themes as shown in Figure 8.

The result of this inductive coding (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2007) was then combined with meaning condensation (Kvale 1996) to produce simplified sections of the transcripts. This was useful in two ways. Firstly, I was able to compare common themes across the interviews and field visits. Secondly, I was able to tabulate these themes using a basic spreadsheet and produce some quantitative data, which helped me to establish popular themes and features of the park expressed by the participants. This thematic coding ran across a spectrum of activity that included thoughts, feelings and memories, but also the various senses of sight, hearing and touch. Jewitt (2013a) identifies a link between the choice



Figure 8: Emerging themes from transcription process

of modes and the making of meaning. It is through paying attention to these modes that we may be able to deconstruct a visitor or user experience (Roppola 2012). This theme of multimodality links well to the observations of de Certeau (1988), Merleau-Ponty (2014) and the landscape and narrative approaches of Tilley (1994), Riessman (2008) and Massey (2012). Consequently, I engaged in a multi-modal thematic analysis of the interview and field visit transcripts.

I was able to input the themes into an open source data analysis software (QDAMiner), allowing me to overlay the themes with the transcripts (Figure 9). In this way I was able to perform narrative analysis by identifying relevant sections as shorter or longer 'stories' (Riessman 2008; Schorch 2014). I was also able to employ discourse analysis to examine how the participants' discussions linked to wider concepts of social and cultural power (Foucault 1980).

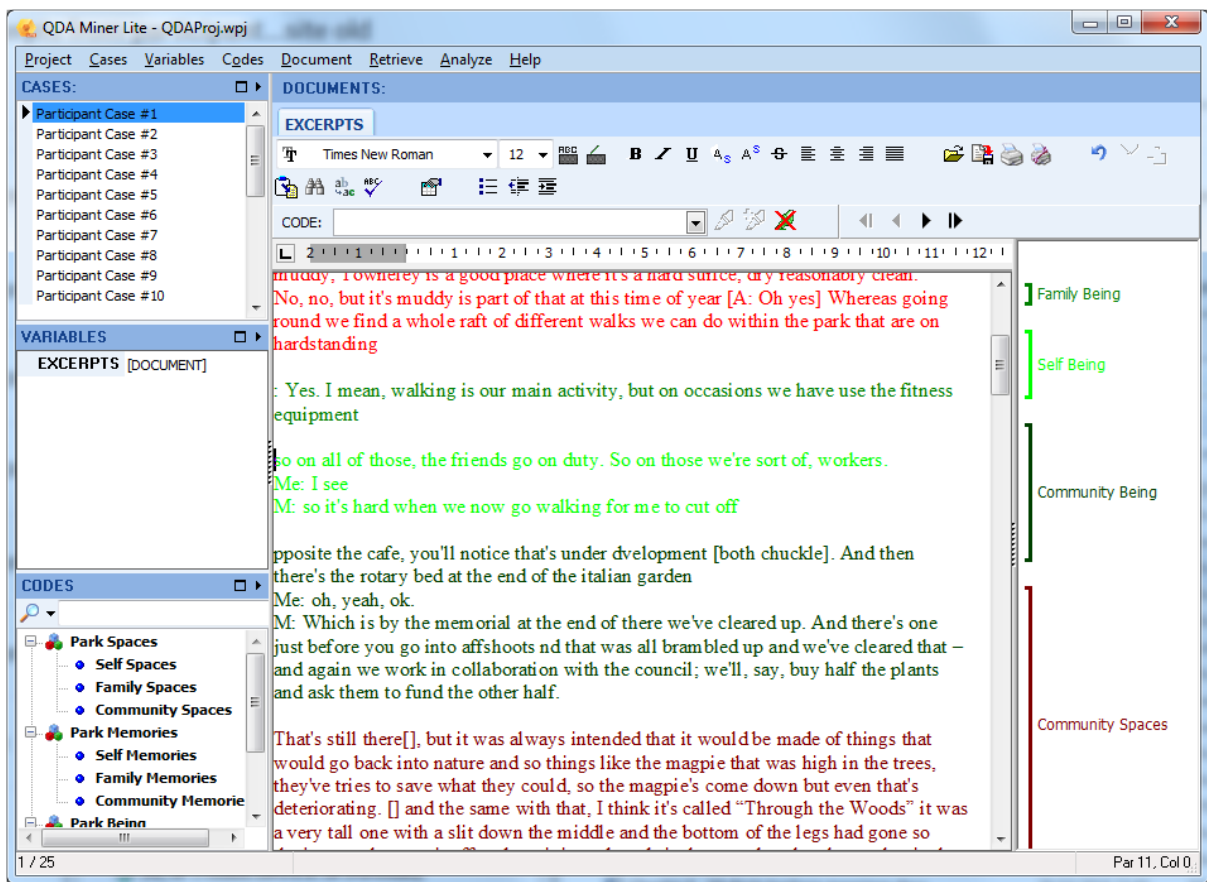


Figure 9: QDA Miner and thematic overlay on initial interview

At this stage, the development of Digital Towneley also functioned as an analytical process. Key among that process was the development of the thematic framework which formed the core meanings for the digital representation. Although reductionist, developing this thematic framework was a way of categorising the meanings that the participants felt were connected to their use of the park space.

Finally, for the feedback interview transcripts I returned to a multi-modal thematic analysis. This involved the coding of participant responses in themes linked to their narrative content as well as their body language and reference to the senses. As such, I was able to link to the thematic analysis of the interview and field visit transcripts and draw conclusions about the effect of Digital Towneley and the participants' experiences of the research process.

3.11: Summary

The qualitative methods adopted in this research project have allowed me to embrace the multiple nature of Towneley Park heritage, as experienced by the participants. Key to this has been (i) adopting theory and approaches which provided the participants with the freedom to communicate their own perspectives, and (ii) providing me with the research tools to recognise and record those perspectives.

I have been able to acknowledge the agency of the participants and their own identification as part of, or separate from, a community (Waterton 2005). Although discourse analysis has the potential to overlook the agency of the participants, I have addressed this through analytic bracketing. In this way, my reflective journal and park visits with the participants have helped me to contextualise the research data in both theoretical and everyday life contexts. Importantly, I have borrowed from the Leskernick project also to provide scope for recognising the phenomenological and lived experiences of the participants in the park space. This aspect of the methodology is key to forming concepts of outdoor heritage meanings at Towneley Park. In addition, this methodological approach helps to break new ground by developing our understanding of the link between the digital and outdoor heritage. As Kidd (2017) argues, human-computer interaction is rarely explored with 'outdoor heritage', and embodiment in terms of 'empathy' is also wanting in the literature. The potential for creative digital heritage representation is clear; it may engage with affect and it may enable more complex discourse around heritage topics. It is on this basis that I incorporated creative practice as part of this research methodology, as it worked towards the aims of illuminating the variety of heritage meanings within Towneley Park. Furthermore, my own creative practice during the research project helped me to connect with the park from a perspective similar to that of the participants; i.e. it enabled or enhanced my ability to empathise with their experiences of the park and therefore insightfully interpret their Towneley heritage for the digital object.

By adopting a narrative approach to the analysis, I was able to identify everyday elements to the Towneley Park experiences of the participants. This was owing to the identification of stories that were personal and relevant to each participant. Additionally, this narrative

approach helped me to recognise abstract concepts that were inherent elements of the participants' experience and construction of a Towneley habitus.

My thematic analysis was informed by this narrative approach, since the participant narratives communicated themes that were often multiple and varied. This variety was linked to the phenomenological element of park experience and the different modes in which we perform in, consume or perceive the park space. As such, I may describe my approach here as a multimodal thematic analysis.

Chapter 4: The Multiple Heritage Narratives of Towneley

4.1: Introduction

This chapter explores the findings from the initial interviews, field visits and the feedback interviews to put forward the case for the multiple heritage narratives associated with Towneley Park and the multiple heritage narratives held by individual participants. Traditional histories and Authorised Heritage Discourses are one type of heritage enabled at Towneley by association with the historical events of the eliticised and the monolithic structure of Towneley Hall. But there is much more going on. This chapter explores some of the different heritage narratives that were told and retold from the participants' points of view and helps to highlight the relevance of everyday participant histories. The chapter explores how the participant narratives can reveal how meanings are formed, maintained or threatened for park users. The analysis also demonstrates how AHD and non-AHD may cohabit in the same heritage site.

4.2: Traditional Histories

Approaches to history and attempts to distinguish it from other ways of aiming to understand the past are hotly contested (Lowenthal 1998; Hewison 1989; Carr 1985). The term is loaded, implying an epistemology which for some is objective (Lowenthal 1998) and for others compounds a social power inequality (Bourdieu 1986; Foucault 1980; Samuel 2012). Many of the participant observations relating to the past of Towneley Park have involved features or topics which are strongly associated with what might be regarded as the traditional epistemology of history. For example, Towneley Hall itself is strongly associated with its architectural history as well as with the history of the Towneley family. Parts of the history of the park are linked to documentation and archives, which forms part of the jargonistic language of professional academic historical study (Samuel 2012). The park and hall itself fit stylistically and symbolically with the idea of the stately home which has

become, through the development of a heritage industry, synonymous with notions of Britishness and history (Hewison 1989) and forming part of an Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith 2006).

Here I will focus on traditional notions of history and historical narrative, while the later sections of this chapter will address the everyday as history and heritage (the non-traditional). Traditional histories are those which are formed as a process of established academic historical language and epistemology – exclusive jargon as Samuel would put it (2012). A strong element of historical narrative comes through from my interview with P11, who discusses the layers of history in the park and how the park is linked to the history of Burnley:

I think the history of the place is important and linking the history of the place to the present day is important. It's all relevant, I think, to how the park is now and I think the layers of history, you know, if you look around knowing the history of the park, you can see everything from pre-Charles Towneley right through to municipal 1902 to now; you can see how the place evolved into a country estate and from a country estate into an urban park and I think it's really important to maintain that for people to see it. It's just living history really.

[P11 Initial Interview: 60-7]

For P11, the historical qualities of the park are important, offering for him romantic notions of nostalgic pasts [P11 Initial Interview: 83] and he recounts some of its history:

If you cast your mind back [...] couple of hundred years ago Burnley wasn't like it is now. Towneley would have been literally a country estate and its only because the town has grown closer that it's now on the edge of the town centre really rather than a country estate and Cliviger's grown as well of course with Thanet Lee Close so it is now municipal; it is urban rather than rural as it would have been 200 years ago [...] if you look at for example Burnley Wood is called Burnley wood for a reason presumably there was a wood there and it was part of the estate in the wider sense of the word, and then obviously the trees were felled, houses were built and the industrial revolution came along [...] I think from 1902 onwards [...] having a public park like Towneley at the time it was really socially important that was a real escape for people

[P11 Initial Interview: 111-5]

We can see from P11's discussion that the historical stories of Towneley are important, but it is also worth noting that he uses a narrative style which is chronological in nature. As Reissman (2009) identifies, we are taught ways of constructing narrative and here P11 has

chosen a historical narrative which has much in common with traditional linear history. He sets a starting date of 200 years ago and tells a story of the development of Towneley Park which offers a characterisation of an industrialised landscape and people. While in many ways we may view this as a form of othering of past cultures (Said 1993; Hodder 1986), P11 moves on to say that he feels the park '*continues to be [important], I think, for people on low incomes in this area*' [P11 Initial Interview: 125]. From this we can see that the historical narrative is being used to legitimise the park's continued use. P11 makes clear that there is an historical sequence of events which has resulted in the park being transformed over the years. Whereas P11 uses a chronological narrative, the use of the park space is nonetheless a very important aspect of the park. His narrative recounts the role it plays as a leisure location for families in the past and present; it seems apparent that, for P11, the park's history is a process that continues today. As such, P11's point of view mirrors Smith's (2006) approach to heritage by focusing on the use of the park as a defining quality.

This historical point of view is expressed further during our visit to the park. Sitting on Foldys Cross, P11 pointed out the view he enjoyed from the monument that allows him "quiet contemplation" [P11 Field Visit: 14]. It is the view of the hall which offers a strong-enough AHD landscape image of a stately home that for P11 : "it doesn't feel like you're in east Lancashire when doing that, it reminds me of a country estate in Buckinghamshire or something" [P11 Initial Interview: 89]. P5 and P14 discuss the same reaction to the view during our visit [P5 & P14 Field Visit: 133-5]. In this way, the park seems to act as a museum for some of the participants with Towneley Hall functioning as part of an exhibition, acting as a symbol of traditional heritage. It is worth pointing out here how P11 expresses a feeling of being in an alternative place to East Lancashire. Following Foucault (1986, 1998; also Hetherington 2011), the hall within the park functions as a disruption to the normal social realm because it symbolises the wealth of an elitised group and a time gone by. The hall and the park land around it originate from the wealth and agency of an aristocratic family. The park and its hall represent land ownership of the elitised, something which is embodied in an 18th Century Turner painting of the park (Figure 10) (Wells 2011). The combination of viewpoint, hall and associated histories generate a heterotopic effect and an emplacement charged with AHD meanings for P11. As Hetherington (2011) would argue, these factors together form a diagram that enables a discourse about the park in terms of

AHD and traditional histories.



Figure 10: Towneley Hall 1799 [Source: Turner 2009]

This traditional historical narrative approach is reinforced by P11 as they invoke the authority of established artists like Turner, using Elgar and Constable as cultural reference points in the construction of his park meanings:

“There are no houses,” he explains, “it’s just countryside, and it makes me think of the Hay Wain – is it Turner? Or Constable? I can imagine Elgar looking out at [the landscape] and writing a symphony.”

[P11 Field Visit: 29-31]

These references to culture are linked to traditional notions of British culture, which perpetuate patriarchal and elitised landscape values (Wells 2011) and support an arbitrary elitised cultural valuation system (Bourdieu 1993). This value is echoed by P14 who considers the construction of wind turbines on the horizon as a destruction of the landscape [P14 Field Visit: 91-2].

One of the participants referred to the park's general aspect and its function historically:

I'd say for myself that there's that sense of Englishness or Britishness that you can see in the park with the love of nature, the regard for history, of people promenading and so on; it's part of that continuum whereby we see [a] sort of responsible, sort of civilised behaviour which keeps you in touch with your own environment and the good things about life
[P7 Initial Interview: 309-13]

P7 makes a clear link to values of nationalism and his narrative recalls a vision of park use that fits with the early twentieth century. His language has colonial undertones with the use of the words “promenading” and “civilised behaviour”. P5 and P14 identify the past uses of the park in similar terms, partly lamenting the loss of a sense of order and behaviour in times gone by. At the end of our visit, the Italian Garden near the Hall prompted P3 to compare the park to Chatsworth House, which would gratify the gardener whose manager uses Chatsworth House as a yardstick. In several ways, the meanings and associations here are linked to AHD. The comparison with stately homes like Chatsworth House resonate with heritage meanings identified by Smith (2006) and Hewison (1989). Further, landscape and order are notions that fit well with the idea of the park as museum which must tame the wild (Gobster 2007). There is the imposition of order over chaos which may be linked to the positivistic epistemologies of the enlightenment that predominate and underpin contemporary social structures of capitalism and neoliberalism; we may analogise this to Bourdieu's (1993) notion that established systems of education perpetuate cultural values and structures of power. In this way, some of the meanings expressed by participants are a rejection of non-western and subaltern histories or cultural practices – e.g. the ‘uncivilised’ and ‘unordered’ use of the park by young people and the general public whose behaviour and value systems do not ally with the elicited groups who are associated with places like Towneley Park.

Further examples of historical narrative were offered by P4 when he discussed being involved in archaeological digs in the park. This topic was raised again during our visit to the park, when P4 pointed out the historical relevance of various parts of the park. For example, he mentioned a chapel that remained undiscovered despite archaeological digs in the park and he identified the route of the leet which used to feed Towneley Hall's brew house. Here, P4 is using language from established epistemological approaches (Samuel 2012) in a similar way to P11. However, it is notable that neither P4 nor P11 discuss historical values of the

park exclusively in terms of historical narrative. During the field visit, P4 articulated his knowledge of the dam near Boggart Bridge by moving around the bridge as though to pull knowledge from his performance in that space. In this way, he was engaging with historical knowledge through a process of spatial narrative (de Certeau 1988; Tilley 1994). At the end of P11's field visit, the participant explained how he felt that people focused too much on the hall as the important part of the park and that the natural elements of the park have many other exciting things to offer [P11 Field Visit: 41-4]. The approaches of the two participants here mirror the notions that heritage spaces are not singular entities and that engaging with our environment involves multiple subjectivities (Dwyer, Schroeder & Gobster 1991; Schroeder 1996; Bandura 2001; Harvey & Riley 2005). The park is not monumental. Immediately afterwards, however, I note how P11 qualifies his statement:

However, he is careful to conclude his thought: "The hall is important to me, I guess, as a focal point." I get the feeling that he doesn't want to appear to be against the hall"

[P11 Field Visit: 45-7]

P11's status as a Council employee appears to be a factor in what he feels he can say. He may, after all, feel the need to justify his own role as it is linked to the public use of the park.

The public use of the park itself is linked to the history of the park and the story of Lady O'Hagan selling the grounds of Towneley to Burnley council in 1901. During the interviews, P4 [P4 Initial Interview: 356-8], P6 [P6 Initial Interview: 69-71] and P18 [P18 Initial Interview: 71-4] each mention the historical event of the sale of the park as a basis for its current communal use. As a member of the aristocratic Towneley family, the character of Lady O'Hagan allows the participants to frame the public use of the park in terms of an authorised heritage discourse. P4, P6 and P18 each engage in a narrative about the democratisation of access to the park space, which is underpinned and legitimised by the almost legendary story of Towneley Park's sale. This traditional history of the park is used by the participants to authenticate the park's role as a space for the people in terms of democratised access to sport [P4 Initial Interview], a symbol of free access and changing social power balances [P6 Initial Interview] and the access to nature and sustainable living for the benefit of the wider community [P18 Initial Interview]. The interviews seem to demonstrate the participants'

awareness of the park's role as part of an ongoing process of change (Smith 2006), from elite to municipal and from closed to open.

However, there is evidence that the participants engage in a nuanced view of the park. An awareness of the park undergoing processes of change suggests that they are aware of the many ways in which the park's meanings may be influenced. As such, Bourdieu's habitus (1977) works well as a model for the participants' own perceptions of the park. They are aware that traditional historical narratives have an impact on the role of the park, it influences their perception of the park even as they engage with the park space on their own terms.

In many cases, participants supported this valuing of traditional histories with narratives that broadly engaged with notions of history or age. As one participant put it, the park is interesting to them because '*it's been there so long*' [P23 Initial Interview: 104]. For these participants the age of the park alone, or parts of it, is impressive or notable:

We stop first at the boulder by the hall. He asks me if I know anything about the boulder and I say that I do not. He tells me that it comes from Read or Higham (nearby towns) and was dropped there by glacial activity many thousands of years ago.

[P4 Field Visit: 8-11]

one of the things is the fact that it's been continually owned by the Towneleys since fifteen-something [...] it's the continuity of it; the Towneleys owned it 400 years ago and we're still in touch with the Towneleys now

[P5 Initial Interview: 145-50]

"She mentions the old oak tree, commenting on its age and how it was planted when Guy Fawkes was plotting to blow up the houses of parliament. She is impressed with this link to the past."

[P20 Initial Interview: 61-3]

No, it is the history really though i'n't it, even though you might not read into it much it's nice to think "this has been here a long time" and just understanding that somebody looks after it the way they do and that it's been there so long, just that really i'n't it?

[P23 Initial Interview: 102-5]

These viewpoints about history indicate a belief that history is important in and of itself.

These qualities of history seem to be associated with the Authorised Heritage Discourse and, as such, they express very similar meanings to P11's more detailed understanding of the park's history. As we will see below, participants are well aware of how the more recent history of the park is related to their own personal or family histories. However, understandings of the park's history over a longer period rely on notable events. Thus the past tends to be punctuated by notable events that relate to the elicited members of past society (Carr 1985; Samuel 2012; Smith 2006). This is demonstrated by P5 whose comments refer to the Towneleys as the common factor over the last four-hundred years of the park. P20's association of the tree with the past is linked to the AHD of the gunpowder plot, which is of course notable owing to its association with the attempted assassination of King James I and parliament (itself linked to an AHD cultural practice which underpins notions of British nationality and religion); an event which the tree did not witness or have any proximity to. Similarly, during P22's interview, the trees lining the driveway in the park were identified as honouring the soldiers of the Crimean War. P23's very abstract observation of the park's history further demonstrates the importance of links to the past even if they are not associated with anything specific. This non-specific notion of 'time' bringing value to something is also expressed in P4's awe at the glacial boulder and during the field visit with P20 the age of the trees alone is seen as significant as she wondered aloud "think about what they've seen" [P20 Field Visit: 63].

During the interview, P7 refers to even older notions of history in terms of the millions of years as he talks about his concerns for the pollution of crisp packets and plastic drinks bottles [P7 Initial Interview: 171-6]. These perceptions of the park's longer history resonate with Harrison & O'Donnell's (2010) descriptions of 'wilderness' and 'nature' that require the absence of people (see also Tallack 2015). P4, P7 and P20 seem to be referring to a form of knowledge which transcends humankind because they refer to the timelessness of the landscape whether in terms of its past or its future. P20 seems to anthropomorphise the trees as observers of human society. These notions stem in part from geological knowledge of the ice age and the age of the Earth as well as knowledge of the age of trees, but they are also emotional and spiritual reactions which demonstrate the multiple ways in which historical meaning may accrue for people and places. This mixture of positivistic (Massey 2012) and constructivistic (Shepherd 2008; Bender 2006; Cheape, Garden & McLean 2009)

meaning-making is reflected in the literature.

Experiencing the park's past as authentic resonates with Eco's (1996) exploration of notions of authenticity and hyperreality. For P23 the park is a sign for the past, while for P20 and P22 the trees in the park are signs of the past legitimised by association with specific historical narratives (e.g. Gunpowder Plot, Crimean War or geological narratives). The signs (hall/trees) themselves have history because they are centuries old, but the participants articulate their age by associating them with Authorised Heritage Discourses. This is similar to how a waxwork of *The Last Supper* can become an authentic Da Vinci experience through the association of a Da Vinci narrative (Eco 1996).

The authentic is fetishised and the participants are seeking an authentic historical experience. As Eco identifies, the participants may well be experiencing authentic history since they are able to construct their own historical meanings. The data across this research identifies that communicating park meanings through the interviews appears to privilege the idea of traditional AHD histories over other qualities of the park. By contrast, during the field visits to the park the participants more often discussed everyday heritage meanings and personal histories.

The authorised heritage discourses presented themselves in a number of ways during the Digital Towneley feedback interviews. Three of the participants (P7, P11 and P12) specifically wanted more 'historical' content within the web app which would have taken the form of traditional historical narratives. This was summed up best by P11:

I'd like more information on the history of the park and the history of the park on a wider sort of more national level and what the Towneleys have done outside the park and how the park is connected to that

[P11 Feedback Interview: 45-7]

P11 provided the strongest support of authorised heritage discourse, which is consistent across the interviews. In the strongest terms of all of the participants, P11 expresses the desire for authorised traditional historical narrative. Along with this, his responses clearly show that he values his own opinions and experience over those of the participants (see

Chapter 4.2 on Authority). In the case of Towneley Park, the traditional narrative that P11 is referring to is specifically the narrative of eliticised families in a grand historical context; the Towneley family's role in the English Civil War and their later support for Bonnie Prince Charlie. Indeed, as we saw above the earlier interview and field visit saw P11 describe the view within and beyond Towneley in terms of traditional cultural producers like Elgar and Constable.

It would be unfair, however, to categorise P11's historical interest as explicitly focused on the eliticised, since during his initial interview he highlighted the stories of the working classes of industrial Burnley. Nonetheless, the historical narrative form is important to P11, and in response to Digital Towneley he seems to contrast this form against the everyday narratives of the participants. This is compounded by P11's assessment of social media as having unremarkable and banal content [P11 Feedback Interview: 152-4]. The perceived triviality both of social media and the participants' concerns over litter in the park suggest that P11 values the Digital Towneley narratives in the same way that he values social media narratives. P11's viewpoint appears to support Hewison's earlier (1987) perception of the heritage industry as a distraction from real history, echoed also by Lowenthal (1998). P11's opinions, then, appear to align with those of Hewison (2014) by rating the participant narratives as worth less than traditional historical narratives.

4.3: The Phenomenology of History

Linked to these feelings about the history of the park are the participants' sensuous experiences of the park. The participants demonstrated the various ways in which the senses were involved as part of understanding the park and performing heritage in it. This section explores some of the ways that traditional histories within the park were visually perceived by the participants. Visually, the stately home aspect of Towneley Hall brings it in line with other popular stately home tourist destinations often exemplified by National Trust properties. In this way, Towneley Hall fits well into the tropes criticised by Hewison (1989) and Smith (2006). From their points of view, the hall would represent and valorise the lifestyles of an eliticised few, denying the importance of everyday architecture and the

agency of everyday people. Furthermore, the function of the hall as a museum and art gallery correlates with Hooper-Greenhill's (2004) identification of monolithic buildings with museums; possibly creating barriers to heritage access. As Bourdieu (1986) argues, the appreciation of the museum and also the outlook of museum buildings are social constructs which serve to perpetuate the hierarchical system of cultural capital. The hall is thus a sign for traditional historical narrative.

However, the participants are quite aware of these meanings and are able to form their own interpretations. P6 perceives the hall and park as a symbol of the overthrow of the elite and a move towards socialisation more generally, while P18 and P4 also demonstrate high awareness of symbolism in the park:

[the park] once belonged to the elite but now belongs to everybody - it's an important symbol in that respect I think.

[P6 Initial interview: 69-71]

the residents of Burnley are proud of the association of Burnley with an aristocratic family and that there is still such a family associated with it. There is a degree of inverse snobbery there

[P18 Initial interview: 99-101]

it doesn't worry me that it's an upper class building. I'm all into that, I mean, member of the National Trust, I been in I think every National Trust property there is

[P4 Initial interview: 226-8]

The overall reaction to the visual historical qualities of the park, however, is romantic:

I like standing at Foldys Cross, I love Foldys Cross and I like to stand and look down lime avenue at the hall [...] that feels very much like a country estate, it doesn't feel like you're in east Lancashire when doing that, it reminds me of a country estate in Buckinghamshire or something, you know

[P11 Initial Interview: 80-9]

“P15 also mentioned after the recording that she liked to imagine the coach and horses that would have been in the park years ago”

[P15 Initial Interview: 261-2]

When I see that view I always imagine the horse and carriages coming up that would have been here in the beginning when the hall was first occupied

[P16 Initial Interview: 147-8]

when you're looking down at the hall from that point of view you can perhaps envision it as it was perhaps, you know, several hundred years ago and think how people viewed it then

[P19 Initial Interview: 62-5]

It could be argued that these are romantic notions of the past, and that the perception of the hall as beautiful is socially constructed and perpetuated by a system of accepted discourse (Bourdieu 1986; Samuel 2012; Smith 2006); that, moreover, they are based on a male viewpoint of ownership, power and value (Wells 2011). Hewison (1989) and Walsh (1995) may argue that the participants' interpretations are a sanitisation of the park's history. There is a danger of overriding the participants' opinions, and some (Kincheloe & McLaren 2000; Goulding 2000) would argue that postmodern approaches can overlook the agency of individuals in creating cultural meaning. Foucault (1980) nonetheless reminds us of the dangers of colonising local knowledges; imposing our own viewpoint and then failing to see that process of imposition. Waterton (2005) echoes this, highlighting the importance for researchers to remain vigilant and allow subaltern or non-elitised heritage opinions to be valued equally alongside AHD. If the participants have sanitised the park's history, there is evidence that this nonetheless comes from an informed perspective. Certainly, P11 indicates an awareness of possibly romanticising the history of the park [P11 Initial Interview: 83] and, during the field trip, P5 [P5 Field Visit: 153-6] responds to a historic photograph in a way that demonstrates an awareness of history's gritty reality. Sanitised or not, these historical qualities of the park were important enough to the participants that they brought the topics up by themselves in the unstructured interviews.

The participants' observations of the park in the above extracts also represent narratives about the park and its history. P11's use of narrative captures an experience of being somewhere else; he becomes a character in Buckinghamshire rather than a person in Towneley Park. P15, P16 and P19 also develop a narrative, but theirs paints a picture of the past; the way things were is imagined and partly romanticised. The participants are observers in their story with the characters as the imagined past inhabitants of the park and hall. These narratives resonate with the heterotopic nature of the park as discussed above because they function as a means of escape and a way of perceiving past culture that is akin

to the effect of museum interpretation.

Participants also responded to Digital Towneley's visual representation of the park and its attendant visual histories. Although many of the participants were less interested in expanding the traditional historical narratives of the park, there were those who took notice of details and commented on missing material. For example, the transition images found in the history section were popular as representations of the park's history, but for P7 and P1 they were missing captions and dates for identification:

it would have been nice to put at least an approximate date on them, because "Well, when's this?". It doesn't identify the significance of the history. "Oh is that in the fifties? Or is that - ", you know?

[P1 Feedback Interview: 30-2]

Here, P1 seems to be expressing a need to anchor the images in a historical context. This emphasises the need for guidance in heritage representations (Schildkrout 1991) and P1's narrative here highlights how dates can provide a context for guiding heritage consumption. Samuel (2012) explains how the traditional historical narrative which includes dates helps to create order out of chaos, but can also provide "dramatic and historical pattern" (Samuel 2012: 435). P1 is seeking the 'significance of the history' and so trying to piece together a story or 'dramatic pattern'. While Samuel draws our attention to the positivising effect of the historical process on the communication of past events, P1 is nonetheless able to apply her own meanings to Digital Towneley. In this way, we can see how the participants may colonise the historical discourse with their own local knowledges (Foucault 1980).

It is worth noting that P1 also drew attention to the mono-vocal nature of these transitions. She explained that there is more than one history to any particular location and wanted to see several different time periods of the same image. Here P1 is effectively identifying the multiple connections that park values can have, resonating with the ways that *habitus*-like and rhizomatic forms (Bourdieu 1977; Deleuze & Guattari 2013) provide a complex network of associations. Although this layered nature of the park space was communicated through the time line section in Digital Towneley, from P1's perspective the histories of the park spaces were not represented in enough dimensions through the use of the transition images.

In contrast, participant P4 did not seek multiple pasts, but a more specific past in mind for the representation of the Massey Music Pavilion section. Here the visual history of the pavilion area was important to P4 and he was disappointed because Digital Towneley showed only the present condition of the area, preventing him from engaging nostalgically with his own past for that place. Images of the overgrown pavilion as it is today may have been evocative for P5 who had taken me to the area specifically during the field visit, but for P4 there was no way for him to visually anchor to his own past in the pavilion; he was not able to link to his own narratives. We can say, then, that historical photographs would have enabled P4 to link to his own stories. This is particularly evident for P4, since he offered so many stories as part of his communication throughout this research project. It was striking that the representation of the music pavilion area prevented him from engaging in narrative communication. In this way, we may view visual cues like historical photographs as well as historical dates as familiar and common language which function as parts of a framework for people to construct their own narratives.

Other participants expressed a desire to see some extra information on the web app in relation to the photographs. As discussed above, for P1 this involved including the names of locations, but P5 and P14 suggested that some context for the points of interest within the park (e.g. Foldys Cross and the Cenotaph) would hold the interest of Digital Towneley visitors

things like snippets of information might be beneficial for someone who looks onto the website and it just gives them a little bit of information back on some of the surrounding things.

[P14 Feedback Interview: 136-7]

Although both P5 and P14 felt that the web app worked as a non-historical source, they nonetheless saw a role for traditional information as a form of guidance. In this way we can see that the participants vary somewhat on their valuation of historical fact or narrative. This further supports the importance in heritage interpretation of balancing freedom of creative interpretation with curatorial voice (Schildkrout 1991: Kalay et al. 2008).

4.4: Everyday Histories

Many of the participants' experiences are not completed events, but ongoing processes or linked to ongoing aspects of the participants' lives. It is difficult to avoid discussing

participant comments without appearing to crystallise as past events the experiences to which they refer. It is important to note, therefore, that many of the stories discussed here may refer to events which are still occurring as ongoing processes. Lefebvre identifies our everyday lives and processes as significant when he includes 'daily routine' as an inseparable element of the production of our space (2014: 38). These everyday lived experiences of the participants are in contrast to traditional sources of history (Carr 1985; Samuel 2012) and so represent alternatives to the Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith 2006). This section will explore the everyday histories that the participants have identified throughout this research project, highlighting some of the importance of our use of space and the multimodal ways in which we generate meanings for ourselves and for places like Towneley Park. The term 'everyday history' itself sets a distinction from, simply, 'history'. This distinction may seem to differentiate between an 'everyday history' versus a 'proper history' similar to Lowenthal's (1998) criticism of the heritage industry. My intention is not to imply a value judgement on such terms, but to identify and explore the differences between these two approaches to our pasts.

Only P18 and P20 did not give any form of family memory during the interviews and, although neither P2 nor P7 gave wider family memories they did link to their more direct family (i.e. spending time with their partner in the park). During the field visits the participants seemed as keen (in proportion to their numbers) to recount their memories as they were during the initial interviews. 16 out of 19 referred to their own past in the park during the visits, which correlates well to the 22 of 25 who did so during the initial interviews. Some of these were repetitions of memories told during the interviews, but the visits also brought out new memories and enhanced those that had been told.

Several of the participants raised early childhood memories of the park. Very early events when participants were babies or toddlers were mentioned by P5 and P8, who both recount stories about themselves or their siblings in prams, and P14 who mentions his very early childhood links to the park in the form of his family home. Details about these events are vague for the obvious reason that they are memories recounted to them by others (e.g. parents or grandparents), but they nonetheless form an important sense of identity with the park.

Some participants (P2, P6, P7, P9, P10, P15, P17, P18, P19, P20, P22) did not visit the park as children, mostly because they did not live nearby. However, all other participants had memories and events as an older child and discussed these during both the initial interviews and the field trips.

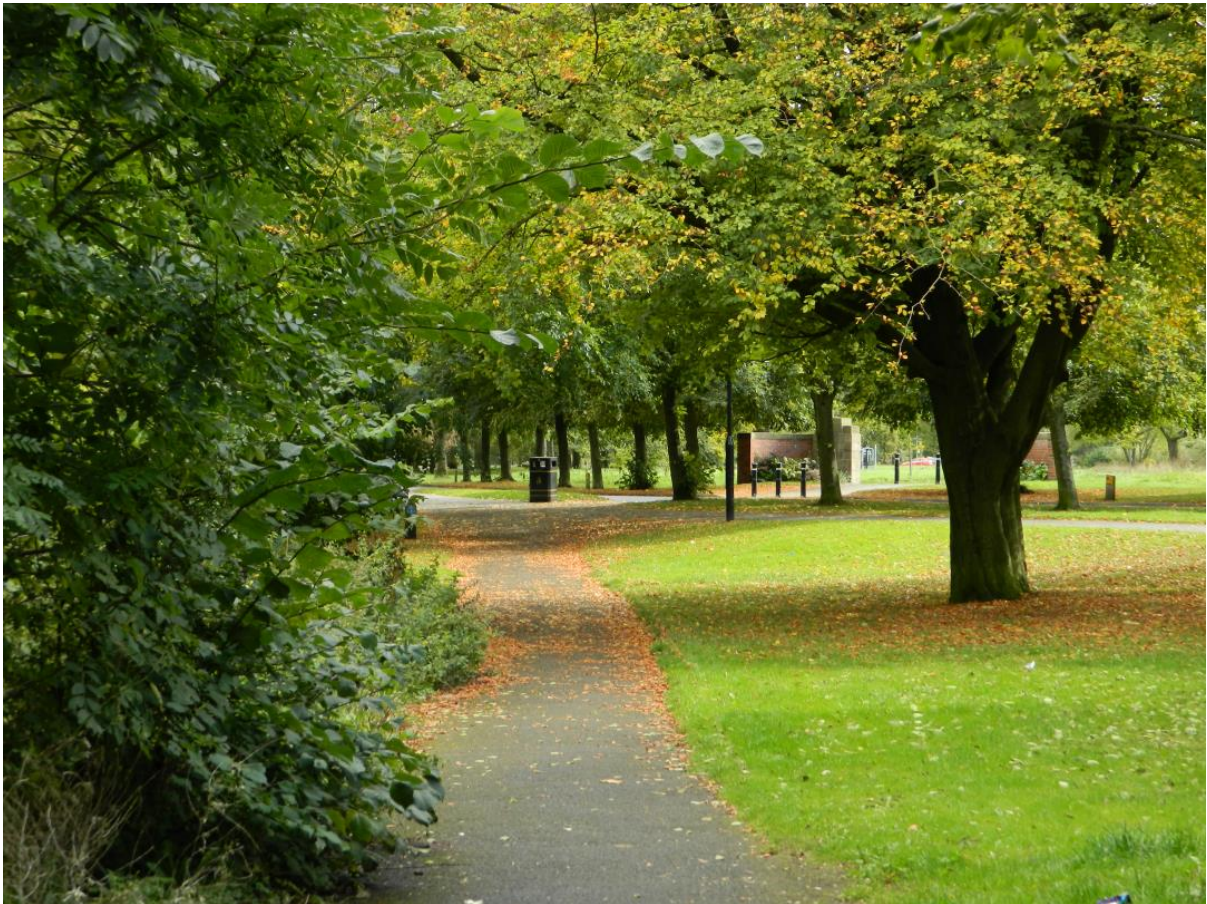


Figure 11: Route from the main entrance gates and through the park

P8's memory of visiting with her father identifies a link with both a close family member and the space of the park

My dad used to bring me up here when I was from probably about 7 onwards I think. We used to come up on Sunday. I can't remember what we did but I remember it was a long walk from the bus stop. I remember it was a long walk up and a long walk back.

[P8 Initial Interview: 2-5]

The memory conveys an abstract notion of distance that is an important part of her experience. This is echoed by other participants (P3, P13 and P23) who all bring up this

quality of the distance from the entrance to the central area of the park (Figure 11). It is part of the ritual of a visit to the park, the effort of visiting the park seeming to add a level of significance. Such narratives fit with de Certeau's discussions of writing our own stories through the use of space (also Tilley 1994 & Riessman 2008), but the repetition of those journeys to the park also allows a rereading of the attached stories. Just as our various life experiences will continue a process of informing a habitus (Bourdieu 1977), so too would the repetition of the park journeys develop and inform the spatial narratives. Even if we are the author of a story, returning to it can allow us to find new meanings and re-imagine the simulation anew (Hawthorn 1997).

For P4, the earliest memory of the park also involves a journey to it. He describes how during the Second World War he used to run to the park from his school when the air raid sirens sounded.

First thing I remember about Towneley Park is when [...] we used to have to run from school up to Towneley Park to entrance where golf course is, right, and there were all trenches in t' park and we all went all hid in trenches for when all German bombers come and we were gonna dodge all t' bombs - I could run pretty fast!

(P4 Initial Interview: 6-11)

The story is linked to a traditional historical event, but P4's account is personal and emotive. His story is about excitement and meaning created for a young boy racing against his peers; an affective account of his interaction with the park. The impact of the experience clearly still resonates for him as it is his opening topic at the start of the interview. As a further everyday example, P3 recalls being stung by a wasp as a boy in the park and this is the starting point for his discussion about Towneley. These examples demonstrate how the park plays a role in the lives of participants, with significant events occurring in or around the park and that these everyday events inform their own heritages of the park.

Sporting memories of the park are also a common topic for the participants. P12, P21 and P24 all recall playing football in their teens at the park. These memories seem loosely associated with the areas of the football pitches, but also link to other memories, meanings and life events for the participants. For P12, the football memories are part of a longer

sequence of sporting activities that have featured in his life:

I suppose that all through my life, my sport, because I've been into sport, Towneley's been a massive thing

[P12 Initial Interview: 45-6]

In this way, Towneley forms a historical context for P12 personally. Similarly, P21's association with the park intertwines his own history and the history of football within Towneley. During the initial interview he recalls the 'Red Barn' as an unpleasant and drafty changing room from his youth, and he lists the teams and leagues he has played for over the years in some detail. His attachment both to football and to the park is evident from our conversations and the deposition of this meaning is demonstrated during the field visits when he talks to me about the current football pavilion building. Considering the potential museumification of park spaces (Gobster 2007), these stories of P12 and P21 fit with discussions by Falk & Dierking (2000) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) which identify some of the ways that we develop relationships with heritage locations or heritage objects that continue to be impactful on our later lives. The everyday histories related here involve the actions of the participants insofar as they engaged in sport within the park. These actions constitute a use of the park space, as does walking the long distance from the park gates, or even being stung by a wasp. The use of the park space and the performative nature of some of these memories resonates with observations of heritage spaces by Bagnall (2003) and Smith (2006). These memories in particular also fit well with Stephens' (2014) notion of 'reflective' nostalgia, wherein the participants are remembering their past as a happy or significant time, but not necessarily calling for it to return.

Stephens' (2014) notion of restorative nostalgia, which is when people engage with heritage to reconstruct or restore what they perceive to be important elements of the past, was also expressed by the participants. P16 and P17 recalled the heyday of the bowling clubs in the park and remarked on the dilapidation of the bowling greens and the gardens surrounding them. P17 specifically referred to the histories of the bowling leagues in and around Burnley, linked to the trades unions and industries:

he elaborates about the workshop leagues wherein each of the various industries within Burnley had a bowling team. These numbers dwindled over time because of,

he supposes, the industrial decline of Burnley. As a consequence, the park teams were allowed to join the workshop leagues. The greens, he tells me used to be looked after by the captain of a team.

[P17 Field Visit: 34-7]

The nostalgic aspect of the heritage he refers to includes the way that the bowling greens had been maintained. P17 goes into some detail concerning the role of the grass and how the way that it is cut can determine the nature of a match [P17 Field Visit: 48]. Both his own 'local knowledge' (Foucault 1980) here and the inclusion of trades unions as part of the history expresses an historical narrative which is alternative to the AHD in many ways because it rejects traditional and elitised groups within society and instead embraces the everyday working people of Burnley. The history P17 speaks of is everyday in this regard, but also insofar as it refers to his own history as part of the bowling league. As we talk inside the bowling clubhouse, he points to old newspaper clippings and photographs attached to a pinboard on the wall. They show past teams and players, P17 tells me stories about people he has known over the years. These are ethnographic histories detailing characteristics and personalities as well as the stories of various cups and championships. The significance for P17 of these memories can also be seen in his wistful narrative of past times when he felt the bowling greens received much more attention. This nostalgic sentiment is something which P14 also highlights. From P14's perspective, the park is not in such a good condition as it was in his youth and this is echoed by P5 [P5 Initial Interview: 27].

Both P16 and P17 explain that the bowling clubs are under constant pressure to demonstrate player numbers to the council to legitimise their existence and the maintenance of the greens. As such, the everyday histories of the bowling clubs are perceived to be under threat from the Council's budgetary priorities. P1 explained in the field visit how another bowling green in a more central area of the park near Towneley Hall needed to 'keep up appearances' to make sure the green and associated buildings looked well used. This was further evidenced during the feedback interviews when P4 described this bowling green area. His narrative draws out the significance of the bowling green's heritage:

P4: In fact I'm thinking of joining the bowling club. One of the councillors would have had that destroyed years ago if he'd have had his way.

AM: Really?

P4: Yeah. It was the kitchen garden originally. It was a walled garden, the whole lot, but it was split by the bowling green [...] almost a hundred years ago ... and the councillor wanted to get it back a walled garden, but the bowlers had been bowling so long and they'd had that little place built, you know, where you can go in for a workshop now.

[P4 Feedback Interview: 313-9]

Very specifically, from P4's perspective the bowling green is over a hundred years old and has seen development carried out by the bowling members. By talking about joining the bowling club, he implies the importance to him of the bowling green's heritage. P4 goes on to tell the recent story of one elderly club member building the club house as a gift for his friends' future use. In telling the story of the bowling club and the builders of its club house, P4 describes the use of the area in terms of heritage and in terms of passing on that heritage to future generations.

This bowling green is the subject of contrasting ideals about the use of the park. Historically it was part of the Victorian walled garden section of Towneley Hall. It would have been used in the nineteenth century as a source of food for the kitchen and so formed a crucial role as part of a functional aristocratic estate. In the initial interviews for this research, P18 detailed some of the conflict about this area of the park. P18 worked on an area called Offshoots, which is an eco-garden project based on a concept of permaculture²⁷, adjacent to the bowling green. The participant explained that he felt some hostility from the bowlers because they perceived his group (Offshoots) as intending to annex the bowling green as part of their garden. P18 took pains to make it clear that he had no active intentions on the bowling green, but that he would like to incorporate it within Offshoots should the bowling green ever stop being used. Here, P18 indicated that a benefit of this would be 'returning the walled garden to its original function' [P18 Initial Interview: 62] – i.e. food production. The links to the Towneley family as identified above in 7.1 serve to legitimise the role of Offshoots within the park.

For P11, during the feedback interviews, the bowling area would have greater historical value if returned to its previous state as a walled garden to serve the Towneley family:

like the walled garden and the bowling green, I've got to be careful what I say, but should a

²⁷ <http://newground.co.uk/services/sustainable-communities/offshoots/>

bowling green be in a historic walled garden?

[P11 Feedback Interview: 175-6]

We can see that P11 was anxious about expressing his opinion, telling me that he had to be 'careful' about what he says; presumably aware of his own role as a council officer and, therefore, custodian of the bowling greens. While P11 poses a question to avoid making a direct statement, it is clear from his narrative that he would support the reinstatement of a walled garden.

For P18 and P11, then, the current use of the bowling green is subordinate to a past use of the same area of land; aristocracy trumps everyday leisure. However, for P4, the present use of the bowling green is legitimate. Despite his archaeological interests, the more distant past of the site is not privileged over the everyday. Rather, the more recent stories of the bowling pavilion are valid meanings of heritage and the vibrant living heritage of the bowlers is presented perhaps as an act of defiance against a restorative nostalgia that has little relevance for him and his peers. This is a manifestation of what Goulty (2003) describes as the role of current park use as a process of developing new historical narratives. Heritage is created in the present (Harvey 2001; Smith 2006), and this applies to the germination of new traditions and heritages as much as it applies to the perception of past events from the perspective of the present.

4.5: A Phenomenology of everyday histories

In the discussion above about traditional histories (Chapter 4.2) the historical image of the park is shown to be important to several participants. However, in terms of their everyday histories, or personal histories, the participants tended to engage with more than the visual as they recounted memories of their own pasts. On the one hand, these everyday histories were supported by restorative nostalgia of the park - participants wistfully recalling a seemingly better time. On the other hand, there were participants for whom their memory of the park was more reflective, with no particular desire to see the past return.

In terms of restorative nostalgia, one of the dominant images is one of order (neat grass edges, well-maintained bushes and paths) and resonates with Smith's (2007) Authorised

Heritage Discourse as the sort of imagery we attach to stately homes and gentrified urban heritage sites. Gough (2007) identifies the desire of humans to master their natural environments through controlled spaces like parks and gardens, and Wells (2011) argues that the display of nature in this way represents the ownership of land and separates the ideal of pastoral landscape from the gritty reality of the wilderness. Thus we may see how our memories of landscapes may be predefined by accepted value systems (Bourdieu 1986).

For some participants, however, the development of the park over time was seen as positively progressive. These participants acknowledged what they perceived as improvements and did not express a restorative nostalgia for a past version of the park:

[P21 talks about the previous state of the riverside carpark likening it to the 'Battle of the Somme'] [...] Things they have before, they've updated them, you know, they've cleaned them up, it were getting a bit dilapidated [on the paths]. The river used to be running orange; you used to have to go in t' river, you were covered in bloody orange when you come out

[P21 Initial Interview: 105-18]

Here P21 is making a clear case for the improvement of the park, comparing the undesirable orange river water of the past to the clear-running waters of a contemporary Towneley Park. He is relating how the park environment is an integral part of meaning and memory creation from the park by identifying the various uses for visitors (dog walking, bikes, football) and in this way his narrative resonates with spatial narratives (de Certeau 1988; Tilley 1994; Riessman 2008) and the deposition of meaning in places (Nora 1989; Gobster 2007). During the field visit, P21 elaborates on the role of the river in football matches. I asked him if going in to collect the ball is just part of the experience of playing:

Not in October, he says. Also, the nettles aren't a great experience with bare legs and he tells me that some [players] have literally fallen into the river because they can't see where the edge drops off for the foliage.

[P21 Field Visit: 80-3]

In this way, we can see the phenomenological importance of the park, as these experiences form important parts of the stories P21 recounts about football in Towneley. The physical reality of the cold water and the stinging nettles, as well as the hidden topography of the

river, combine to create memorable everyday experiences for the footballers. As Lefebvre (2014) identifies, such actions are inseparable from the production of spaces and these spaces have been integral to the construction of P21's histories.

It is perhaps worth noting that P21's perspective of the park is focused on different areas from those discussed by P14. P21 is not engaging in wistful nostalgia of the park's traditionally landscaped areas, but is instead remarking on the development over time of some of the more rural boundaries at the edges of the football spaces. Burnley Council in the past perhaps followed the national trend of preserving and privileging the elicited and monumental (in this case, primarily the landscaped gardens and the hall). As such, everyday functions and uses of the park may have been overlooked in previous years. Despite the strong positive memories that P21 has about the park from his years involved with football, his narrative identifies a wider informed perspective, supporting Bagnall's (2003) observation that visitors to heritage sites have their own agency. This research project demonstrates the importance of everyday memories and uses of the park through narratives like those of P21. This supports the observations of Smith (2006) and Waterton (2010) that there are multiple meanings attached to heritage sites and objects.

By comparison, P14 perceives a worsening of the park over time and in this respect seeks a return to the park's past in terms both of his personal history within the park and a past which privileged a traditional authorised heritage discourse of the park.

The roses, they explain, were beautiful. P14 explains that the pathway used to run along the wall further up than it does now. The causeway area "looks untidy" says P14, with a sad shrug.

[P14 Field Visit: 212-5]

As mentioned above, P14 seems to be nostalgic for a traditional image of the landscape which he perceives to be blighted by wind turbines [P14 Field Visit: 91-2]. However, P14's retelling of his times in the park with his grandfather, and the strong emotional ties he has to his family in the park, suggest that nostalgia over the landscape views is more than simply a desire for a pastoral scene. Rather, P14 is nostalgic about happy times spent in the park and the landscape of his youth may act as a key to access these memories. In this way, even the

wider viewpoints of areas beyond the park boundaries may act like Nora's *lieux des memoires* or even allow the creation of 'other' space, or heterotopias. These heterotopias may allow him to articulate his histories and enable his own historical discourse. Equally, the changes in the park over time may threaten access to P14's memories. If the emplacements are altered, then he may lose a way of accessing or articulating his past even to himself.

In contrast, for P21, even though his history of using the park is long, there is no question of returning to the past.²⁸

everybody called it the red barn, and you used to get changed in there and it were like being in a wind tunnel there were that many gaps in the boards and eventually they demolished it

[P21 Initial Interview: 9-11]

The memory of the red barn for P21 is strong enough to have been at the beginning of our interview; something foremost in his memory of Towneley Park. Clearly the experience of being in the barn has been sufficient to crystallise his memory and he does not appear to need a similar symbol to P14's rose bush or landscape for its recollection.

Another case involves the Friends of Towneley Park group's garden improvements in various areas of the park. Most recently, P1 notes the rotary flower bed situated near the front of the hall. Such improvements might be seen as restorative nostalgia in an attempt to return the area surrounding the hall to a previous landscaped glory. However, the approach of the group is largely one of community service rather than historical restoration and this is supported further by the narrative surrounding the daffodil planting project – P1's aim is to instil a sense of meaning in the children who help to plant the daffodils:

the local children have all been involved in that and we've tried to say to them "this is your park" "this is going to be here when you're as old as ME!"

[P1 Initial Interview: 250-1]

By bringing school children to Towneley, P1 is trying to generate everyday histories for a

²⁸ P21 does express sadness at the theft of historic property from the football pavilion. This demonstrates that the past is important to P21, but not that he necessarily feels a need to return to that past.

future generation. It is clear that this is about more than visuality, although the resulting burst of daffodils in the springtime is nonetheless impressive. The physical action of planting the flowers is seen as important for P1 as an integral experience of contributing to the park and engendering a sense of ownership and responsibility. This action seeks to establish a sense of everyday history for the school children, even in the very immediate past; micro heritages, perhaps.

Overall, we can see that the everyday histories of the participants are linked to various features and characteristics of the park space as well as their actions within it. Visual signs do feature as a gateway to their personal histories, such as the neat cut of lawns, the nettles or the bright colours of daffodils. More than this, though, their performances are relived and recounted as stories that incorporate their phenomenological experience. P21 uses narrative to frame the harsh nature of the park's past environment; cold winds in rickety changing rooms and dirty river water soaking sports kits. P14's memories of the roses and the neatly kept gardens are integral backdrops to times spent as a child in the park. P1's daffodil planting with the schoolchildren reinforces the power of these kinds of experiences; she is attempting to give the children their own performances and histories. In this way, she may be forming a framework for the children to develop their own park meanings and, therefore, emplacements.

4.6: Family Histories

Although childhood memories are important aspects of Towneley to the participants, they are not necessarily required in order for the participants to feel a connection with the park, as evidenced by P6 and P15, neither of whom grew up with the park;

[I] moved into Burnley in the early 1980's and chose to live in an area which gave me access to Towneley Park because I considered it such an asset.

[P6 Initial Interview: 2-4]

It has affected us because we have in fact bought a bungalow which is near to the park. That's for down the line for when we're ready. It's as important as that.

[P15 Initial Interview: 194-6]

Clearly many of the participants' memories of their time in Towneley Park were created as

adults, either on their own or with friends and family.

P20, who did not discuss her family during the initial interview, barely mentions her own family during the field visit. She raises the topic of her own family in terms of a holiday home that they are repairing in Cornwall, but in terms of the park she remains reticent:

I ask "Did you come with your family a lot in the past?"

"Yes," she says. Although she is very firm about this, she doesn't expand.

[P20 Field Visit: 82-3]

This brief exchange between myself and P20 highlights that the nature of memories can be very personal. No matter what approach may be taken in heritage research, in the end it is up to the participant whether or not they will share their memories. This is a reminder that heritage sites can be important to people and that the meanings attached to them can be very personal. This underlying affective nature of heritage highlights some of the relevance of my methodology in this project, since these emotional heritages are examples of the non-AHD that I am aiming to engage with.

Family memories were particularly strong for P14 and P15, these two participants' narratives being indicative of the two types of family meanings that seemed to emerge. P14's family meanings were linked strongly to his family in the past²⁹, while P15's family associations were both from the past and into the present. For both participants Towneley Park is a crucial aspect of their family life, if not an actual member of their family:

Towneley's in my blood

[P14 Initial Interview: 284]

[my] son and daughter grew up and we used to come in when they were children and now as adults whenever they come over [...] we often meet in the park [...] it's a meeting point, it's a focal point

[P15 Initial Interview: 187-9]

As mentioned above, P14 grew up very close to the park and he walked the whole of it with his grandfather from about six years old. His strong feelings for both his family and the park

²⁹ P14 did discuss his own and his partner's current use of the park, but a strong theme of his own narrative revolved around his family in a past context.

are demonstrated by the memorial trees he had planted:

...we planted trees in memory, both me and my sister. After my father died we decided that we would plant trees in memory of both my parents [...] they're in sort of a wilderness area, and they're not marked, we didn't put any markers on them or anything because we didn't want to [...] And quite often I'll walk through with the dogs and just have a wander down and just make sure they're alright and make sure nobody's abusing them because if there was, woe betide them; but they're off the beaten track, so an open enough place that we know where they are. [...] It overlooks the farm, so that's one of the reasons why we picked the place, because it's memories for them as well as for us.

[P14 Initial Interview: 236-60]

As P20's reactions demonstrate above, the meanings for the participants may be inherently personal. P14's memorial trees demonstrate the importance of his own family history within the park. In addition to this, the participant indicates the privacy of this memorial gesture owing to the secret location of the trees. In this way, P14 expresses the power that such objects can have in retaining meanings and memories, with specific concern about the welfare of the trees as though they were the family members themselves. By overlooking the family farm, P14 explains, the trees are able to impart memories 'for them', seeming to mean that his parents are still able to engage with the park on some level. Beyond memorial, this indicates a spiritual engagement with the park and resonates with other spiritual meanings that people apply to heritage places and objects (Stokols 1991; Dwyer et.al. 1991; Brown 2007; Harrison & O'Donnell 2010). These kinds of meanings are mirrored also in the interviews with P20 [P20 Initial Interview: 68-71] and P7 (P7 Initial Interview: 320), as well as with P15 discussed below.

Along with a spiritual relationship with his memorial trees, P14 describes his parents as being able to have the memories through the trees' viewpoint. In this way P14 appears to be engaging in a simulation of his parents, which would fit well with the concepts of everyday simulation of social phenomena (Gordon 1986; Bandura 2001). Moreover, it suggests a need to preserve a state of being (i.e. the existence of P14's parents) and in this way the participant appears to be expressing a restorative³⁰ nostalgia (Stephens 2014) which

³⁰ These memorial trees act almost as though they are preserving the parents themselves. This implies links to roles of museums and their association with mummification etc.

correlates with the restorative nostalgia of his relationship with the rest of the park.

In contrast, P4 has a tree in the park specifically chosen in order to address the act of memorial:

yes I did have a tree planted there, it's still there it's a ginkgo biloba [...] a ginkgo biloba tree is the oldest species of tree in the world [...] and the other word [for it] is the memory tree and I got it in memory of my wife.

[P4 Initial Interview: 110-3]

P4's tree has a plaque and is in a public place near the central pond area of the park (Figure 12). While P4 states clearly that the tree is meant to act as a memorial to his wife and to the times spent with her and their son, a narrative analysis of the interview does not reveal that he is projecting his wife into the tree, because he does not include the tree as a character in his narrative in the same way that P14 does with his memorial trees. Rather, the tree appears to be part of a sense of reflective nostalgia, which Stephens (2014) describes as a positive view on the past that does not seek to restore or reinstate that past. This correlates well with P4's reflective approach to the park in general.



Figure 12: Participant 4's Ginkgo Biloba tree

The trees and their locations are in any event meaningful phenomena both for P4 and P14 in the same way that Nora (1989) describes the ways in which we may deposit memories and meanings. These two participants highlight the potential for memories to become physically manifested within the park. This memorial practice is also noted by P19 who tells me a story about a man who regularly visits a memorial bench [P19 Initial Interview: 83-93], and by P22 who tells me about the various unauthorised scatterings of human ashes that happen in the park [P22 Initial Interview: 58-62]. Thus the role of the park as a landscape for memorialising family experiences and relationships is demonstrated.

During the field visit, P15 offers the alternative point of view that the park should not be a memorial garden [P15 Field Visit: 95-7]. Nonetheless, P15's sense of memory and family attachment to the park is very strong. Her family associations are clearly linked to her own home, as well as her use of the park now and into the future. She describes how her brother feels compelled to see the park when he visits her and she talks about having taken her grandchildren to the park:

my brother's coming to visit next weekend and he insists that he must come in the park each morning he's here; we've got to come in the park

[P15 Initial Interview: 178-80]

I mean I've brought my grandchildren here for 6 or 7 hours in the summer

[P15 Initial Interview: 60]

P15 describes how her brother views a visit to the park as a 'pilgrimage' [P15 Initial Interview: 180], which identifies deep spiritual and personal importance of the park to her brother. The narrative ("*he must come to the park each morning*") identifies a repetition of use that generates familiarity and meaning and this is also evident in her own interactions with Towneley. As we walk together around the park, P15 is reminded of family times in the park and tells me about how evocative the park space is for her [P15 Field Visit: 89-92]. These meanings support the notions of heritage as an active process which generates meaning (Smith 2006) and which can form relationships between humans and heritage objects (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2004). These notions may themselves be modelled using Bourdieu's habitus, since the experiences of using heritage objects or places are always re-

informed by the continual development of one's lived experience. The field in which a Towneley habitus is formed may be the park itself and, in this way, the individual habitus of park users may find common ground or overlap, creating shared habitus. While memories and experiences of the park space may be unique for individuals, a common language of Towneley Park may apply in the same way that (Wittgenstein 2001) identifies common language between human beings. Wittgenstein identifies a broad common language of the world and our position as extant in it, but he argues that we have the potential for understanding each other's language because these languages are all logically possible. It is the case, however, that, owing to our different life experiences, we acquire different languages for understanding our world. A language of Towneley is possible for everybody, but has specifically been acquired by each of the research participants to the extent that they may communicate in terms of Towneley.

Similarly to P15, several other participants (P1, P3, P7, P8, P9, P16, P17, P19 and P21) all mention bringing their grandchildren to the park. P16 also talked about her adult son returning to and enjoying the park again recently, while other participants talk about the park in terms of walking during pregnancy or with newborns in prams and pushchairs (e.g. P13, P23, P24). The context of these discussions resonates with another common theme that arose from the interviews: continuity or the 'circle of life'. There is a strong sense of time associated with these memories because they necessitate looking back into the participants' own lives. More than looking back, however, some of these narratives suggest futures for the park and the participants' discussion of family memory is framed by the idea of a park that will grow and adapt for future generations. For P3, the crocodile sculpture features in his imagined family future within the park as he talks about bringing his grandson when he can ride a bike (P3 Field Visit: 61-3). The future is also conceived by P15 when she discusses her plans to move into a nearby bungalow to ensure that trips to the park continue to be part of her life.

We see here the awareness of the cyclical nature of family generations and how the participants engage with the seasons and time within the park. This shows how the concept of park futures functions as an aspect of the participants' relationships with Towneley.

Indeed, P7 and P8 even envisage a time when they will stop visiting the park (P7 & P8 Field Visit: 10-11). The participants' memories include anticipation of the future; in a way their use of the park involves a continual performance in preparation for prospective memories. Just as P14's commemorated parents may be simulations, so these expectations of future lives can be seen as simulations in the sense that it is in our nature to hypothesise potential social scenarios (Gordon 1986; Bandura 2001). Tangible aspects to some of these memories (e.g. a child riding a bicycle for P3) may also engage with phenomenological simulation of our world. Thus, in the same way that we construct the remainder of what we cannot see in entirety (Lefebvre 2014; De Certeau 1988), we may simulate a possible future space including child, bicycle, crocodile and all the attendant emotions.

We can see from this that the participants are primed to simulate aspects of experiencing the physical park. As such, we may see how meanings associated with the park can be conceived outside of the park space. Indeed, this is more than recalling events that have happened; it is the simulation and anticipation of events yet to happen. Such simulations occur in a medium other than physical reality as they occur in our minds alone. Therefore, if participants are able to simulate aspects of the physical park outside of its reality fabric, it follows that a digital simulation of park meanings may be received as legitimate. This would explain some of the reasons that Digital Towneley was able to function as an emotionally provocative digital simulation of the park, supporting Brown's (2007) observations of secreting human meaning within digital representations even when spiritually complex and socially sensitive.

4.7: Summary

Analysis of the data in this chapter shows some distinctions between the initial interviews and the field visits. The clearest of these distinctions is that the participants discussed traditional historical aspects of the park much more in the initial interviews than in the field visits. Correspondingly, the field visits included a wider range of topics extending beyond the AHD. As the chapter further demonstrates, while traditional histories were closely linked to visual symbols, everyday histories, or non-AHD meanings, were recounted in relation to various senses - i.e. phenomenology was an important part of their expression. We can see,

therefore, that the methodological approach has been successful in its aim to embrace heritage meanings including and beyond that of AHD.

Furthermore, analysis of the data reveals how the park generates heterotopias for the participants in both AHD and non-AHD contexts. We therefore see the potential for the visual landscape of Towneley Park to provide other spaces from which to perceive the park's traditional histories. Equally, the potential for heterotopias is demonstrated through the participants' actions or performances within the park, including their corporeal reactions to the park's physicality.

The narratives of the participants identify the importance of these heterotopias. The emplacements that exist in the park for the participants, whether constructed in response to traditional histories or everyday histories, enable the participants to access the meanings they hold dear. The changes that have occurred in the park over the years, observed by all participants, have the potential to impact these meanings. A clear case is demonstrated by P14, whose concern about the perceived worsening of the park's appearance links narratively to happy and formative experiences in his youth. The park's changes threaten to disrupt his Towneley heritage. In contrast, P21's connections to the park through his own histories are unchallenged by the changes in the park. For P21 it is perhaps the continuity of footballing that enables his own emplacements. What is clear is that meanings in Towneley Park are not limited to the visibility of traditional heritage meanings and this is reinforced by P1's actions to provide experiences for a new generation of park users. The significance of action and performance as part of the experience of Towneley Park is made evident and it is to the ways in which we create meaning in the park space that the next chapter turns.

Chapter 5: Experiencing Space in Towneley

5.1: Introduction

Throughout the project, all the participants raised the topic of the park's space. The previous chapter has highlighted how the park is a space in which events and processes happen. This chapter will look at some of the ways in which the participants reference the ideas of park spaces in order to understand how they work as part of their park experience. Place may be defined by ideas and meanings that give qualities to a space, but this is not to say that space does not contain meaning. On the one hand, Lefebvre tells us that, at a "cosmic level", "space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction"; that, conceptually, space may be meaningless. On the other hand, however, Lefebvre tells us that space for us is full of meanings because our bodies are natively adapted exclusively to apprehend it (2014: 12).

This section does not explore the abstracted concept of space in detail, but such ideas of space have helped to inform this discussion of Towneley space as perceived by the participants. The topic of space was raised in conversation by participants discussing the term 'space' specifically, but also from (i) discussions of movement in and through the park (ii) identification of views within the park and (iii) the distinction between spaces within or relative to the park. In addition, the participants engaged in spatial narratives when discussing their use of Digital Towneley. My interpretations of space were informed by concepts of narrative within space (Tilley 1994; Riessman 2008) and discussions about space from de Certeau (1988), Lefebvre (2014), Massey (2012) and Merleau-Ponty (2014). The idea of the park as a heterotopic space (Foucault 1986 & 1998) is relevant here, as demonstrated above with the various heterotopic emplacements of trees, monuments and flowers. In combination with rhizomatic forms (Deleuze & Guattari 2013) this chapter posits a model for the conceptualisation of physical and digital park spaces.

5.2: Open and disrupted space

The participants widely perceived the park to have a quality of openness:

It's a bit like Hyde Park in London isn't it? Wide open spaces and grass.

[P2 Initial Interview: 303]

He says that he likes the park here because it's open and he can see the sky.

[P3 Field Visit: 9-10]

...the beauty of this park is, I mean, a lot of people I've spoken to as visitors are quite impressed with the vastness, the openness of the park and you can walk for quite a good distance

[P10 Initial Interview: 49-51]

...on maternity leave with a lot of spare time, you think of somewhere is nice to walk somewhere with a café or something and a nice little park, just wander around

[P23 Initial Interview: 27-29]

This sense of openness within the park expressed in the above excerpts was very common. For P2, P3 and P10 above it is the magnitude of the open space that is remarkable, a park quality noted in a similar way by P15 and P20 who value the spaces where the rhododendrons have been cut back in the wooded areas. P23 chose the park to walk in during her maternity leave and, although she chose the park for its atmosphere (somewhere 'nice' to walk in), her phrase 'just wander around' resonates well with de Certeau's (1988) description of writing one's own story through movement and the notion of the flaneur exploring a space for the sake of it. This approach to the use of space in the park is energetically put by P7 who describes how he engages with areas of undergrowth and woodland: 'I just sort of dive into it, you know, and manoeuvre myself through [...] I see it all as open access' (P7 Initial Interview: 226-7).

During the field visit, P7 reinforced this idea of exploring the areas of the park by pushing through the undergrowth. His partner, P8, highlighted the ways in which the seasons can affect the access to space in the park:

Both P7 and P8 talk about how the park offers so many different colours throughout the seasons and that the seasons offer different ways of accessing the landscape. P8 tells me that she goes in amongst the trees in the winter when the vegetation has died back.

[P7 & P8 Field Visit: 18-21]

This exchange identifies seasonal change and so reinforces the importance of time to concepts of space put forward by Lefebvre (2014) and Massey (2012). It also highlights the violence that Lefebvre argues is part of the production of space, since P7 performs defiant actions which produce space (“we make our own paths” (P7 Field Visit: 17)) and P8’s narrative expresses her reticence to battle with the summertime undergrowth.

Disruption of space is also evident from P13’s narrative. This participant describes walking to the park from the town, but also tells me how as schoolgirls she and her friend walked up through the park during school hours and against the school rules to eat their lunch in the park space:

We used to go out dinner time, walk out of school, you weren’t supposed to [...] Just walk up and have your butties up there and just walk back.

[P13 Initial Interview: 83-5]

Although this was a minor transgression, P13 was able to disrupt the use of space and contest some established social rules. It is clear to see that this action breaks out of the school space and into the wider space of the park. Similar actions of other participants also represent a breaking of space. As discussed below, several participants talk about their movement from the domestic sphere of their lives into the heterotopic ‘other’ space of the park. Following Lefebvre, we see that the production and use of space involves violence. In this way, we can see that movement through the park spaces, as well as into the park space from the wider outside world of the park, necessarily involves disruption to those spaces and the powers associated with them.

There is a freedom of choice attributed to the space within the park. Underlying this desire to move is the freedom to travel wherever you wish within a given space. For some, like P7, this means challenging natural barriers and breaking through into spaces. P22 talks about people leaving trails in the long grass of a meadow, indicating a sort of freedom of movement. In response, he mows the grass to accentuate these trails and calls them ‘desire lines’ [P22 Initial Interview: 73]. Together, P22 and the park users are literally writing their spatial narratives on the surface of the park (de Certeau 1988). For others, however, there is

still a sense of freedom even when movement might be confined to pathways:

I ask P8 whether by sticking to the paths more than P7 she still gets a sense of exploration. She feels strongly that she does get a sense of exploration and she illustrates this by pointing ahead and explaining that we can't see around the corner.

[P7 Field Visit: 38-40]

This choice of path is what I love about the park. There are lots of different pathways now. You could work out a different walk 7 days a week, so it's lovely to walk in the park.

[P15 Initial Interview: 14-5]

Thus it is clear that the participants value the potential to choose where they want to go within the park and this resonates with the notion of generating one's own spatial narrative (de Certeau 1988; Tilley 1994; Riessman 2008).

We can also see that the perception of space in the park is not exclusive to large areas. P7 and P15 are describing discrete areas within the park and P20 similarly identifies a very specific space, bounded by the hanging branches of a cedar tree:

she tells me where the tree is and describes the way it works as a 'room' with its canopy hanging down in the summer; she tells me how she sees schoolchildren being given lessons underneath and how the tree works like a [class]room

[P20 Initial Interview: 78-81]

In a similar way, during the field trip, P4 shows me the underneath of a mulberry tree:

As we reach the edge of the grass, P4 points out the mulberry tree. I follow P4 beneath the tree and he looks around for the berries

[P4 Field Visit: 101-2]

P20 is identifying the cedar tree (Figure 13) as a place within the park, but the space around it is also specifically explained. There is space beneath the tree (Figure 14) big enough for several people to use at once. An even smaller space is demonstrated by P4 and the space beneath the mulberry tree is almost secret (Figure 15), hidden as it is by the hanging branches full of foliage. From these few examples we can see how the park is fragmented into several different types of space, or



Figure 13: Cedar tree at Towneley Park

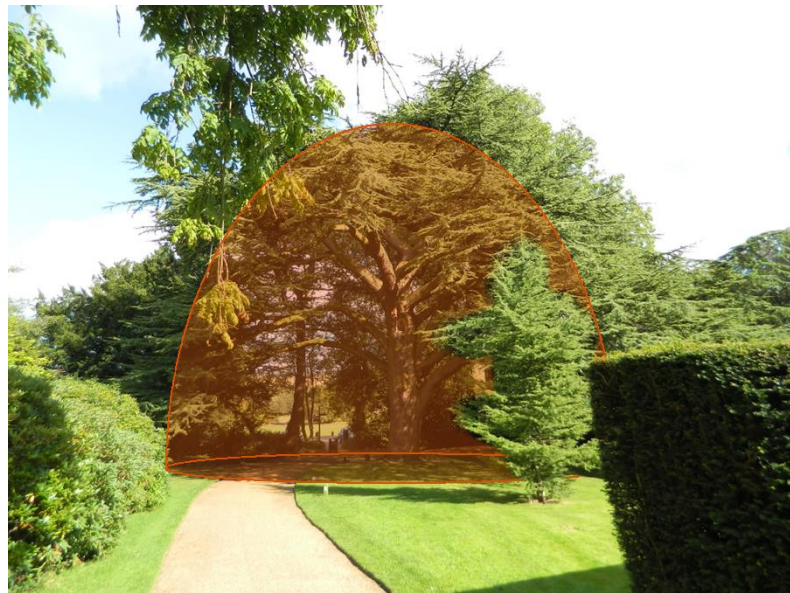


Figure 14: Space created around Towneley Park cedar tree

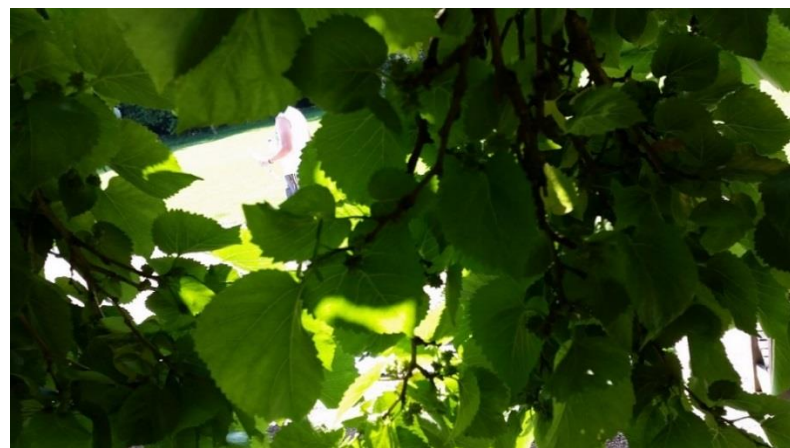


Figure 15: Secret space beneath Towneley Park mulberry tree

emplacements (Foucault, 1986 & 1998). Although in some cases these are separate spaces, they may also share qualities and overlap in the way that they are used or where they are located or created. The space beneath the mulberry bush disappears in the winter when its foliage drops and so it is a space that is part of Towneley Hall's courtyard garden as well as separate from it. Similarly, the cedar tree generates its own characteristic canopy of space that flows nonetheless fluidly into the adjacent park space. Participants perceive wide open spaces of the whole park or fields, smaller spaces within forests and still smaller ones found beneath individual trees. Deleuze & Guattari's rhizome model works well to help explain the fluid nature of these spaces within the park. The nature of the rhizome as a network without a main arboreal trunk correlates with the ways the participants seem to perceive the park space. There is not a hierarchy of space within the park where lesser spaces branch out from one 'main' space. Rather, there is a complex network of spaces within the park, which are defined by multiple means. As such, the foliage, branches or canopies can define the boundaries of spaces, but perceptions of secrecy or the ways that spaces may be used can also spatial boundaries. For example, the space of P20's cedar tree is not produced by walking its space, but by occupying it and observing it as a space. In this way it is possible to express spaces as narratives and not as performances through space.

5.3: Narrative Space in the Park

Although travelling across the park is an important theme for many participants, spatial qualities of the park were also expressed in ways which did not involve a verbal description of movement. Tilley (1994) and Riessman (2008) identify that we are able to view movement as a narrative process. For Tilley, the movement across landscape can be a narrative which is constructed as we travel. For Riessman the image of a landscape within a picture can precipitate this sense of spatial narrative and Massey (2012) expresses the same notion as she describes how an image of space necessarily conjures the notion of time required to traverse it. Merleau-Ponty (2014) and Shepherd (2008), too, describe the ways in which we can travel across a landscape using our vision and our ability to focus on details or take in larger landscape aspects. In these ways, in observing some much larger spaces in and around the park, some of the participants also expressed the spaces of the park:

[A favourite spot for me is] the open area view from the park out towards Cliviger.

[P6 Initial Interview: 36-7]

I love Foldys Cross and I like to stand and look down Lime Avenue at the hall

[P11 Initial Interview:80-1]

if you go and you stand at the Singing Ringing Tree and look down over Towneley [...] you can see it all it's fantastic.

[P19 Initial Interview: 99-101]

As we walk onwards, P3 steps off the path and looks out through the trees onto the playing fields, he likes the view out to the green grass beyond.

[P3 Field Visit: 90-1]

Here the participants identify the viewpoints within, and from outside, the park. In these descriptions, the viewpoints are spaces which are not travelled through but are instead enjoyed visually. They are observed scenes whose description by the participants involves 'spatial' language or narrative. P6 identified the 'open area' and the direction in which the space moves 'out towards Cliviger' (Figure 16). Similarly, P11 describes how the space of Lime Avenue is observed (he 'looks down') to create an idyllic country estate scene (Figure 17). From outside the park in an elevated position, P19 is able to 'look down' over the space of Towneley Park. P3 enjoys the way that the fields outside the woodland expand outwards. Here the space is not being physically used, but is being observed and travelled with the eye much as described by Mereleau-Ponty (2014), Shepherd (2008) and de Certeau (1988).

These four examples describe views similar to landscape paintings, and we have seen above how P11 authorises his own view of the landscape with reference to Constable [P11 Field Visit: 30]. As Wells (2011) identifies, this way of perceiving the park resonates with the history of patriarchal land ownership since the viewpoint of land from the park is like the viewpoint enjoyed by the elitised owners of historic Towneley. Wells also draws our attention to the ways in which we may fetishize the outdoors as a natural idyll; the kind of environment that can exist only after taming the wild and imposing an order on the perceived chaos of nature. Thus, the worth of the landscape is established through a value judgement which is perpetuated and reinforced by a system such as Bourdieu's capitals that privileges the elitised over the everyday experience of landscape. The observations of the participants are in this way linked strongly to notions of the Authorised Heritage Discourse

(Smith 2006).

There is the potential for movement in each of the four descriptions, but the context of P19's comment is describing the potential to walk to the park from a separate place. The 'placeness' of the park is discussed in the next chapter, but P19's observation identifies that, in order to reach the park, the space that is travelled through is significant. There is a sense of distance and meaningful travel which echoes the concept of pilgrimage suggested by P15 above (Chapter 4.6). The park is situated in a much wider space and some of the participants narrate their travels to the park, emphasising the distance. P3, P8 and P24 all used to take



Figure 16: View from Towneley Park of Ancient Oak tree

the bus to get to the park and then walk the long route through the park space:

When you were a kid it seemed, pathway from t' bottom the roadway, it seemed a long long way to get there, which it is - it's 3 quarters of a mile I think.

[P3 Initial Interview: 75-7]

All three of P3, P8 and P24 took the bus as children, with the park functioning as a leisure destination for family leisure (P3, P8) or recreation with peers (P24). Evidently the



Figure 17: View of Towneley Hall from Foldys Cross

participants felt these travel events were significant enough to relate during the interviews; in the case of P8 it is the opening part of the interview and her earliest recollection of the park. These parts of the interviews may be seen as narratives of their park experiences and in this case we also see a link to the concept of spatial narratives being recoded as verbal stories and spoken aloud. We can therefore see how the use of the park space itself involves the construction of narratives (Lynch 1960; de Certeau 1988; Tilley 1994; Riessman 2008) that remain as memories and can be at least partly related as verbal stories. On the one hand this change of format from spatial to verbal demonstrates some of the multimodal (Jewitt 2013a) nature of experiencing the park space; on the other hand, the spatial performances are discourses that make the knowledge of space effable. The act of using the space becomes a diagram that enables the space to be articulated (Hetherington 2011) even as it is created. By changing from a spatial mode and engaging in a verbal narrative, this knowledge of space can be communicated to a wider audience without the need for spatial performance. Thus, multimodality is an integral part of communicating and sharing park meanings with others and we can see that this also features in the experience of space in

Digital Towneley.

5.4: Digital Space

During the feedback interviews, one of the ways in which the participants implied a sense of space by referring to the web app came from a minimalist perspective (Stokols 1991), which means that their observations were functional rather than subjective or spiritual. This mostly refers to the spatialized terms that the participants used to describe the user interface of Digital Towneley. It is worth exploring how some of the participants' observations may link well to Manovich's (2001) ideas about user interface spatiality. Jewitt (2013a, 2013b) defines the term 'multimodal ensemble' as the resources that an individual has at their disposal to deploy different modes of perception or engagement (e.g. spatial, verbal or aural learning styles). As such, the participants were able to adopt a spatial mode as part of their multimodal ensemble to engage with the web app.

During the feedback interview, P16 used her hands to make a gesture intended to represent a computer 'network'. By moving her hands outwards from her body, she was indicating herself as a computer in control of others around it. The action demonstrated her association of space with digital constructs. P8 described Digital Towneley itself as easy to manoeuvre [P8 Feedback Interview: 153], while P1 said that "there were bits where I couldn't get to where I wanted to go easily" [P1 Feedback Interview: 11]. Here we can see the concepts of space associated with technological platforms; the idea of navigation applied to a digital resource (see more below). For these two participants the space of the web app is conceived in terms of it being a barrier to their access. For P8 it is a barrier which can be easily overcome or 'manoeuvred', but for P1 this is more difficult. The language used by the participants may indicate a spatial or navigational mode. P8's term 'manoeuvre' conjures notions of complex movement, strategy and spatial planning; indeed she explains that she 'took the time to figure things out' [P8 Feedback Interview: 154] to avoid missing the web app's content. Similarly, P1 uses navigational language:

I found my way around it. There were bits where I found I couldn't get to where I wanted to go easily

[P1 Feedback Interview: 11-12]

P1 projects a concept of the web app as a navigable space 'around' which a 'way' may be 'found'. She had direction because she 'wanted to go' somewhere, but the interface prevented this as she 'couldn't get' there. For P1 and P8, then, we can see how people may conceive space in a digital medium alone; i.e. separate from the space that it is aiming to simulate, which in this case is Towneley Park.

The technology as a barrier presented itself as particularly insurmountable in the cases of P4 and P11, both of whom chose not to engage directly with Digital Towneley during the interview³¹. This latter example of a digital barrier may be associated with the way that digital media is perceived owing to government and media influences such as *Go On UK* and this will be discussed in more detail below (Chapter 7.5).

From a more instrumental perspective, then, some of the participants described the navigational aspects of the site in terms of a tool or a means through which they could more or less effectively engage with the content of the web app. Even at this functional level there were indications of the subjectivity of experiencing and using digital media:

that's a very personal thing isn't it, the way you [navigate the site].

[P19 Feedback Interview: 116-7]

Other participants also demonstrated examples of idiosyncrasy as they used the web app (P1, P8, P16, P17). This personal way of using the web app resonates with what Lynch (1960), de Certeau (1988) and Merleau-Ponty identify as the ways in which we use space from a personal perspective as well as with our own bodies and from within our own minds as much as through exterior stimuli. We may, then, identify a *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) of digital engagement informed by various factors such as our past experiences of digital technology and the phenomenological, social or cultural contexts (or fields) in which those experiences occur.

³¹ Perhaps more so in the case of P2, who chose not to engage with Digital Towneley in any sense.

5.5: Simulated Space

In a way, the observations of wider spaces may function as simulations of space. Following Merleau-Ponty (2014), Massey (2012) and Bandura (2001), this would be a normal phenomenon – the conceptualisation and production of space in an internalised mental context. In our contemporary context, simulations are commonly associated with digital representations and during the feedback interviews I discussed with the participants whether they felt any sense of space from Digital Towneley that they might associate with the physical park. This sense of space may be understood as ‘virtual’ space as described by Di Blas et al. (2005), whereby the user/visitor feels as though they are somewhere different from their immediate physical-world location. The kind of space created may have various characteristics based on the subjectivities of the participants and, of course, each participant's subjective reaction to Towneley Park's heritage (Parry 2007; Saunderson et al 2010; Taylor 2010). It is important to acknowledge here that these virtual spaces may differ widely from those of the original park space (Champion 2008).

P11 was the only participant who explicitly expressed no experience of virtual space:

uh, if I'm honest I didn't. I just thought I was visiting a website about Towneley, I didn't feel it was a virtual experience of the park or anything like that; it didn't feel like that at all.

[P11 Feedback Interview: 87-8]

All of the other participants responded to the question by saying that they felt as though they were either visiting the park or that the park was visiting them. For example:

your head's in the park when you're looking at those [pictures]

[P1 Feedback Interview: 412]

I think it absorbed me, it probably drew me into it... 'cause I did spend quite a bit of time going round, you know, I didn't just look and say 'that's Towneley' and off; I did become engaged with it

[P8 Feedback Interview: 166-8]

[I felt I went to Towneley] because you make that connection with certain images and experiences, sensations which you've had there

[P7 Feedback Interview: 193-4]

Yeah, obviously we looked at this and we explored the different things didn't we?

[P16 Feedback Interview: 145]

P7 responds directly to the notion of feeling as though he 'went to Towneley', linking his own history in the park with the images that he sees. The others express senses of place by using the words 'in the park', 'drew me into it' and 'explored'. These words themselves are important, but the participants' sentences also express a sense of multiple connections in terms of the park and their movement between them. P8 explains being drawn in before bringing in notions of time linked to travel ('I did spend quite a bit of time going round') and then finally affirms that this process equates to engagement with the web app. For P1, the images put her 'head' in the park, suggesting a simulated sense of 'parkness' or Towneley-ness. As such, we can see the ways that Digital Towneley is able to engender a sense of the subtle and ineffable experiences of the park, much like the 'mountain-feeling' that Schorch (2014) identifies through narrative analysis.

P7 identifies the connections that he has made through the web app to his past experiences in the park and P16 & P17 introduce the concept of exploration of the 'things' in Digital Towneley. This latter point resonates well with what Manovich (2001) describes as the exploratory experience of unveiling computer game levels; another reference to the potential or perceived spatiality of the digital. The links that participants make between the media on Digital Towneley (i.e digital images) and their own park meanings linked to the park demonstrate how Digital Towneley may be at least partly analogous to the networked nature of the physical park.

These examples demonstrate the participants' sense of space and place through their verbal narratives. Which in turn describe the spatial narratives that the participants performed

when using Digital Towneley. Bagnall (2003) identifies the performative nature of heritage visitors and it is agentic terms like 'explored' and expressions of mindfulness about their use of the web app that identifies the participants' actions as performative. These senses of exploration, performance and agency also relate to the sense of choice that the participants expressed during the initial interviews and field visits. During the feedback sessions the participants did not specifically talk about the virtual park in terms of choice, but the use of terms linked to discovery or exploration suggests that the web app may have facilitated a context of choice. Thus we may say that these Digital Towneley spatial narratives resonate with the spatial narratives performed during a visit to the physical park.

It is also worth noting that there is no indication that an ordered temporal sequence is a feature of their spatial narratives in the physical park. P7, for example, mentions as a whole the experiences and sensations that he has had in the park, while P16 makes no indication that she explored 'the different things' in any specific order³². The participants' varied approach to navigation of the web app identifies with the rhizomatic form (Deleuze & Guattari 2013) which, if applied to Towneley Park, would acknowledge links both through time and space. This is compounded by the various ways that the participants discussed the park, none of whom provided a linear narrative through time of their park experiences. Particularly in terms of visiting the park with participants, the places in the park on our journey brought out different memories from a range of time periods in the participants' lives. As a few examples, P15 related stories of deer interrupting her golf game, spotting an owl in the bird sanctuary and reminiscing her children playing in the brooks. These events were related not in terms of linear time, but in terms of Towneley Park. Engagement with the park functions in the present, the past and the future; it is performed by the park users in their memories and these performances contribute to the construction and maintenance of park meanings.

³² Participants have their own ways of using the site; the timeline is a popular route in to the content, but this still demonstrates a non-temporal approach since it appeared to function as a series of nodes from which to depart rather than a sequence of nodes to follow.

Moreover, the performative nature of their spatial narratives highlights how the virtual park space may be continually reformed like Bourdieu's (1977) *habitus*. It is within this context that we may see the relevance to Digital Towneley of Ryman's (2015) non-linear approach to narrative. Just as Ryman highlights the non-linear nature of our connections with others, so it is that the participants identify complex perceptions of the park which may link the spaces within it through time-spanning events, actions or memories. Digital Towneley as a medium and as a virtual space does not seem to disrupt the links to the physical park's spaces. The spaces within Digital Towneley appear to have allowed the participants to perform in and relate to the temporal and spatial narratives of the physical park.

Although P11 did not experience a sense of space from Digital Towneley, he did express spatial aspects during the initial interview and field trip. In the initial interview he described his favourite viewpoints and identified features of the park which are spatial in their nature as being preferable to the aesthetically touristic (e.g. the natural landscape versus the hall). During the field visit, P11 touched the leaves of trees, pointed out the views and took me purposefully to a spot where he sat to specifically take in a favourite viewpoint. In contrast, P11 sat back from the laptop during the feedback interview and his gestures were more limited than those of the other participants. It is worth noting that spatial narrative and gesture were introduced by P11 at the end of my feedback session only once we had left the building and were walking together through the park. P11's relationship with digital media in general seems likely to have been a factor in his reaction to spatial cues in Digital Towneley.

Other participants were much more expressive about notions of space in relation to Digital Towneley. Beyond the spoken word there are ways of communicating that constitute an individual's multimodal ensemble (Jewitt 2013a, 2013b). By observing the participants during the feedback sessions in an ethnographic sense, I was able to make a note of some of these non-verbal ways of communicating notions of space. In several cases the participants engaged in spatial gestures to describe aspects of the park or concepts; hand movements describing shapes, movements or spaces opening up:

When P1 describes the effect of the images which show paths up to the hall she opens her hands out in front of her as though they represent her line of sight or her perception.

[P1 Feedback Interview: 463-4]

P8 also circled her hands as though to bound the park as a habitat or perhaps to indicate circles of life within nature

[P8 Feedback Interview: 335-6]

He used the pointer with the map as a background to gesture continually as we talked

[P12 Feedback Interview: 65]

It is clear from these examples that the participants were communicating concepts of space. P1 uses her hands to illustrate the space in front that she would want to move through, P8 creates a microcosmic boundary for the park and P12 uses both his hands and the digital pointer to highlight areas of the map. These gestures indicate the participants' comfort with spatial modes in the context of using, or observing the use of, Digital Towneley. Digital Towneley was made available at each feedback interview via a laptop computer and so there appears to be no indication that this discouraged spatial associations. When using the physical park, the participants engaged with a spatial modality through the use of their bodies in the space of the park; whether this was by walking across the park space or smaller movements of touching parts of the park. For the most part³³, during the use of Digital Towneley the participants' bodies were limited to words and gestures. By combining these gestural modal signs with the narrative expressions of space we can see that Digital Towneley was able to evoke a sense of space for the participants and this may also tell us that Digital Towneley has been able to communicate aspects of the spatiality of the physical park for the participants.

³³ As an exception, P4 walked to the window to show me the park view. Also, while there was nothing preventing participants acting out their usual use of the park (e.g. walking or playing bowls) this was not expected and of course did not occur during the interviews.

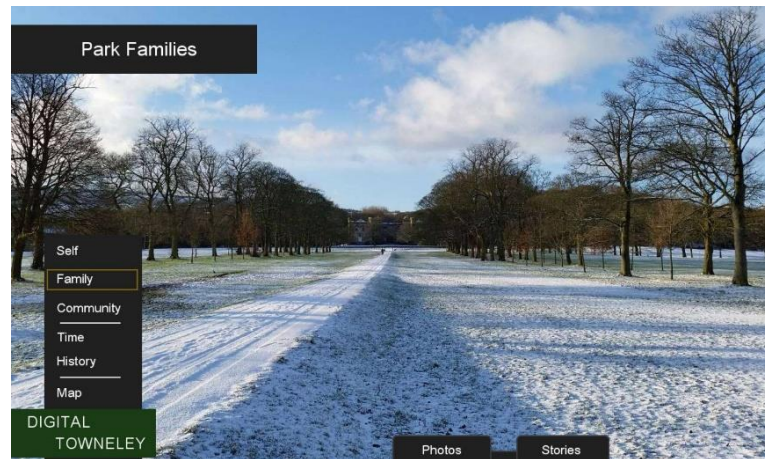


Figure 18: Digital Towneley image of park



Figure 19: Digital Towneley image of crocodile wood carving



Figure 20: Digital Towneley image close-up of cenotaph

For P1, the image of the path up to the hall (Figure 18) engendered a sense of space. Not only does Figure 18 show us a pathway through the park, it frames Towneley Hall within a tree-lined avenue and so presents a traditional representation of a heritage site and a sense of patriarchal and traditional power (Smith 2006; Wells 2011). While this may indicate that P1 relates to more traditional expressions of space within images, the participant may also have been experiencing what Kenderdine (2007) identifies as senses of travel within wider panoramic views. In contrast to the pathway scene, the close-up image of the wooden crocodile eye (Figure 19) did not effect a sense of space for P1, but it is interesting to note that other close-up images of the park did seem to be successful in communicating a sense of space.

P14 and P15 mention the close-up images of the cenotaph (Figure 20). Their assessment is that the representation of the cenotaph, which includes wider shots and close-ups, is faithful to the original:

P14: [...] *The war memorial is good.*

P5: *Oh, the pictures of the war memorial are good!*

P14: *You took some pictures of the war memorial and put them on and they are, especially that head shot.*

P5: *Yeah, because you don't see it that clearly because you're lower down*

[P5 Feedback Interview & P14c: 83-7]

The reactions of these participants to the representation of the cenotaph demonstrate a more localised sense of space surrounding the cenotaph and the spatiality of the cenotaph itself. In particular P5 identifies the spatial relationship that visitors have with the tall statue by telling me that we are 'lower down'. The close-up shot therefore is noted as unusual and so may highlight the height of the statue. These reactions may reveal some of the impact of the thingness of the cenotaph, which is identified by Nora's (1989) observation of meanings linked to monuments and also to the performative actions we may associate with objects. These actions are referred to by Tilley (1994) as narratives that are linked to place names

(see more on this below) and de Certeau (1988) highlights the idiosyncrasies of how we move around objects and the spaces surrounding them.

Figures 19 and 20 may also be representative of how our vision can change modes to focus on specific aspects of a scene (Merleau-Ponty 2014; Shepherd 2008; de Certeau 1988). Jewitt (2013b) identifies how the reframing and cropping of images or text can create different modes of engagement, and Coyne (2012) shows that the variety of images made possible through the use of everyday digital photography can illuminate alternative perspectives at heritage sites. For P1 these alternative close-up perspectives or changes of mode do not result in the creation of a sense of space and so we might say that the spatial modes needed to engage with Figure 19 are not part of her multimodal ensemble.

5.6: Summary

It is clear that space in various contexts and forms is an important aspect of developing meaning within the park for these park users. The participant narratives tell us about the effect of using space, such as the way participants talk about the freedom of open spaces in the park. Moving between spaces is also demonstrated through narrative as participants tell stories of travelling to the park from outside its borders. This is complemented by spatial narratives, such as the movement from the courtyard space to the underneath of the mulberry tree. These narratives of space confirm that there are boundaries which determine discrete spaces as part of the park. These spaces can be clear, as perhaps the park gateway is, or they can be blurred like the classroom space beneath the cedar tree which does not need definite boundaries to be communicated. This ambiguity of space in Towneley can be communicated through ideas from Merleau-Ponty and de Certeau whereby space is perceived according to the phenomenology of our perception, focusing (visually or perhaps emotionally) on different spaces within a given perceived arena. It can be seen therefore how these spaces are linked together as a rhizomatic network (Deleuze & Guattari 2013) such that there is no distinct striation of spaces that make up Towneley. The park, then, is constructed of nested spaces throughout. For the participants, these spaces are linked and defined by their past and present lived experiences.

These spaces fit well with the concept of the heterotopia as a series of emplacements (Hetherington 2011). In this way, we can see that movement through the space constructs those spaces and enables our understanding of them. This spatial language can be viewed as a discourse that is used to generate diagrams of understanding and this is the basis for communicating ideas of Towneley space through verbal means.

This network contains spaces in a range of scales from the secrecy of the mulberry tree to the open magnitude of the park as viewed from the hilltops at the Singing Ringing Tree. As such these spaces are sometimes simulated insofar as their non-visible elements may be constructed in our minds (Merleau-Ponty 2014) or as imagined experiences of using space (Massey 2012). The participants' experience of the physical park, then, involved the simulation of its spaces or the simulation of moving across or into its space. It is therefore unsurprising that the digitally simulated element of Digital Towneley has been able to cohere with the participants' perceptions of the physical park. Both the physical park and Digital Towneley involve the participants engaging in their own simulations of space.

Digital Towneley has also been able to provoke senses of space for most of the participants and this has come about in two aspects. Firstly, the participants demonstrated their perception of spatiality as part of digital media itself. The concept of space exists as part of our comprehension of digital media through the use of file systems, networks and website links. The participants communicated this sense of space through their verbal narratives and through their gestures. Secondly, Digital Towneley produced a sense of park space or Towneley space for some of the participants. The use of gestures to communicate park spaces during the feedback interview suggest that the web app correlated well with the physical park, maintaining a sense of parkness. Thus, the gestural and verbal narratives produced by the participants work towards communicating complex and abstract feelings like a 'Towneley Feeling' (Schorch 2014).

The kinds of spaces that are experienced or perceived as part of Digital Towneley are, however, contingent on various participant characteristics. A clear barrier to feeling a sense of space for P11 appeared to be a rejection of digital media in general, while P1 was unable to experience a sense of space from the close-up image of the crocodile sculpture. In this

way, we can see the significance of the participants' digital habitus and their multi-modal ensembles as factors which enable or prevent experiencing a sense of virtual space. These various experiences of the participants also impact the ways in which they develop meanings attached to spaces and, therefore, develop senses of place in the park. The next chapter addresses these experiences of place in Towneley.

Chapter 6: Place and Towneley Park

6.1: Introduction:

This chapter explores the phenomenon of place as experienced and communicated by the research participants. First of all I will discuss some of the ways that Towneley contains places of personal significance to the participants based on their past actions and use of the park. I will then highlight the importance of Digital Towneley's map representation of the park and the role of place names as part of human discourse. Next I touch upon the way that not including places in the Digital Towneley representation caused upset for the participants. The chapter then turns to some of the community values embedded within the places linked to Towneley and the participants before discussing some of the ways that places are created through the participants' phenomenological interactions with the park. Finally, this section will suggest the relevance of the habitus, rhizome and heterotopia as models for understanding the nature of places in Towneley park.

6.2: Places of Personal Significance

In Chapter 4.6 we saw that P4's ginkgo biloba tree near the hall pond represents significant personal memories and family experiences. First of all, the space surrounding the ginkgo biloba tree is a meaningful place as a memorial to his late wife. The tree itself is a memorial object that may project an aura itself, but it is a symbol also of the pond area near the hall. This is a place with family memories for P4, constructed from past actions and reconstructed during the interviews as stories that happen around the pond. This pond place is therefore loosely defined insofar as it is difficult to identify explicit borders or edges to it. Both the memorial tree and past actions near the pond function as auras which provide meanings to define the place as significant to P4. This is similar to P20's reaction to the cedar tree, whose indefinite space becomes a place (a room) and whose existence functions as a sort of monument which both marks and fuzzily delimits a place. Just as memories perform an important function in creating a sense of place for P4 in the park, so too does memory help to create a sense of place for him in the context of Digital Towneley. P4's reactions indicate

that Digital Towneley has been able to evoke his own memories and therefore a sense of Towneley Place (more on this memory for P4 is discussed in Chapter 7.2).

Along with memories, P4 is experiencing the park through his present use of the space. A similar place is communicated by P14, who describes the memorial trees planted in honour of his parents (see above, Chapter 4.6). These trees create an emotional and specific place tied to family memories and actualised by his continual visits to that place. The places that P14 and P4 value here are constructed from the past. Harvey (2000) and Smith (2006) argue that the past is only ever created in the present; that heritage is a construct of our present context. However, we see in the examples for P4 and P14 that their pasts are authentically felt.

The common role of heritage to offer a representation of another person's (or people's) past is not the only heritage effect of Towneley Park; Towneley provides everyday heritages that belong to the people who use the park and develop memories in it. Smith notes that the past can still have an influence on the present, but argues that 'those influences will entirely be understood and remade through the dominant discourses of the present day' (2006: 58-9). In the same way that we may argue that visitors to heritage sites have their own agency, so too are the participants in this research able to relive their own past contexts authentically. While these pasts may be affected by dominant discourses, they are not exclusively experienced through the lens of an 'other' present day discourse. To argue otherwise would imply that the participants cannot know their own pasts.

Rather than the 'dominant discourses' of the present day 'entirely' influencing the pasts of the participants, the discourse of the present day through which the participants 'remake' their pasts are their own discourses and fields of understanding. They know their pasts through lived experience. Smith does note that we need continual re-engagement and performance with place, but in this context it is useful to move beyond the notion of AHD to include the participants' own discourses. Indeed, these discourses and fields of understanding are multimodal in that they may involve the performance of spatial narratives, the communication of place names or the mapped representations of park spaces.

6.3: Place Maps and Names

Overwhelmingly, the most popular feature of Digital Towneley was the map (Figure 6). The participants' comments resonated with the effects of the panorama and georama in museums of the past (Kenderdine 2007). Participants were taken with how it offered a snapshot of the park or allowed them at a glance to see the whole park:

P13 felt that the map was the most useful part because it offered a view of the park at a glance which allowed her to see straight away what was new for her.

[P13 Feedback Interview: 63-4]

The map's good as well because it, although you've got a map in your mind, it's different to the map that you see, you know, the diagrammatical map. And you sort of, it's easier to connect things when you see them laid out on the map

[P5 Feedback Interview: 76-8]

These two participant comments demonstrate how the map may provide an overview of the park in a way that resonates with de Certeau's observation of the city from above. At a glance, they were able to comprehend the park both as they already knew it and in terms of new features they had not yet experienced. P5's comment identifies also that the map's subjective or artistic nature does not contradict a 'map in your mind' or a 'diagrammatical map'. From this we can see how a landscape representation needn't be geographically accurate or to scale. However, as Tomášková observes (2007), the reductionism of maps can overlook some of the meanings inherent in places. As such, it may be notable that the Digital Towneley map offers a representation that, for example, overlooks some of the magnitudes of spaces or distances in the park. Nonetheless, the map was popular with the participants and did not seem to challenge their existing conceptions of the park. Just as Manovich (2001) explains how we can perceive a sense of space within the screen of a computer game, so too are the participants able to engage with space through the Digital Towneley map. This effect is also observed by Kenderdine (2007) in relation to panorama and georama, both of which can be linked to the sensation of travel as viewers feel like they are visiting distant lands or places by seeing images.

The animated character which moved across the map was also popular with some participants [P16 Feedback Interview: 68; P19c: 95] and may be seen as a performance of time and space. In the same way that viewing images of landscape enables spatial narratives by allowing us to conceive of movement across it (Massey 2012; Riessman 2008), the map allows the user to conceive of travel across its surface. The character's movement visualises this travel, but the knowledge of its capacity to move also actualises a number of potential spatial narratives; the user can pre-empt the character's movements.

The place names on the map allow narratives to be constructed and related to others about the park, while the paths provide a visual reminder of the links between these places and the possible spatial narratives to be performed. The character's ability to roam freely across the surface of the map provides alternative links between the places on the map, signifying the ways in which the places in the park are connected beyond geography; i.e. temporally or emotionally. In this sense the Digital Towneley map offers a representation of narratives both in the depiction of paths and the representation of the park's physical places.

Just as Michel de Certeau (1988) discusses the ways in which we write our own stories as movement through the city, so too does the user of Digital Towneley have the potential to enact their own spatial narrative by interacting with the map. This happens in terms of travelling across the surface of the map, but also in terms of following hyperlinks from the map screen. In this way, the participant is provided with the freedom to explore Digital Towneley in their own ways, as demonstrated by the personal ways in which the participants engaged with the site.

The map also displayed names for the places in the park:

this was interesting because I've never really studied a map before and it's helped me to put names to things, like Thanet Lee Wood [P8 Feedback Interview: 87-8]

Participant 4 was interested to see the name of a bridge on the map that he had used for decades: 'The Wilderness Bridge' [P4 Feedback Interview: 211]. Participant 1 was happy that accurate names for each place appeared on the map [P1 Feedback Interview: 316]. Names

play a role in making features of landscapes relatable to us; they must become part of our language for us to include them in our culture (Tilley 1994). Crucially, names are required for places to take part in our stories. This is emphasised during the field trip by P6, who tells me that his knowledge of the park has been improving:

Since his involvement with the Friends of Towneley Park [...] he has learnt the correct terminology for the places. I ask him if knowing these names is useful and he says they are, helping him to describe places to others.

[P6 Field Visit: 22-4]

Thus the map in Digital Towneley provides users with words to include in their retellings of the park. Significantly, the map provides new information to users who already have knowledge of the park, as the reactions of P8 and P4 identify above. For P6 this is happening through his face-to-face interaction with other park users, but the effects here appear to be similar. In both cases gaining knowledge of place names allows people to have common knowledge. In Wittgenstein's terms, a certain shared reality of Towneley is required through the common knowledge of place names, or a language of Towneley. Digital Towneley's map is able to provide a common language and so facilitate the participants' continued telling of stories about Towneley Park.

6.4: Missing Places

Inevitably there were park features which the participants noticed were missing from Digital Towneley, because not everything could be included on the map or in the web app. The participants noticed various elements missing from the map and the web app more generally, including the sporting facilities (e.g. golf courses and football pitches), the historical parts of the park (e.g. the old school site and the hall) and the more picturesque things like the duck ponds or the wildflower meadow (P7, P8, P11, P19). It is difficult to see a pattern here. For example, P11 raised concerns about some of the missing sports facilities as represented on the map. As a council employee, P11's perspective may be influenced by his employer's agenda in providing leisure facilities to the public, but he was also very clear to point out that this was not a complaint from him personally. Furthermore, even though he would have liked to see more viewpoints of the park which are reminiscent of Turner's

paintings, and so resonate with a traditional view of heritage, he expresses his fondness for these in a relaxed manner during the field visits. In this way, his body language does not indicate that Digital Towneley is missing fundamental features of the park. In short, it is fair to say that different people see different things absent from Digital Towneley. The participants may be keenly aware of their own knowledge of the park and this knowledge is contrasted with the representation of Digital Towneley. This knowledge of the park may be seen in terms of Bourdieu's approaches to capital and habitus. The "Towneley Capital" or "Towneley Habitus" that is held by each participant does not match with the habitus of Digital Towneley. As Kidd (2014) notes, people want to express their own heritage stories; the identification of absent features or characteristics from Digital Towneley therefore offers the participants an opportunity to demonstrate and legitimise their own knowledge. By exploring some of these absences, we are able to learn more about the meanings that the park holds for the participants.

In some early feedback on the web app, P19 noticed that the cenotaph page was being displayed without any narrative comments, which seemed to almost distress her. She showed how important the cenotaph was to her by describing some of the viewpoints in the park from which it is visible and reinforced its significance to Burnley as well as its artistic beauty. The participant was even concerned that she may have overlooked commenting on the cenotaph during my interviews with her. In fact she had mentioned the cenotaph, but in this early feedback she went into much more detail and displayed much more passion about the cenotaph than during the initial interview or field visit. Referring to one of the images from the web app which shows the cenotaph as part of a viewpoint from behind the hall (Figure 21), P19 explained how she felt about the cenotaph and the relationship she had developed with it.

I remember the cenotaph, where is it now [...] I remember, you didn't used to be able to see it from the hall. Because those yew hedges, that hedge around there was very tall. And the British Legion asked them to cut it down, and they actually did that and it made a difference. [...] it used to be that you didn't see it unless you knew where it was, you didn't find it and I think it's nice now that it's out.

[P19 Feedback Interview: 164-73]

This relationship was in aesthetic terms as we see from P19's focus on the visual ("it's nice that it's out"), but the cenotaph is also important spatially as she identifies the ways in which she has interacted with the statue in the past through exploration and knowledge of its secluded location. The images on the web app seemed to represent this relationship. However, the absence of the textual narratives (both her own and the other participants') was seen as a disservice to the statue because she felt that the cenotaph deserved to be acknowledged with stories.



Figure 21: View of cenotaph from rear of Towneley Hall

The importance of the cenotaph to P19 links strongly to Nora's *Lieux de Memoire* (1989), with meaning tied up in a physical monument, but the relationship with the monument is expressed in terms which also stretch out to the park more widely; the cenotaph is 'out'; by which P19 means it is accessible and visible. P19 appreciates the setting of the cenotaph and her perception of it across the park as part of a view. She also places the cenotaph in a hierarchy with a position above the crocodile statue:

Because would it be to a lot of people more important than the crocodile? That is just a walk thing round isn't it.

[P19 Feedback Interview: 177-8]

Yet, the stories from the participants indicate that the crocodile is comparably important to the participants in this research, with family stories about it from P3 and P15. P19's reasoning is based on values which we may link to an authorised heritage discourse. Here the cenotaph is given meaning, if not through the heritage discourse of the world wars, at least through the discourse of history (Samuel 2012; Smith 2006). In contrast, the value of the crocodile is based on the everyday, emotional and spatial experiences of the participants; 'that is just a walk thing round'. The absence of text detailing the cenotaph's meanings has revealed the importance of the monument to P19, but it has also revealed its relative meaning as part of the whole park. It is no surprise that a missing park feature would be noticed by a participant, but the cenotaph example shows us that authorised heritage discourses have the potential to develop hierarchies of those park features and so privilege some elements or places of the park over others.

6.5: Communal Place

There are also communal values to the senses of place within the park. For example, P18 describes Offshoots as one of his favourite places and highlights the role of offshoots in helping the local community. However, P18 later clarifies that he doesn't really have a favourite and makes the point that he views the park as a whole [P18 Initial Interview: 124-5]. He links the role of Offshoots with the ethos of Lady O'Hagan's conditions for selling the park and states "The purpose of the park is to be its greatest benefit possible to local communities" [P18 Initial Interview: 70-1]. P18 is providing the park with an identity and a role which benefits a certain group of people and so it is given a placeness in terms of a local community; it belongs to them and benefits them. As we have seen in Chapter 4.2, P11 also identifies the communal leisure benefit of the park as a place of escape from historically industrial Burnley as well as for contemporary Burnley residents. This is further reinforced by

P6 and P19, who both identify the park as being a community asset and P25 who feels that the park is representative of Burnley:

'it represents Burnley as a whole because heritage and history and football and sport are all part of the community and so therefore is Towneley.'

[P25 Initial Interview: 53-5]

Indeed, during the interview P25 makes links to the idiosyncrasies of the town:

'[P25 says it's] "a reyht nice park" in an affected thickened Burnley accent which he jokingly insists I write down verbatim.'

[P25 Initial Interview: 121-3]

Although intended as humorous, P25's intonation conveys a sense of cultural value specific to Burnley. It identifies the northern roots of the park and Burnley, compounding earlier comments in the interview that the park makes him feel 'comfortable' because it is linked to Lancashire [P25 Initial Interview: 45-6]. P6 and P15 raise similar feelings about defending the reputation of Burnley against 'southerners' (P6 Initial Interview: 127-8; P15 Initial Interview: 263-5).

Waterton notes an 'undertone of collective resistance' (2005: 314) in a group of research participants discussing a heritage site and this is something which we can note here in the way that some of the participants are defending their own community and place as valuable. Waterton discusses the ways in which communities may be defined by outside bodies in academic contexts and it is worth noting how the participants here are defining their own sense of community in this project. As a result we can see that the park takes on a sense of place which is defined by its links to the wider local community of Burnley. Moreover, the park is linked strongly to the wider senses of place which relate to the county of Lancashire as well as the North of England as a whole. Some of the monuments within the park help to embody these values and develop an identity of Towneley as a Burnley landmark.

6.6: Monuments and Towneley place

This section explores some of the monuments in Towneley Park in terms of their role in place-making. From the interview transcripts, for P5, P11 and P14 the Foldys Cross monument (Figure 22) forms part of the place found at the top of 'Lime Avenue' from which

a view of Towneley Hall is possible. The monument itself holds its own historical meaning³⁴, and this is identified as important by P5 and P25:

[Foldys Cross has] quite a history [...] I think he was a priest around about the time that priests were being persecuted.

[P5 Initial Interview: 11-4]

We stand at Foldys Cross and P25 remarks with surprise while reading the plaque: “so this is from 1520?”.

[P25 Field Visit: 51-2]

These reactions are similar to the inherent historical value of age that the participants express elsewhere about the hall and the old oak tree (Chapter 4.2). Further to this, the participants find the cross important as a place in ways that are not directly linked to its historical narrative or age:

At the top of the avenue, P3 indicates Foldys Cross and remarks that it is an interesting thing. We step closer to it as he confesses that he has not read the plaque before

[P3 Field Visit: 20-2]

She sees Foldys Cross up ahead and says she has old photos of her climbing on it. She calls it the ‘monument’ and I note that she doesn't refer to it by its name.

[P24 Field Visit: 35-7]

Foldys Cross has an impact as an object. Both P3 and P24 may be reacting to the monument as a sign of authentic history; aesthetically it may signify a traditionally ‘old’ thing or discourse in the same way that the hall may signify a traditionally historic discourse. For P3, the monument is identified as an ‘interesting thing’ and so its value as a place marker is evident, but as he has not read the plaque its specific historical narrative does not feature in its place-making role. For P24, however, the sense of place is clear with memories of climbing on the monument’s steps. The memories of these actions may be linked to the object itself, but the narrative surrounding that part of the park (i.e. playing Jedi games in the woods there and the links to her childhood more generally) imply that the significance of the

³⁴ i.e. the AHD of traditional historical narrative associated with the monument.



Figure 22: Foldys Cross

cross is linked to the wider surroundings and actions therein. P11 and P5 engage with Foldys Cross physically, sitting on its steps to purposefully observe the viewpoint of the hall. For these two participants, the monument is part of a wider phenomenological experience; contributing to the aspect that their bodies may perceive down the path. It is through this everyday interaction with the space of the cross and the cenotaph that they are able to generate meaning to produce place (de Certeau 1988; Lefebvre 2014). In this way, for some participants the cross becomes an ensemble memory site owing to the actions that they have played out with it over time as well as the significance of the monument's own characteristics (aesthetic, historical or tangible). Although the cross may not become an extension of their body in the same way that a portable item might, Gosden's (2008) acknowledgement of the effect of tangible heritage on the perception of our bodies is

nonetheless significant. We might argue that sitting on the steps of the cross makes the participants a part of the place by being physically connected to it.

The more recent monument of the cenotaph, which functions as a memorial to those lost in World War One, is seen in a similar way. Some participants (P6, P20 & P25) refer specifically to the area of quiet which surrounds the memorial, identifying a place of contemplation and reflection. A similar auditory quality is also expressed by P7 when describing the Smallholdings woodland area:

P7 explains that they like this part of the park because it is a bit quieter; the road, P7 explains, really does act as a sound barrier.

[P7 Field Visit: 8-9]

These two areas are defined as places by the sound barriers which are perceived by the participants. This supports observations of the spatially structuring nature of sound (Lane & Parry 2005) and the significance of our senses in the perception and construction of place. Each of these places in the park, and others besides, are intricately and inextricably linked with their environment and, more importantly, the ways in which the participants have interacted with that environment and developed a relationship with it throughout their lives.

6.7: Phenomenology and place

A wider sense of the park as a place was expressed in terms of corporeal engagement with the environment by P1 and P7 and this links to the phenomenological understanding of the park. Here, I approach the participants actions in the park through the lens of the Leskernick Project (Bender et al. 2007) and so adopt a phenomenological standpoint that considers how the participants used their bodies and their senses to engage with the park. This includes touching the plants and physical matter of the park, but also the effect of being situated in the physical park.

During our visit to the park, P1 plucked a Himalayan balsam plant from the ground as part of an ongoing campaign to clean up the park; she clutched the plant as we walked through the park until she was able to find an appropriate disposal bag secreted in the undergrowth [P1

Field Visit: 63-4]. Referring to a similar act of voluntary park maintenance, P7 recounted during the interview his efforts to eradicate rubbish from the park landscape, boasting about the number of bags he has filled with litter over time [P7 Initial Interview: 126-9]. These examples demonstrate an embodied sense of duty to the park as a place that requires their whole body to protect and maintain it.

P5 also demonstrated a phenomenological link to the whole park as a place by holding the fronds of a yew tree and a fern between her fingers during the visit to the park (P5 Field Visit:93-4 & 219]. From a narrative point of view, she does this in the context of P14 discussing sadness at the perceived decline of the park. Consequently, following Riessman (2008), we may argue that P5 is communicating non-verbally her own connection to the natural place of the park. The relevance of phenomenological experience was also demonstrated during my initial interview with P5, which involved a walk through the park. During the interview, P5 had conveyed her love for the derelict and overgrown Massey music pavilion:

Yeah, and it's all overgrown, but it does have a lot of atmosphere to it. It is all sort of, you have to know where to walk really or you'll end up breaking your neck.

[P5 Initial Interview:3-4]

P5's narrative here tells us that she knows the old music pavilion well, describing her own expert knowledge of the pavilion as a place in contrast to a layperson whose ignorance of the place might result in injury. There is a range of phenomenology to the knowledge that P5 wields here. A level of emotion is also attached to this knowledge of place, which is reinforced later in the interview, as she identifies the 'atmosphere' of the pavilion, 'the whole feeling of it' and describes it as 'evocative' [P5 Initial Interview: 93-8]. Emotional, or affective, engagement with heritage is noted by Bagnall (2003) and Smith & Campbell (2015), but is also linked to the importance of place (Stokols 1991) and outdoor environments (Dwyer, Schroeder & Gobster 1991). Bender et al.'s (2007) research is relevant here, since it is through a use of the pavilion space that P5 has been able to gain a corporeal and spatial knowledge to develop into a sense of place. Some of the pavilion's meanings are related to traditional historical meanings (P5 Initial Interview: 95), as P5 muses on the heyday of the music pavilion with brass bands in the early twentieth century. In this way, P5 is influenced

by the authorised heritage discourse, but her own knowledge of the place is nonetheless important and this was underlined as we visited the pavilion.

As we stood looking up at the trees the sun came out to shine on the bark of the silver birches. P5 was visibly pleased that I had been able to see this; “it’s just fabby”, she said smiling. Although P5 had tried to convey how she felt about the pavilion, it was only through visiting the place that she felt she was able to adequately demonstrate this atmosphere to me. Bagnall (2003) identifies how emotional reactions to heritage sites make our experiences meaningful as well as help us to define our own sense of place. In this way, P5’s personal sense of place at the pavilion was being demonstrated. Moreover, in the extract above, P5 is expressing her ownership of the place; setting barriers of danger for others to overcome (‘you’ll end up breaking your neck’). In a similar way, P24 is torn between having clear signposting within the park and maintaining ‘an element of secrecy’ [P24 Initial Interview: 109-10] as she enjoys the personal knowledge of park places which make them special to herself.

During the field visit with P4, we also visit the music pavilion area. His description of the place from the interview tells a story of his youth involving brass bands and picnics that matches the kind of historical narrative romanticised by P5. As P4 walks through the old pavilion space, he is struck by how much it has become overgrown and he walks through the place reliving the specific areas and events:

We walk to the top of the old pavilion steps and then out onto the pitch and putt. P4 tells me that they would come here after church for coffee and a bun

[P4 Field Visit: 37-9]

We can see from this exchange how P4 is able to experience a sense of place both in the present and in the past as he recalls the place from his own youth. A further example of the multiple timeframes that can be experienced in the park in terms of place, which Kidd (2017: 8) refers to as ‘doubleness’ (see also Waterton 2005). It is worth noting, however, that P4 did not enjoy the representation of the pavilion on Digital Towneley.

P4: yeah, it hasn't come up very well has it? You know, to my mind.

AM: What's missing? You can't tell it used to be a pavilion?

P4: I suppose there's nothing there to show is there if t' truth's known. I mean I know it

as it was and it don't look like that. But I mean if I went up now it probably would look like that yeah. I tend to think of it as it was rather than how it is now

[P4 Feedback Interview: 64-8]

Although P4 agrees that the Digital Towneley photographs are accurate visual records of the pavilion area, the representation doesn't capture his memories. This is directly in contrast to P4's experience at the physical pavilion site, which evokes memories and a sense of place even though it doesn't look like the pavilion from decades before. This demonstrates that there are some phenomenological qualities to the production of places that Digital Towneley is unable to capture or emulate.

The heterotopic diagram of the derelict pavilion is produced through human presence at its physical location and the engagement of the human senses with the environment. As such, there is embodied cognition of the place insofar as the apprehension of the pavilion occurs using features of the body beyond that of the brain alone (Kidd 2017). As the physical place is part of the knowledge of place and performance in it constitutes the production of a heterotopic diagram, I propose that there is dis-embodied cognition involved, along with embodied cognition, in the comprehension of this heritage place for P4 and P5. By this, I mean that the physical environment beyond the human body may form part of the cognition of a place. Such a proposal fits with what Merleau-Ponty (2014) identifies as the integration of the environment into our conception of the world, and with Wittgenstein's (2001) conception of language insofar as the physical environment constitutes a valid element of our language.

6.8: Summary

The multiple narratives that are associated with the park space by the participants feed into the multiple places that are perceived in Towneley. For the participants, the places in Towneley are visited multiple times, whether physically or through memory. This continual re-use of place creates a two-way process of influence, much like Bourdieu's habitus, whereby the memories of the individual inform the value of place as much as the place continues to inform the memories. In this way, the participants identify places within the park through a variety of meanings and the park therefore becomes layered in terms of meaning and time. This link to multiple timeframes is also observed by Waterton, invoking

Ingold: “we move from one present to another” (Ingold cited in Waterton 2005: 313; see also Moles 2009). As it has been noted above, however, this does not mean that present discourses overwhelm the participants’ memories or knowledge of place.

Nora (1989) comments that memories attach themselves to places or monuments in a variety of ways. ‘Topographical’ memory sites ‘owe everything to the specificity of their location’, which in terms of Towneley means memories that are associated with the land of the park itself. ‘Monumental’ memory may be attached to memorial objects such as statues and may conceivably be transported without losing their meanings. Monuments in Towneley Park may refer to objects like Foldys Cross or the cenotaph. ‘Ensemble’ memory sites, meanwhile, are those which are ‘constructed over time’ through the ‘complex relations between their elements’ (Nora 1989: 22). These ensembles may be identified in Towneley with such places as P14’s memorial trees whose importance is linked to the specific location, the tree monuments and the engagement with the site over time. Nora’s approach therefore resonates with the ways in which meanings are attributed by the participants to places within Towneley Park. As Nora identifies, ‘an invisible thread’ connects all of these memory objects (1989: 23), which identifies some of the ways in which the representation of places on the Digital Towneley map may be connected.

These invisible threads permeate the fabric of Towneley Park, connecting the places through memory, time, events and experiences. There is no required linearity to the consumption or performance of Towneley Park. As such, the way in which the places relate and the meanings attached to them resonate with a rhizomatic model, in which all things are connected (Deleuze & Guattari 2013) or layered within the park. The participants’ reactions tell us that the park cannot be understood in isolation, either as a whole or as a constituent part. Foucault’s heterotopia is also relevant here as it is constructed of a network of emplacements (Foucault 1986, 1998; Hetherington 2011). The park can be modelled as a rhizome containing nodes of emplacements. We may argue that these emplacements can take multiple forms (e.g. memories, spaces), but it is clear that the places identified by the participants function as emplacements within Towneley. This is demonstrated well by the pavilion area, which functions as a disruption of normal space by acting as a sign for the past. For P5 the site, despite no longer looking like the original pavilion, is a representation of a

past time and has acquired an attendant mystical quality. For P4, however, the past is a lived experience which he can recall and relive at the physical site. For both P4 and P5, the pavilion area is a museum-like place, which fits with Foucault's original ideas of heterotopic spaces. In addition, we can see that these two participants find that presence in the place itself is required to communicate its meanings. Hetherington (2011) identifies heterotopia as diagrams which operationalise discourse and so the pavilion place functions as a phenomenological diagram which operationalises the discourse of meaning for P4 and P5. In contrast, Digital Towneley is unable to create this heterotopic diagram for the pavilion area since it does not provide the phenomenological language.

It is worth noting, however, that Digital Towneley is able to produce heterotopias through its map. Here, the map as diagram provides the users with the language to operationalise discourse of Towneley, which itself is a disruption of normal space. Indeed, as P5 identifies, the map's design as geographically inaccurate disrupts spatial norms and allows alternative narratives to be engaged with or perceived. These narratives are relevant to the participants' perceptions of the physical park and, as such, Digital Towneley is able to provide heterotopias that make meanings of Towneley Park effable through performance and perception.

Chapter 7: The Impact of Digital Towneley

7.1: Introduction

As we have seen, Digital Towneley is able to convey certain aspects of the space and place of Towneley Park. Beyond this, however, there is evidence that Digital Towneley has had a meaningful impact on the lives of some participants. This chapter discusses some of that impact. Firstly, the creation and role of memory is explored, supporting observations in other heritage projects that show the significance of digital technology enabling heritage visitors to communicate meaning (Ciolfi 2015; Kidd 2017; Purkis 2017; Bailey-Ross et al. 2017).

Secondly, this chapter discusses Digital Towneley as a medium for political change, echoing some of the ways that co-production provides recognition of non-expert (and non-AHD) perspectives and interpretations (Graham 2016). As such, I make the case that Digital Towneley has empowered the participants through the expression of their own Towneley perspectives and the potential to leave a legacy. In addition, I argue that Digital Towneley demonstrates a potential to provide the participants with a way of effecting political change.

7.2: Memory in Digital Towneley

Memories were a key theme for the participants throughout this research project and Digital Towneley does not appear to have disrupted the importance of memory in relation to the park. In this respect, Digital Towneley seems to have provided links for the participants to their own pasts in the context of the park. This section explores some of the participant reactions to Digital Towneley and its links to their memories of the physical park. What can be shown is that the web app may resonate with existing memories, but also provide connections between memories such that a collective memory may be experienced. In addition, discussion of Digital Towneley demonstrated that participants saw it as an active proponent in the creation of new memories and notions of legacy.

Memories for P5 and P14 were stimulated through a combination of text and image on the web app. They made reference to the time line, textual narratives and the historical images on Digital Towneley throughout the feedback interview in terms of their past experiences. In the context of using Digital Towneley, nostalgic feelings appeared to be inspired:

Yes, you look back and think “yeah I remember”, you know, “them days”

[P14 Feedback Interview: 40-1]

During the feedback interview, P4 could not engage directly with the written narratives, preferring instead for me to read them out loud. Nonetheless, he expressed that his memories were ‘refreshed’ through the site. In one example, an historical image of the front of the hall reminded him of the peacocks and ornamental ducks which used to be found in the park [P4 Feedback Interview: 239]. In another case, P4 recalled a tree from his childhood when the screen showed the ‘Thanet Lee Wood’ page:

I’ve walked round it twice in the last ten days or something like that and I can think back to when I were a little child and one of the trees that was known as The Seven Sisters

[P4 Feedback Interview: 153-5]

Overall, P4 explains that memories are the factor which allowed the creation of a virtual sense of place:

AM - So you felt that you went to a place like Towneley?

P4 – Yeah.

AM - Why is that, what was it about the experience?

P4 – Well, I don’t know, it’s memories isn’t it, as far as I’m concerned, well that’s what it really is, it’s memories. Things which I’d seen, things which I didn’t quite realise had happened.

[P4 Feedback Interview: 305-6]

P4 is inspired here largely by the photographic media on the web app and it is clear from earlier interviews that photographs motivate him emotionally and creatively. While the photographs on Digital Towneley may not be presented as New Media content (i.e. they are effectively on-screen photographs), they were curated as a collection nonetheless and the access to them on a digital device is a new experience for P4. Therefore, Digital Towneley here may be having an impact on P4 not only as image, but also as new media images within a digital platform. This impact can be seen from the P4’s narrative. As he trails off ambiguously “things which I didn’t quite realise had happened”, we can see that the web app is creating more than a retelling. There is a sense of discovery in his description, supporting the idea of the mystery and exploration of visual or textual narrative (Hawthorn 1997) and the potential for creative representations (in this case Digital Towneley) to produce new ways of looking at culture and heritage (Bender et al. 2007).

P17's recollection of his arrival in Burnley and his first experience of the park is prompted by an entry on the time line stating "Frank discovers that Burnley is more than smoke and mills". From this single statement, P17 links to memories of his reason for moving to Burnley in the first place, encountering the Towneley entrance gates and the location of the school in which he taught:

basically the only time I'd heard of Burnley was occasionally Burnley football club and the fact that it was a mill town in Lancashire. And the school in those days was just at the entrance to the park. First time I came up I missed the turning and ended up in Skipton so I had to come back down again.

[P17 Feedback Interview: 208-10]

P17 is able to identify with Frank's comment about preconceptions of Burnley. The memory expands to include spatial narratives of his school's location as part of a specific area within the park boundaries. Moreover, this spatial narrative includes the location of the park as a part of Burnley and separate from his home town much further south. The narrative reveals the connections and associations of the park with the wider world and reinforces the network-like nature of Towneley's heritage values. The time line entry functions as one of the nodes in that network and its branches connect to various associated values of P17's Towneley habitus.

P19 was particularly engaged by the written narratives and excerpts and she articulated having a sense of collective memory from using Digital Towneley:

I can still feel part of the group because of the other people's recollections and memories and the importance of Towneley are very similar to my own so I can have a sort of collective memory

[P19 Feedback Interview: 67-9]

Indeed, P19 explores her memory of the park during the feedback interview and describes how moving away from the area at eighteen years old broke contact with her friends from what she calls her 'formative years' [P19 Feedback Interview: 56]. As a consequence, P19 explains that she is not able to share her memories of Towneley Park with any friends or family and says "I find that is sort of a period of my life, if you would sort of see, missing" [P19 Feedback Interview: 59-60]. Further to this, she communicates issues of severance from

the park and its community following the more recent death of her dog:

After her dog died and she still went to the park, the other dog walkers didn't engage with her. She is clearly disappointed with this and I sense her feelings of rejection.

[P19 Field Visit: 66-8]

For P19, Digital Towneley offers an opportunity to explore memories of the park from her own formative years, communicated by some of her contemporaries. More than this, however, the web app appears to bridge a gap in P19's performance of her own memories. By feeling 'part of the group' and experiencing a 'collective memory', she is able to address the period of her life that she sees as 'missing'.

This resonates with the framing of heritage as a process (Harvey 2001; Smith 2006). In P19's case there has been no opportunity to continue the process of heritage meaning making through retelling experiences of the park. The memories are still present and their significance is emphasised by P19's description of these events as "important things" [P19 Feedback Interview: 63], similar to the ways in which museum experiences may resonate after the event (Falk & Dierking 2000).

Here, P19's narrative informs us that the acquisition of her Towneley knowledge and the formation of a Towneley habitus needs to be shared, or used (Smith 2006), in order to complete her heritage experience; i.e. fill in what is missing. We may learn from this that the Towneley habitus can stagnate and that Digital Towneley provides the opportunity for this habitus to become reanimated in the mind of P19. This reanimation may be seen in terms of reliving and retelling past memories, but also in terms of returning to a park community that she felt excluded from. In this sense, Digital Towneley appears to enable a relationship with Towneley as a heritage place (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2004).

The inclusion of participant narratives is integral to the sense of community expressed by P19 and these narratives have been co-produced with the participants. This is a fundamental characteristic of the content of Digital Towneley. As Purkis (2017) and Bailey-Ross et al. (2017) demonstrate, the foregrounding of participant narratives and interpretations provides a legitimacy and authenticity for the visitor or user. P19 and P17 have been able to identify with the narratives of other participants because they know from their own involvement that

these narratives are genuine. The trust of participants in this project may have helped to develop more effective processes for 'creating and guiding culture' (Bailey-Ross et al. 2017). In this case, P19 has been able to guide herself along with help from the other participants towards a reconciliation with her own past and Towneley Park.

It is not surprising that Digital Towneley would function as a prompt for memories of the park, because it is a medium which explicitly refers to the park visually and textually. The effect of Digital Towneley is also to contextualise participant memories amongst those of others, showing that they overlap and intertwine. This suggests that although heritage participants may be inclined to offer their life stories (Kidd 2014), they needn't be separate from the experiences of others.

7.3: Legacy and future memory

An unexpected quality of Digital Towneley was its ability to manifest in participant users a sense of future events and the perception of Digital Towneley as a legacy. While the design of the web app necessarily excluded some of the meanings and qualities of the park, such as the absence of some of the park's places, it seems here to have created a new aspect to the participant's relationship with the park.

We have seen that Towneley Park contains commemorative features such as the cenotaph and that memories of family are manifested by memorial trees in the park. So the physical park contains objects (sculptures, monuments, trees) which embody memories, much as Nora (1989) identifies. The longevity of the cenotaph and the trees provide a potential for leaving behind a legacy for those lost in war or family members who have died. However, these monuments do not represent the specific personal legacies of participants involved in this research.³⁵ Perhaps the most notable aspect of the park in terms of legacy is Towneley Hall. The building may be seen as a legacy not only of the Towneley family in general, but also of individual members of that family who have commissioned additions to the hall and

³⁵ Through these memorial objects, we may leave behind physical legacies in memory of our loved ones. Although these loved ones represent a significant aspect of our lives, and so may represent our own selves, these memorials are primarily aimed at providing a legacy for loved ones and a way of connecting to memories of those loved ones.

landscaped the grounds (Historic England 2018).

The park is an example of the legacy of an elitised family who have had the social, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu 1986) to leave their mark on the landscape. Through the machinery of the local council, members of the public have been able to place authorised memorials (trees, benches, flowerbeds) in the park. However, from time to time, members of the public have attempted to circumvent official local council processes and construct their own memorials by scattering ashes of loved ones in the park. These unauthorised memorials, if reported, are removed by the gardening staff [P22 Initial Interview: 65]. Museums and Heritage sites are intimately linked with the idea of the future, since it is implied that they are meant to preserve representations of objects or ideas for future generations (Graham 2016). In this way, the park functions as a museum and Digital Towneley may function as an exhibition of the park, effectively preserving a representation for the future.

In their feedback interview P5 and P14 told me a story about their relative who left his name in the concrete of a Towneley farm building:

and he said "Inside this stable block, if you look on this concrete it's got my name on it" [laughs] so obviously he'd gone up there when my dad was working up there [...] and he must have been doing some concreting and he wrote his name in the concrete, left his mark.

[P14 Feedback Interview: 220-2]

This narrative is poignant because it precedes a later discussion about recording lives and of P5 and P14 having left a mark through Digital Towneley:

AM: Is there an element of having your memories recorded, and the website may not be there for ever [...], but is there an aspect of –

P5: Leaving a mark

AM: Yeah, that you felt at all?

P14: Yeah.

P5: [...] So yes, we've left our mark. Albeit in a small way.

[P5 & P14 Feedback Interview: 422-44]

This perception was also put forward by P19, who saw the web app as a way for her experiences of Towneley Park to be accessible to her grandchildren. Indeed, it was not just the memories that she wanted to convey but their authenticity:

I also feel that having taken part in the project, it's a bit of a legacy? Like you're leaving something because you've made a concrete, you know, contribution to something. And if you think about what you do in life quite often the contributions you make are relatively fleeting [...] Whereas this [my grandchildren will] be able to read what I put and say "oh, Granny said that and Granny thought that"

[P19 Feedback Interview: 12-25]

Here, P19 is keen to leave behind something for her grandchildren which has come directly from her. She perceives the narratives on the web app to be accurate representations of her own opinion, which supports some of the legitimising effects of technology as cultural mediator (Brown 2007). As such, P19 identifies her contribution to the web app as agentic. In both P19's case and that of P5 & P14, there is no sense of passive involvement in the web app. They have had agency and therefore created and constructed their content which they regard as a legacy. This reaction demonstrates that the participants feel that the web app has meaning for them and this resonates with Smith's (2006) comments about the creation of meaning through the use of heritage. The potential for individuals to create meaning as part of a heritage process also resonates with the expectations that contemporary heritage publics have of heritage institutions; that they be given the opportunity for direct engagement in the interpretive process (Bailey-Ross et al. 2017). As a result in this project, these participants have circumvented the AHD of Towneley by leaving behind their own mark without the aid of the council. It is interesting to note P19's use of the term 'concrete', which implies the legitimacy of something monumental and therefore more akin to AHD notions. It may be that, for P19, Digital Towneley is authoritative enough to equate to a traditional heritage experience.

As we see, P19's reaction to the site foresees the creation of future memories, both with and for her own grandchildren. She also notes the comments by P3 about looking forward to his grandchild riding a bike so that he can take him to see the crocodile. This sense of the future is felt through Digital Towneley by other participants, too. The potential for future contributions to the web app caught the attention of P4 and P16 who seemed to enjoy the thought. This was also important to P5 and P14 who were curious to know what others might think, but also keen that Digital Towneley be easily found online through an Internet search. These are all different aspects of the future; the creation of future memories for P19,

the continuation of the web app for the others. These perspectives share a sense of future use or application for the web app. These reactions demonstrate some of the significance of the co-productive nature of this project and its impact on Digital Towneley. As Graham (2016) identifies, the effect of co-productive practice is to identify other voices as valid and to invite their inclusion. The perception of Digital Towneley's role as including and welcoming these voices demonstrates that the co-productive approach in this project has been successful.

The narratives about memory from the feedback interviews show us that Digital Towneley can function as a way of addressing missing memories. P19's identification with the other participants' memories of Towneley Park seems to address a gap in her experience of Towneley. She is able to bridge this gap and pass on to her grandchildren what she perceives as her own memories of the park through the medium of the web app. It is the textual content on the web app that P19 identifies with, while P17's own memories are evoked by text on the time line. For P4, P5 and P14 it is images on the web app which evoke memories of their pasts. The differences in the media that cause memorial reactions point to the different modes of understanding or interpretation in which participants have engaged with the web app and the memories themselves demonstrate different modes (Jewitt 2013a, Jewitt 2013b). Despite both being affected by text in Digital Towneley, P17's memory narrative is different to P19's in that it conveys spatial modes which communicate the location of the old school as well as his travel to Burnley and the ensuing navigational mistakes. P4's memory of the 'Seven Sisters' tree is also spatial. Inspired by images of the woodland, the memory is evoked in the same way that it is evoked during our field visit to that woodland.

In this way, the web app appears to have inspired the participants to recollect the spatial narratives that they have previously performed in the physical park (de Certeau 1988; Tilley 1994). It is worth remembering that Digital Towneley is not able to convey full experiences of space and place, as discussed in Chapters 5 & 6. However, the variety of modes engaged with through Digital Towneley confirm Urry & Larsen's (2011) observations that different visitors to sites are seeking different experiences. This shows us that varied connections spring from single nodes, helping to confirm Digital Towneley as a rhizomatic habitus (Bourdieu 1977; Deleuze & Guattari 2013) similar in nature to the physical park.

As mentioned, the involvement that the participants felt links strongly to notions of heritage use and the continual process of recreating heritage (Harvey 2001; Smith 2006). Combined with the sense of space and place that Digital Towneley appears to engender, the content and structure of Digital Towneley has enabled participants to explore their narratives (textual or otherwise) like exploring the streets of a city, enabling the participants to conceive of, and act out, new heritage performances (Lynch 1960; de Certeau 1988; Bagnall 2003) in terms of Towneley Park. The web app has facilitated the perception of futures as well as the recontextualisation of the participants' own memories in terms of others'. In this way the web app exhibits the memory functions of the physical park, but differs by allowing the participants the chance to imprint their own meanings for others to see. In addition, Digital Towneley offers the potential to repair or reconstruct memories. We see this with P19 who sees the web app as a means of re-engaging with the park's habitus. For P4, engagement with the park space is at least partly hindered by physical barriers caused by age. Digital Towneley may offer a way of overcoming these barriers, at least insofar as they enable nostalgia and memories to be evoked from a distance.

7.4: Digital Towneley as Medium for Change

Within the feedback interviews, some of the participants seemed to see Digital Towneley as a medium for change; changing and informing both the council and the public about how the park is seen. This section will explore some of the comments made by two groups of participants who demonstrate how their narratives inform us about the perceived role of Digital Towneley. In particular, we will see how the participants reveal their feelings that Digital Towneley has been able to convey important under-represented points of view about the park. The comments also reveal a level of dissent or dissatisfaction from the participants in relation to both national and local government.

In the feedback interview, P7 talks about the web app positively in the context of wider power structures of government:

What you're doing is valuable for the whole country really, because politicians get daft ideas like the happiness factor [...] but I think we've got to realise that we do need that

today; that sense that the park's good for the soul, we want to get some community, the sense of community that has been destroyed by politicians [...] I can't rate enough the value of having places like Towneley – all over the country [...] So the council should realise what an asset you are!

[P7 Feedback Interview: 323-9]

Here, P7 sees Digital Towneley as able to communicate a sense of spirituality and community, which he believes are qualities of the physical park. Moreover, P7 is setting these viewpoints up in opposition to both national government and the local council. The implication is that he sees Digital Towneley as being able to tell the story of the park, whereas the council have failed to do this; a failure based on his perception of the council's disengagement from the park space. Indeed, by linking these notions to the potential of parks 'all over the country' to provide happiness, P7 goes as far as positing that Digital Towneley is well placed to address happiness levels nationally. It is important to note that P7's point of view throughout the research project indicates a general opposition to government and a high valuation of the natural benefits of green spaces. What his observations do make clear, however, is the potential for the medium of Digital Towneley to succeed in delivering messages that government bodies of different levels may fail to. Thus, from P7's perspective, digital media is an appropriate and effective platform to represent park spaces and their associated meanings.

P7's reaction implies a belief that Burnley Council does not engage with the affective. Participants P5 and P14 have a similar reaction to Digital Towneley and its potential for conveying emotional values of the park. They also move on to discuss the potential for Digital Towneley to influence the council's perception of the park:

P5: Sorry to interrupt, but will people like the Council Head of Greenspaces read it, you know the guy who is in charge of the park?

P14: Actually, yeah, that's a good thing, go on, you say your piece, pet. [...]

P5: Well, he needs to read it and he needs to make sure how important this park is cos he's the guy in charge of the money isn't he?

P14: Well he's the one in charge of all this area, he's the overseer.

P5: Well there you go then. Bring him round to our house, we'll tell him! [laughs]

[P5 & P14 Feedback Interview: 148-56]

Here, the participants identify the 'guy who is in charge of the park'. P14 uses the term 'overseer' to indicate the Green Spaces manager. The term denotes an elevated person;

somebody who looks down onto the park and its staff and, perhaps for P5 and P14, its visitors. The term 'overseer' reminds us also of the historical role of the Towneley family within the park. As Wells (2011) identifies, landscape representations put forward the gentry's viewpoint as an expression of their ownership of that landscape. Prior to the sale of the park to Burnley Corporation, the overseer of the park would have been the head of the Towneley family and now, for P5 and P14 at least, the Head of Green Spaces occupies that position³⁶.

As an institution, it is no surprise that the council has a structure of hierarchy with positions of more or less responsibility and authority. Nonetheless, the term 'overseer' conjures the concept of a person who can see everything, resonating strongly with Foucault's discussion of Bentham's panopticon as a model for the power structures within society; the power of surveillance to exert control (Foucault 1980). Indeed, the role of the council as a power distanced from the park resonates further with Baudrillard's (2010) concept of the simulacral map insofar as the park is managed from computer representations and abstractions³⁷, as well as ranger visits to the park. These bureaucratic representations are not the same as experiencing the space of the park, since the knowledge of place comes from our performances within it (de Certeau 1988) and the map-based graphical representations of landscape may well encourage a privileging of positivistic and one-dimensional perspectives over affective and experiential perspectives (Tomášková 2007). The use of maps may also be several orders of representation away from the park itself. Screen representations of GIS maps are made of polygons based on satellite co-ordinate meta-data. For Baudrillard, these cascades of representation would remove the council further and further from the 'reality' of the park. As Eco (1996: 162) describes 'sport cubed', so is this 'park management cubed'; i.e. representations of representations of park space. P5 and P14 use the term 'overseer' and at the same time indicate that Digital Towneley can disrupt this 'oversight' owing to the direct and authoritative content from the participants themselves. Their own perception is that the

³⁶ Although I explain that their contribution is anonymous, P5 and P14 are uncomfortable at the thought of the Head of Greenspaces seeing their own comments when I explain that I have agreed to give the council some of the research data. Reminiscent, perhaps, of Towneley Hall staff in centuries past who would be anxious if a family member found out their opinions.

³⁷ In terms of maps, but also in terms of economic and statistical tables or reports and meta-cultural achievements like the Green Flag Award.

overseer is too far removed from the reality of the park and that Digital Towneley has the potential to redress this.

Certainly, the council also deploy rangers on the ground and gardening staff, all of whom experience the park on a phenomenological level and provide important subjective reactions to the park and its users. However, these staff may represent the enforcement of the expert custodians' vision or agenda and, in any case, their actions are less directly linked to the participants' uses of the park space³⁸. De Certeau's (1989) discussion of the city tells us that although an overall view of the park seems to present a complete picture, whether from a lofty position or through the medium of bureaucracy, it offers an incomplete understanding of the park. From this perspective, it is not surprising that the public may struggle with the authority of those in control. Urry & Larsen's (2011) discussion of the authenticity of tourist places is relevant here, even though for most of the participants the park is not used as a tourist destination, but as part of their local cultural and leisure fabric. The authorising influence of the local council is seen as no more legitimate than that of the park users.

Notwithstanding the power of the council, then, the participants perceive its knowledge as flawed. Moreover, P5 and P14 are identifying Digital Towneley as a means through which their feelings about the park, and those of like-minded participants, can be communicated to the council: 'he needs to read it and he needs to make sure how important this park is' [P5 Feedback Interview: 153]. Kidd (2014) argues that distinctions between the public and the official heritage bodies can reassert the power of the museum archive. In this project, the official bodies may be the local authority, as well as myself as heritage researcher and Digital Towneley as heritage object. In terms of the local authority for the participants in this project, the distinction is clear and Digital Towneley has allowed the participants to feel like they are in control (at least partly) and can make changes; that their voices can be heard. While Digital Towneley may be seen as an official platform, an important outcome of this project is that the participants did not just feel that they had added their own voices to an established heritage interpretation, but that they are able to challenge a traditional power base. Graham (2016) argues that co-productive approaches can provide contexts for

³⁸ Although this overlooks the leisure role of work, the non-council participants are likely to perceive a significant difference between their own use of the park and that of park ranger.

exploring and illuminating tensions between stakeholders and help to question whose responsibility it is for creating knowledge. This resonates with how the participants have perceived Digital Towneley, as the underlying co-productive nature of this research project has provided a discursive space to challenge the powers traditionally in control of the park. The term 'overseer' is distant and othering, resonating with P7's othering of the government by using the term 'politicians' almost pejoratively. P4 also others the council as a group ignorant of the value of the bowling green, while P21 regularly has to defend his football club from the local authority. The establishment, traditionally the othering party in heritage contexts, is itself othered. Of course, the participants have been contesting established hierarchies within the park for some time and this can be seen from my dialogue with P5 and P14 and P7. The participant narratives demonstrate long-standing conflicts of opinion. While this means that Digital Towneley is not needed to foment dispute, analysis of the participants' narrative reactions to Digital Towneley shows us that it has been seen as a potential force or tool for vocalising their challenge to established heritage narratives. Digital Towneley is therefore seen by participants as having the potential for impact.

Digital Towneley is able to represent knowledge of the park from the participants' points of view, as distinct from local authority agenda. My own agenda as a researcher was not raised by the participants in the feedback interviews. The danger of reasserting the authority of the archive or of myself as heritage professional (Kidd 2014) has been avoided through the co-productive approach of this project. As Bailey-Ross et al. (2017) identify, the trust demonstrated in this project helps to legitimate the participants' contributions and frame my involvement as transparent. As such, the co-created interpretive context is seen as an accurate expression of the participants' viewpoints; a knowledge world in which they are the experts. These knowledges are what Foucault would term 'local knowledges' (1980: 85-6). It is noteworthy that these local knowledges have, from the perspective of the participants, retained their integrity and have not been significantly colonised by the project.

7.5: Connecting and disconnecting with digital heritage

Participants came to Digital Towneley from a number of perspectives and these were able to shed light on the ways in which digital heritage may be made more or less accessible. This

section explores some of the responses in the feedback interviews that demonstrate the participants' connections and disconnections with digital media in general and Digital Towneley specifically. I draw on scholarly discussion of digital media (Schradie 2011; Light 2014) and digital heritage (de Groot 2009; Ciolfi 2015; Kidd 2017; Bailey-Ross et al. 2017) to explore the contexts for the participants in this regard. Firstly, this section will discuss some of the ways that participants felt excluded from Digital Towneley owing to its digital nature. Secondly I will show some of the positive digital contexts in which participants engaged with the web app. As such, the impact of Digital Towneley on this research project is shown, revealing how it has functioned as a tool for exploring digital heritage itself.

P4 expressed anxieties about digital technology in a general sense. In the feedback interview, he recounted the same family-based narrative from the initial interview which explained how he is unable to engage with digital technology owing to the loss of his wife and a son who lives too distant to help him learn how to use digital media [P4 Feedback Interview: 323-6]. This anxiety is coupled with what he describes as a pressure to adopt digital technology. In particular, he feels as though he is being forced into its use owing to the changes that are occurring in the world at large – i.e. an Internet connection and a digital device are needed to buy and maintain goods and services for his home [P4 Feedback Interview: 332-4]. The resulting impact on his sense of wellbeing is emotionally communicated:

yeah, I'm being dragged into it. Dragged in screaming, actually

[P4 Feedback Interview: 330]

For P11, there is also a sense of disconnection from the digital, but this participant is not lacking a support network. Rather, he is not interested in what social networks have to offer and would choose not to engage with them. However, P11 is also under pressure to connect so that he can communicate with his family:

I'm on Facebook, more because I feel that I have to be. I go on it maybe once every three weeks or something and it's only to find out what [my family] are up to. The reason I'm on it is because my wife said "Get a Facebook profile", but there's so much drivel on it

[P11 Feedback Interview: 143-5]

P1 and P19 express anxieties about social media, too, and explain that do not understand the language of social networks. Indeed, several of the participants link their age to anxieties about new technology and P1 even sites the term 'digital' as off-putting for her generation (i.e. 65+). Other participants express a sense of feeling left behind (P5, P7, P14, P16 & P17), sometimes as a direct result of having retired and therefore losing everyday connection with digital technology.

We can see from these examples that there are several aspects of digital technology that may impact the experience of digital heritage. P4 and P11 grudgingly move towards the adoption of digital technology in the context of perceived economic or social necessity. In this light, we can see the privileging of official discourses about digital connection and the (primarily) economic benefit, as put forward by *Go On UK* and *Culture is Digital* (DCMS 2018). This is perpetuated more widely in society by what Hewison (2014) identifies as the cultural economy. The participant responses support what Light (2014) and Kende (2015) identify about connection and disconnection with technology; social, economic and cultural contexts can influence our choices to engage with media. Significantly, the participants' responses do not acknowledge the potential for creativity or culture in terms of the digital. In this way, we can see that choices about engaging with digital culture are laden with meanings.

Despite examples of digital technology being used in heritage settings with positive results and visitor feedback (Ciolfi 2015; Bailey-Ross et al. 2017; Purkis 2017), the role of digital technology is perceived by these participants as having a largely practical function. Alternative messages which promote the leisure and cultural aspects of digital media (e.g. Carnegie Trust UK and Digital Unite) are overridden.

We have seen above how Digital Towneley may have been empowering for participants, but it is important to remain mindful of the potential impact of digital media. Since the official digital media discourses covered here are intended to change the behaviour of the public (i.e. make people engage with digital media), we might identify this as the colonisation of 'local knowledges' by 'unitary, formal and scientific discourses' (Foucault 1980: 85-6). Included here is the authorised discourse of cultural economy (Hewison 2014) and neoliberal market forces (Fredheim 2018) being voiced through *Go On UK* and *Culture is Digital* (DCMS

2018). In this sense, we can see how digital inclusion can be associated with disempowerment and disempowering discourses.

In addition to these barriers to digital engagement identified from the feedback interviews, the participants expressed some positive contexts for digital technology. For example, during a social event with peers, P4 was introduced to some of the creative potential for tablet devices:

Yeah, yeah. I like the way that they've got the picture and they go "tweet" [makes pinching gesture] and you can make it bigger or you move it here or move it that way and look at it from all different angles, because I am into photography to a certain extent so, yeah, I like all that idea, yeah yeah.

[P4 Feedback Interview: 347-50]

The participant expressed genuine passion and interest for how this technology allowed him to engage with his own creative practice. The feedback interviews demonstrated how other participants also have positive experiences with touch-screen devices. P13 was curled on her sofa as she browsed Digital Towneley on a tablet device, while P16 similarly described and acted out how she had engaged with the web app:

So, I'm here relaxing in my chair, usually have my feet up, get the tablet out and I mess around, don't I? And that's how I would enjoy looking at it, yeah.

[P16 Feedback Interview: 240-1]

In a similar vein, P14 expressed the potential for the tangible pleasure of using a touch screen device [P14 Feedback Interview: 397]. In this way, some of the participants demonstrated the domestication of, and pleasure taken in, using digital technology. In contrast to these leisure based and domesticated contexts, the role of the computer as a non-portable device was highlighted by P16:

You don't feel like going and sitting at a desk anymore with a PC, because you feel like you associate that with work

[P16 Feedback Interview: 231-3]

We see here the normalisation of technology, which has been highlighted through the prolific use of smartphones both in capturing our own images of heritage places (Coyne 2012) and sharing photos in person using a screen (Van House 2009). The participants here demonstrate how technology has been normalised in their lives, taking a role in relaxation and tactile pleasure. This shows us that technology can contribute to a positive and personal context within which participants can access digital heritage (Speed 2012) and reminds us

that the experience of technology is “physical and embodied” (Ciolfi 2015: 420). The participants demonstrate that the engagement of our bodies with digital media is relevant to the context of heritage interpretation, which echoes the approach of Bender et al. (2007). Moreover, the pleasurable or onerous effects of technology highlight the importance of acknowledging the affective (Smith & Campbell 2015) in understanding the role of digital heritage. Although the responses covered in this section are mostly not referring to heritage contexts, the values that the participants observe may form a fundamental framework for perceiving digital heritage. In this regard, the participants’ responses here help to provide an evidence base for best practice in digital technology (Bailey-Ross 2017) as they are important considerations in the development and deployment of digital heritage objects.

7.6: Summary

The Digital Towneley content has been impactful for the participants in a number of ways. Firstly, this is owing to the co-productive approach of this research project, which has shown the participants that their own interpretations are valued. This has resulted in the potential for genuine connection between the participants through the narrative content of the web app. Secondly, this co-productive approach has enabled Digital Towneley to provide a sense of legacy, similar to the ways that the physical park produces future concepts for the participants. In addition, the impact of Digital Towneley on the participants extends to the ways in which power is conceived in terms of the park. Digital Towneley content is seen as powerful enough to influence or challenge those in control of the park. Finally, the Digital Towneley object has had an impact that was not expected on this research project. Revealing itself as a tool, the web app has enabled discussion of digital media more generally and, therefore, provided valuable insight into the ways that digital heritage may be designed, interpreted and experienced.

Chapter 8: Concluding Comments

8.1: Introduction

This final chapter provides some concluding comments for the project. First of all this chapter addresses the research questions as identified at the end of Chapter 2 and gives a consideration of how this project has made a contribution to knowledge in the context of each question. Secondly, this chapter details areas for improvement to address some of the issues raised during this research and for taking this research further.

8.2: Research Question 1: Towneley Heritage Meanings

What Towneley Park heritage meanings do park users engage with and create?

As a selection of the possible heritage meanings linked to Towneley Park, those of the participants in this research project provide a varied tapestry. It has become clear throughout this project that people engage with the park from such a wide range of experiences, taking pleasure in so many different aspects of the park. Discussing and using the park with the participants, I have been able to illuminate multiple heritage narratives that are dear to the participants.

8.2.1: Traditional and everyday heritage

The discovery of heritage narratives has meant that I have been able to demonstrate the contrast and difference between heritage perspectives at Towneley. Chapter 4 shows that there is a strong dichotomy of narratives between the traditional and the everyday.

Traditional heritage has been demonstrated by the participants who value park history linked to established, and often dominant, social structures or discourses. The history of the Towneley family features here and provides a romanticised perspective of the park and the story of its landscape. The family's lineage works as a conduit through which the participants may access the past. This effect is also seen in other features of the park's history; the leisure role of the park during the industrial revolution; the age of the oak tree; the even greater age of the ice-age boulder. The importance of the park as a link to our past is clear and, during

the first interviews, they often frame this as being linked to traditional notions of history.

Authorised Heritage Discourses therefore feature prominently as contexts for knowing the park. An effect of this may be the association of particular world views with the park. For example, the masculinist or colonial perspectives of landscape (Wells 2011) expressed by reference to Elgar and Constable. These traditional heritage meanings resonate with the privileging of eliticised events and achievements over the everyday. In this way, the participants appear to demonstrate how they have been primed by society to value a particular type of culture (Bourdieu 1993). Here, the monumentalism of the museum effect may be observed as an aspect of the park's heritage (Hooper-Greenhill 2004) as the park space becomes a museum with exhibits for the Towneley family (the hall), war memorial (the cenotaph and the trees), architecture (the hall and the ha-ha wall) and landscape (the hills and the oak tree).

In addition to these traditional heritage meanings, the participants identified many of the ways in which the park represents their own lives; past, present and future. I have categorised these in this project as everyday heritage meanings, since they diverge from the established heritages that provide narratives about the eliticised of society.

Histories personal to each participant featured as a significant part of this project. These stories were of family and lived experiences of the park, including spiritual and emotional meanings tied up in the park space. These powerful values also resulted in a museumification of the park with memorial trees functioning as links to family members, or features of the park (e.g. viewpoints or streams) linking to past experiences and visits.

In terms of wider histories, the participants described everyday heritages linked to the park, such as the histories of the football and crown green bowling leagues. Here, although threatened by funding cuts and the decreasing popularity of bowling, these heritages of Towneley Park are demonstrated as living and active with participants taking an active role in their performances. We can see from this how park users have agency to create their own heritage meanings in Towneley Park.

It is clear then that the Towneley Park heritage narratives represent a wide range of values held by the participants. No participant was exclusively traditional or everyday in the

heritage that they found meaningful for the park. There were, nonetheless, indications of how different contexts can affect the power of different heritage narratives for the park users.

In this thesis, then, I have labelled the histories and narratives of established institutions and elicited groups in society as traditional heritage. While, in contrast, I have labelled the practices and rituals of the everyday people of society and the subaltern as everyday heritage. This dichotomy correlates well with Smith's distinction between the AHD and the non-AHD.

The power of AHD to control heritage use and experience at Towneley Park is also demonstrated through this research project. Although non-AHD values are part of the park, this research demonstrates that AHD agendas hold more power in the administration of Towneley. A clear example of this was shown with the Local Authority's refusal of a viewing bench that would benefit the public; choosing instead to maintain access to a viewpoint available only to a select few heritage professionals. Similarly, Green Flag status for the park and heritage restrictions on permitted plants further demonstrate the top-down approach to park administration.

However, AHD values are embraced by the participants in many cases, and there are signs of resistance and agency from the participants' actions and responses. What this research has shown is that authorised and non-authorised heritage discourses can co-exist both in the conception of a Towneley Park heritage and in the perception of that heritage by an individual park user. For example, despite the local authority imposing their heritage agenda on the role of the Italian Flower Garden, we see that some participants have been able to embrace the traditional historical authenticity of the Barwise Dahlia and contribute their own vision to the landscape of the park.

Chapter 4 puts forward that the participants know their own histories, not as a product of dominant present-day discourse (Smith 2006), but as a product of their own habitus that includes their lived experiences. Distinct examples of this are the memorial trees of P4 and P14, which signal strong family memories and experiences of Towneley. These participants

have authored their own heritage and know it as authentic experience, documented by memory, emotions and experiences.

8.2.2: Narrative

The narratives through which the participants communicated the park revealed a great deal about how they valued it. Included here are the spoken and spatial narratives that the participants used to describe their relationship with Towneley.

The experience of a park space normally involves the senses and, in this regard, it was no surprise that participants described sights, sounds and smells as important aspects of the park. This research project has highlighted how the senses play an important role in the formation of heritage meanings. In addition to this, the importance of our physicality has been made clear from the participants' discussions of moving through the space of the park. Descriptions of long journeys through the park are one of the ways in which the relevance of corporeality is made apparent.

As the research progressed, the participants demonstrated the different ways in which the park interacts with the human body. Stories of the park are told in relation to the sting of nettles, the chill of the streams or the sweet taste of ripe mulberries. In addition, the participants touched the leaves of trees, sat on steps or picked knotweed as we walked through the park. The role of the park as a sensorial and tangible place became clear, and associated with these stories were strong emotions about family and friends, both past and present.

As part of a group or as individuals, the participants expressed strong attachments to the park. The participants' spoken narratives demonstrated some of these connections, such as Towneley being "in my blood", taking "pilgrimages" to the park, and describing the tree canopies as cathedrals. These emotional and spiritual connections with the park linked also to the broader concept of perceiving the park through the human body. The participants demonstrated an indistinct knowledge of the park that was akin to Shepherd's (2008) articulation of a relationship with the Cairngorm Mountains. Clear examples of this were

seen with the abandoned bandstand area in the park. Both P4 and P5 communicated that its value was inherent to being present in that place. Foucault's heterotopia has worked well to define these Towneley places.

The data shows how the physical changes to the park's space over time have had an impact on participants' perception of heritage. For some, these changes can threaten their connections to the park. This is shown with P14, whose childhood memories of the park's roses and clean-cut lawns enable a connection to his family and times spent with his grandfather. The park's physical changes appear to prevent him from performing or re-performing these memories. Conversely, P21's memories are not threatened by what he sees as the improvements to the park's landscape. Changes notwithstanding, P1 makes efforts to produce narratives of meaning within the park for young people by engaging them in activities (e.g. daffodil planting) which involve action in the park and movement through it.

The spaces and potential for movement between them is an important aspect of Towneley Park heritage. Chapter 5 has demonstrated the fluid nature of the space that makes up the park. Spaces signified by objects like the cedar tree have indefinite boundaries and so they flow into the surrounding spaces. Elsewhere the geography across the park is seen as a connected whole, as defined by P7's freedom of movement through the undergrowth. More than the geographical smoothness of the spaces in Towneley, the participants show that their knowledge of the park crosses time barriers as well as geographical barriers. The participant narratives of the park span time periods in the way that they have communicated the park to me during the project. For example, relating the park and their experiences of it in a non-linear fashion, jumping from childhood to adulthood and back again. The freedom of choice as a quality of the park is important here, and this allows for freeform spatial narratives to be performed, or to re-perform past experiences. In visiting the park with the participants it was clear that they experience the park across space and time. Their lived experiences of the park are resonant as part of their Towneley habitus, and the park itself ignites memories. More than reminiscence, however, the park offers an authentic connection to their lived experiences and the opportunity to re-perform them. This is evident from the impact that the physical space of the park has on the participants, for example at the derelict music pavilion. We can see, then, that the park is experienced as a network like the rhizome,

which allows park users to know the park across layers of time and space.

8.2.3: Heterotopic diagrams of Towneley

The nature of places in the park space also help us to model the nature of the Towneley rhizome. Chapter 6 identifies separate places in Towneley as having heterotopic qualities and some consisting of phenomenological diagrams. These diagrams represent the potential for dis-embodied cognition, with the park environment itself functioning as part of the process of understanding place and heritage meanings. The physical material of the park is integral to apprehending some of the meanings of Towneley.

Although in some cases the boundaries of these heterotopias are indistinct, they nonetheless provide discrete areas of alternative discourse within the park. Examples of this are seen with the memorial tree for P4's wife or the way in which P7 perceives sound barriers as place boundaries in the park. As such, these heterotopias also feature as part of the disruption of moving from place to place, whether within the park or in terms of the park versus the surrounding area. The Towneley rhizome therefore contains heterotopic emplacements which act as nodes within the network of the park.

8.2.4: Contribution to Knowledge

This project has made a contribution to the understanding of heritage in a number of contexts. The findings support some of what Smith (2006) notes as the impact of Authorised Heritage Discourses on the controlling of narratives at heritage sites. We also see the importance of Waterton's (2005) advice on embracing both traditional and non-traditional heritage narratives. Building on these ideas, this research contributes to our knowledge of how Authorised Heritage Discourses may play their part in park heritage. In particular, this research sheds light on the ways in which established heritage discourses underpin the administration of parks, and therefore control the ways in which park users are permitted to engage with or create heritage.

In addition, however, this project has shown that Towneley Park users are able to adopt AHD

values without being overwhelmed by them. Despite their prevalence in the overarching administration of a heritage site, Authorised Heritage Discourses are malleable and vulnerable to resistance through the agentic performance of heritage. They need not be rejected outright for the creation of everyday heritage experiences. As such, this research contributes to our further understanding of the nature of Authorised Heritage Discourses and identifies an overlap between the everyday and the traditional heritage narratives found in parks.

This research project has contributed to our knowledge of park heritage by exploring the ways in which aspects of that heritage may be usefully modelled. Nora's *Lieux de Memoire* already provides a way of exploring how memories may be deposited and experienced in a landscape. By combining Bourdieu's *habitus* with Foucault's *heterotopia* and Deleuze & Guattari's *rhizome*, this research has been able to model Towneley heritage as a dynamic network. As such, this thesis makes a contribution to the literature by providing an overall model to help theorise heritage landscapes.

The project works towards developing a vocabulary for describing Towneley heritage in terms of narrative and networks. As such, beyond this project, the model may be used to explore how heritage meanings are formed and experienced in other outdoor heritage contexts. In addition, this furthers our understanding of *heterotopias* in heritage contexts, showing that they may be constituted of phenomenological diagrams that must be encountered in order for their meanings to be operationalised, or narrated. The alternative perspectives provided by *heterotopias* are important to acknowledge because they may help us to understand how AHD narratives can be undermined or overridden. Such activities as P1 planting daffodils with young people is an example of producing *heterotopic* spaces that can operationalise individual or personal meanings. This thesis makes a contribution to knowledge by identifying some of the ways in which outdoor heritage sites may enfranchise their visitors and circumvent AHD narratives.

8.3: Research Question 2: Research Approaches for Heritage

What research approaches may work towards uncovering everyday heritage meanings in addition to Authorised Heritage Discourses?

As detailed in Chapter 3, I adopted a multimethods approach for this project with the aim of engaging participants with the project on their own terms; taking part in and communicating ideas about Towneley Park. The semi-structured interviews helped to make this work as it allowed the participants' narratives to lead the direction of research. Additionally, by writing a reflexive journal throughout the project, I was also able to clarify some of my own biases and agendas and so this approach overall embraced the affective elements of research both from my own perspective and those of the participants.

8.3.1: Phenomenology

The benefits of this approach were the discovery of heritage meanings related to Towneley and attached to the affective lived experiences of the participants. A key aspect here was the exploration of phenomenological data, and so the inclusion of field visits to the park with participants helped me to gain a greater understanding of the heritage values at Towneley Park than had I conducted interviews alone. The physical importance of a park space is no surprise, but it was important to develop a way of exploring this physicality. The approach of the Leskernick project (Bender et al. 2007) was influential for this project, but important also were other discussions of our use of space, including those of de Certeau (1984), Massey (2012) and Merleau-Ponty (2014). The initial interviews with participants already contained rich descriptions of sights, sounds and sensations that are part of the experience of outdoor environments. However, engagement with the participants within the park space itself proved to be more than simple confirmation of interview contents.

The kinds of narratives that came out from the participants during this project involved the use of their bodies as apprehending the park, as well as their emotions about the park. Such knowledge is normally set against traditional heritage and historical knowledge. Narratives which involve the affective and the phenomenological can contest established positivistic notions of knowledge (Hodder 1986; Porter 1996; Spector 1996; Tomášková 2007). The initial

interviews with the participants revealed more historical or traditional heritage narratives, and therefore revealed Authorised Heritage Discourses associated with the park. In contrast, the visits to the park encouraged different narratives that focused around affect and the senses. Field visits were therefore crucial to the apprehension of the park from the participants' perspectives. Since these perspectives involved non-AHD and AHD meanings, it is clear that field visits or practice-based research is a significant tool in uncovering everyday heritage meanings and traditional heritage meanings.

8.3.2: Co-production

As outlined in the methodology chapter, my aim for this project was to involve the participants in both the contribution of content to the web app and in the interpretation of that content. It is in this sense that the project was co-productive. Although I did not adopt a strict 'radical trust' approach (Lynch & Alberti 2010; Bailey-Ross et al. 2017), I did build in freedoms for the participants to control the content of Digital Towneley. I discuss in this section the evidence that these freedoms were effective.

The Digital Towneley content was generated from the interviews, field visits and discussions with the participants. While I edited this content, the participants had some agency in the editing process themselves. The data generated from my interactions with the participants were rich in quality and extensive in volume. However, the participants did not take the opportunity to take their own photographs during the field visits or develop poetry or artwork in response to the park or the project. In retrospect, this was an aspect of the project which was too ambitious and I discuss below some of the indications from participants that my approach could have been clearer.

In several cases the participants shared media with me or shared spatial narratives within the park and so communicated beyond the spoken word. In two instances, participants gave me tangible data during the field visits, with P8 collecting leaflets and newsletters for me and P10 handing me a magazine cutting of information about Joseph Barwise (Figure 23). These interactions in part are reactions to the park environment and context. The leaflets and newsletters from P8 were directly related to Towneley Park and Towneley Hall, while the

magazine cutting contained historical information about the park. More than their direct relevance to the park, however, these objects provide an indication of engagement with the project and with me as a researcher. They may be representative of the participant/researcher relationship and so represent the enfranchisement and investment in the research project.

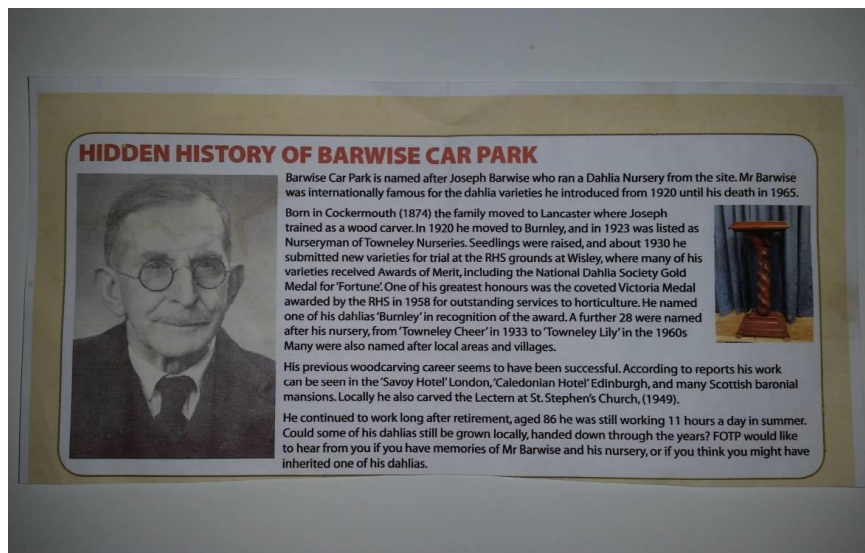


Figure 23: Magazine cutting from P10

Outside of the context of the field trips, some participants also contributed media to the project. P1 shared with me her digital photography collection of Towneley Park images as well as her collection of books relating the history of Burnley and Towneley. P4 shared his photographs of the park and video footage of the park in different seasons which had been taken in the early 2000s. P16 shared a collection of her own photographs showing the Towneley Causeway bowling club and matches from the end of the twentieth century.

The sharing of these media demonstrates the passion and involvement that the participants have in relation to the park. They represent memories and experiences with people or with the park environment and so contain some of the meanings of the park for these participants. These media helped to inform the development of Digital Towneley, but they may also represent the level of engagement with this research project; that the project was perceived as a context in which the participants felt comfortable sharing the connections

they have with the park. In this way, the co-productive approach of this project was successful in bringing non-AHD meanings to the Digital Towneley interpretation.

As well as sharing media, some of the participants engaged with the development of Digital Towneley, establishing a level of co-production in the project. Once the preliminary content had been developed, I made it available to the participants so that they had the opportunity to approve, edit or remove the content related to themselves. Although responses were not forthcoming from some, others did engage with this part of the research project.

P2, P3, P5-8, P11-16, P22, P23 – Confirmed content acceptable

P1 – Confirmed content acceptable, but suggested spelling/grammar corrections.

P4 – Raised some concern about accuracy of transcript and requested corrections.

P9 & P10 – Rewrote biography section

P17 – Confirmed content acceptable, but suggested bowling correction.

P19 – Confirmed content acceptable with correction to Cenotaph entry.

Table 5: Participant responses to preliminary Digital Towneley content

As Table 5 shows, 20 of the 25 participants engaged with the consultation at least as far as giving their permission for the content to be used. Six of these suggested alterations, two of whom (P9 and P10) rewrote their respective participant biographies completely.

The strongest senses of engagement are perhaps where the participants have suggested alterations. Even the simple spelling and grammatical corrections spotted by P1 indicate that the participant felt comfortable enough with their role in the research project to suggest corrections. P9 and P10 felt comfortable enough to completely rewrite my narrative content for the web app. Their own versions reduced the detail levels over all, but also included new detail, and the language of the pieces was changed with the effect of removing colloquialisations. This resonates with Lynch & Alberti's (2010: 14) observation that "some are labelled by the way they speak or the words they use". There is evidence here of my own

agency as researcher that has decided on a style of language to define the participants; while my aims had been to accurately represent their thoughts and opinions, there is a strong possibility here that I inadvertently 'labelled' P9 and P10. Although I aimed for the informal style of the interview conversation, I ended up bringing some objective-sound language (Spector 1996) values to their view of Towneley.

My original pieces had been drawn from the interview transcripts and so contained elements of the participants' East Lancashire accents (e.g. "have a do on everything") or retained the conversational quality of the interview (e.g. "another thing we were able to do recently"). P9 and P10's versions are by contrast written in a kind of Standard English. The participants have cut out parts from the transcript-based versions and so removed the context that I included. They appear to have been aiming for a more succinct, and perhaps more affective, description. Table 6 shows some of the details which were removed from my proposed narratives and compares it with the participants' edited narratives.

Some of the basic framework of my original narrative is maintained; both broadly keep to the same sequence of events ranging from past to current involvement in the park. However, having been given the opportunity, the participants clearly felt that they wanted their point of view expressed in a different way. Their own narratives offer different focuses for their perspectives of the park. For example, P9 introduces more colours into her description of the hall's ivy:

Autumn brings a whole new palette of colour [...] the ivy on the Hall turning yellow, orange and a deep red

[P9 narrative]

Compared to my original narrative, which describes only a 'deep red', it is clear that for P9 the detail of the ivy is an important factor. Moreover, the different colours represent the change in seasons; they indicate a process of change that is enjoyed rather than just the colour. This process of change is made clear by the participants throughout the initial interviews and field visits and links to the relationship that participants can develop with the park over time. By contrast, my own narrative is temporally static. Despite my having noted

| | Researcher's narrative | Participant's narrative |
|-----|---|--|
| P9 | I really enjoy seeing the park being used. It's great that you can come any day of the week, whatever the weather, and there's always somebody here. People flock to that sunny area with the benches in front of the pond and mornings you'll find it difficult to get a seat. Dog walking is very popular and we've walked our dogs here in the past. | It is good that the park is well used, with people enjoying it every day, regardless of the weather, whether sitting on the benches, using the keepfit equipment, or walking their dogs as we once did. |
| p9 | In spring and summer I love the flowers in the Italian Garden. The flowers and colours throughout the park are lovely and I really enjoy seeing the daffodils coming up in spring, too. | As a keen gardener, the colours and smells of the flowers, particularly in the Italian Garden, are at their best in the spring and summer, and the daffodils coming into bloom never fail to put a smile on my face. |
| P10 | I'm interested in gardening and this is probably my most important link to the park. Something that drew me to the park in the early days was Vincent's Garden Centre, where the garden centre is currently and I still enjoy visiting the garden centre as it is now. | Gardening is my passion and I remember visiting Vincent's Garden Centre in the park and still enjoy the centre that is there today. |
| P10 | The beauty of this park is its openness so you can walk for quite a good distance and visitors often seem impressed with the vastness of it. You can lose yourself here in the park and get away from all the other goings on outside. | Wandering the surprising number of paths allows people to unwind and escape the hustle and bustle of the outside world. It is a place that has given us, and countless thousands of people, great pleasure. |

Table 6: Comparison of my proposed narrative and the narratives written by P9 and P10

the importance of time in relation to Towneley heritage (and visualising this in time lapse videos), my creative writing of P9 and P10 has somehow overlooked time as an important theme.

P10's use of language may also be contrasted with my own to highlight some qualities of the park:

Planting daffodil bulbs with local schoolchildren adds to the riot of colour in the park

[P10 narrative]

The participant's use of the word 'riot' adds a sense of action to the passage; it implies agency, vibrancy and fun. My own original narrative by comparison blandly offered "brings some colour to the park". Additionally, P10 is demonstrating their own action in and for the park; they are planting the flowers *with* the children. Here, the act of gardening (an important hobby for both P9 and P10) may be linked with combating decay and chaos (Gough 2007), but more significantly here draws our attention to the integration that the participants have in the construction, development and maintenance of Towneley Park's heritage. The participants are also directly involved in the heritage process of the park, through the planting of flowers generally as well as the sourcing and planting of historic dahlias within the park space.

P10's approach correlates well with what other participants (P1, P7, P8) identify as an absence of action or people within the Digital Towneley representation. Along with what P1 describes as my 'calming' [P1 Feedback Interview: 187] portrayal of the park in Digital Towneley, the changes made by P9 and P10 help to illuminate the traits of my own creative style as it has manifested in this project.

These examples demonstrate that the co-productive approach adopted in this project has been successful in enfranchising the participants. I have maintained control over much of the process in this project. Although this has been based on the time constraints of a PhD project and the practicalities of developing Digital Towneley, such constraints may nonetheless represent my bias (Lynch & Alberti 2010) and therefore some suggestions for improving this

process are discussed below. Graham (2016) discusses how participants changing their narratives challenged the Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums' ideas about how a museum object might be defined. Here, in a similar way, the changes to the Digital Towneley narratives have provoked me to question my positionality and my institutional, academic or subconscious bias. Incorporated within my methods, I aimed for my reflexive journal to make me mindful of my bias and this is discussed in the next section.

8.3.3: Reflexivity

I had developed relationships with the participants over the course of the project and so the field trips took on a certain quality of being a social event. My field trip with P1 and P2 demonstrates some of the ways in which I had become engaged with the project. During the start of my field trip around the park with P1 and P2, we had open-ended conversations about various aspects of the park, but also about our lives more generally. My research journal captured some of the concerns I had about my perceived role as researcher:

We made some small talk about what I might do after my research - I felt it necessary to mention the possibility of continuing the research at Towneley; I have become aware recently about the potential offence that may be taken if I suggest that I will just move on afterwards.

[Reflexive Diary Entry: June 2014]

From my contact with the participants, I had become aware of how important the park is to each of them. My research journal identifies that, from my perspective at least, I had developed an affective engagement with P1 and P2. Put simply, I cared about their feelings; how they viewed my intentions was important to me and, in this sense, the research participants had already impacted on my life and social connections.

I was mindful and wary of the potential for my academic interest to make me distant and insensitive to the participants' perspectives (Waterton 2005) and I felt manipulative because I was aware that there was an unequal power balance. The participants had something that I wanted: their knowledge, experience and perspective. These thoughts highlighted for me my own motivations as a researcher and I was concerned that my own research narrative would override the heritage narratives of the participants.

My concerns were laid to rest somewhat by participant reactions to Digital Towneley, which were in general positive as discussed in Chapter 7. P5 and P14, in particular, expressed satisfaction with the project and appeared to show genuine appreciation of my approach:

P5: It was nice to have somebody take an interest

P14: [...] It's like somebody taking an interest after years of being, you know, out there in the wilderness, cos we know it's here, but nobody else knows it's here

[P5 & P14 Feedback interview: 142-146]

Here, P5 and P14 were identifying the interest I had shown in their own narratives of the park in contrast to the traditional narratives put forward by the local authority custodians. These responses are representative of several of the participants' reactions to the project and they highlight some of the success that the project had in engaging the local park users.

This shows that my own concern for the participants' feelings was expressed through my reflexive diary and this acted as a reminder of my responsibility as a researcher and my role as custodian of the participants' stories. This helped to prevent distancing myself from the human significance of the park spaces and helped me to develop more accurate interpretations of the participants' park. The participants' feelings involved everyday heritage and traditional heritage, for both of which the participants felt strongly. The reflexive approach therefore helped me to be attuned to the importance of Authorised and Non-Authorised Heritage Discourses for the participants.

8.3.4: Open-ended approach

By letting the participants' narratives and uses of the park determine the direction of this research project, I had taken an open-ended approach. While the intention here was to give the participants the freedom to communicate Towneley Park from their perspectives, there are indications that this approach was unhelpful in some cases.

The reaction of P2 to the field visit demonstrated tension in the research process. While I aimed to engage participants on their own terms and to avoid imposing my own epistemologies, my approach demonstrated a potential to have a negative impact on the

participants. During the field visit with P1 and P2 we had been walking through the park when we reached a pathway junction. To avoid imposing my own perspectives, I let the participants decide where we would go. For P2, this didn't work well:

It is frustrating, he says, to have to think what the important parts of the park are. My impression is that I have irritated him.

[P2 Field visit: 92-3]

It was evident that my approach here fell short of allowing the participants to use the park in their own way. Although I had left the decisions up to the participants, my role as researcher clearly affected the dynamic of our walk. P2 clearly felt a pressure to identify 'important' parts of the park and this was frustrating because I had not provided guidance on how to categorise such 'importance'. Despite aiming to be transparent and inclusive, my approach may at times have appeared to conceal a secret research agenda.

Owing to my aims to focus on the participants' points of view, I often found it difficult to describe the aims of the project in terms that the participants found satisfying. In one case during the field visit P6 asked what the aim of my research was and whether the hall within the park should be included. This demonstrates that the recruitment poster language of my project affected what the participants saw as the aims of my research. This is unsurprising, but a direct result here is that, for P6 at least, my recruitment language or approach seems to have inadvertently discouraged the discussion of the hall as an aspect of the park.

Other participants may have felt similarly constrained. In explaining my research in terms of landscape archaeology³⁹ and digital heritage, it is likely that I did not make my intentions clear or accessible enough. In a similar situation, P15 asked about the aim of the web app:

P15 asks about the website and whether it is meant to be for tourists. We stop while I try to explain what my aims are (this is difficult because it depends on what data I get from the participants and I explain this to her)

[P15 Field visit: 49-52]

I had attempted to explain to P15 that the purpose of the project web app was to learn

³⁹ Landscape archaeology in retrospect was an off-putting term. While a key element of my theory in the initial stages of the project, this became less of a focus as my research developed.

about the effect of digital representation. As the above extract shows, P15 perceived the web app in terms of tourism promotion (indeed this was also her perception of the web app's potential during the initial interview). My descriptions or motivations were esoteric and perhaps full of jargon; my aims as an academic may appear arcane (Watson & Waterton 2010). These kinds of terminology and motivations, less accessible to the general public, or layperson, resonate with Raphael Samuel's (2012) identification of academic barriers within historiography which keep knowledge out of reach for the majority of society.

While there is evidence that many of the participants felt free to talk about the park in their own terms, it can be seen that the open-ended approach of this research project caused confusion and frustration for some participants. As a result, these participants are likely to have moderated their own responses or actions in and about the park and therefore prevent them from communicating the meanings of the park, whether AHD or non-AHD.

8.3.5: Contribution to knowledge

The findings demonstrate that there are significant heritage meanings which may remain unspoken in the context of interviews alone. This has particular importance for the theorisation of park heritage, which can also extend to other outdoor heritage contexts. Furthermore, by incorporating these approaches into museum and gallery research, we may discover hitherto unspoken visitor experiences. As such, this research contributes a multi-disciplinary methodology which may be adapted to suit the purposes of future heritage research.

This research project has made a contribution to knowledge by showing how direct engagement with a heritage site and its visitors can illuminate a range of heritage meanings to include both AHD and non-AHD as part of the everyday heritage created through lived experience.

The co-productive approach as part of this project has been shown to enfranchise the participants and to encourage them to take ownership of their content. The result of giving the participants freedoms to include their own content has been the inclusion of concepts

like time and affect, which can contrast with AHD notions of crystallised pasts and rationality. As such, this thesis contributes to the literature by affirming the importance of co-productive approaches in embracing a range of heritage meanings, and in challenging the roles and positionality of institutions and researchers. The thesis also makes clear that my use of a reflexive diary has been effective as a way of accounting for my own biases and agendas.

This project has therefore made a contribution to knowledge by identifying a multimethods approach which can be employed to successfully explore a range of AHD and non-AHD meanings at outdoor heritage sites.

8.4: Research Question 3: Digital Towneley and Heritage

In what ways may a digital heritage object represent Towneley Park heritage?

Towneley Park heritage is unsurprisingly varied and Digital Towneley was never going to capture and represent it in its entirety. Nonetheless, reactions to Digital Towneley were positive overall. This seemed to be for two reasons; firstly, that the web app offered an accurate or faithful representation of the park and the participants' comments about it, and secondly that involvement in the project brought a sense of agency to the participants that seemed to empower and enfranchise them in terms of Towneley Park, as discussed in the previous section. This section summarises how Digital Towneley was successful in representing Towneley Park heritage, paying attention to narrative, space and heterotopia as well as some of the ways that heritage values are contested.

8.4.1: Narrative, non-linearity and affect in Digital Towneley

The success of developing relationships was integral to the narratives that I was able to create and share with the participants. The Digital Towneley project was therefore a product of those relationships and the narrative of Digital Towneley had the capacity to resonate strongly with the participants. This is important because a significant part of Towneley heritage is comprised of the narratives of the park users.

Of course, the inclusion of narratives per se is not owing to a digital feature of the web app;

traditional, non-digital, heritage representation can communicate stories. However, Digital Towneley was able to bring the participants' stories together as a network that mirrored the non-linear ways in which Towneley narratives are performed, created and retold. Thus, the digital structure of the web app enabled a faithful representation of the participants' Towneley heritage narratives.

Some participants saw the project as an honest reflection of their own feelings and experiences about the park. The everyday elements of Towneley heritage represented on the web app were impactful for the participants insofar as they communicated important stories of memory and experience within the park. For some participants, Digital Towneley took on enough authority as a heritage object that it represented a legacy of park experiences. This compounds what Kidd (2014) notes about the authenticity of narratives and their ability to add credibility to an archive. Here, the Digital Towneley archive of narrative functions as a more traditional monument made accessible to friends and family, and through it many participants felt that they had left their mark. Digital Towneley therefore functions as a living part of Towneley Park; it represents Towneley Park heritage well enough to effectively simulate the physical park.

8.4.2: Space and heterotopia

Although Digital Towneley was able to express concepts of space and place, unsurprisingly there were aspects of the park which did not translate to digital format. In Chapter 6 we see that the physicality of a park place can be fundamental to the communication of heritage meanings; indeed, that its physicality in conjunction with human presence in it, forms the language of the heritage meanings of that place – this creates the diagram of heterotopias and makes it translatable to the self and to others. The derelict music pavilion demonstrated this effect most clearly. For P4 the digital representation of the derelict pavilion was bereft of meaning, while our visit to the physical park inspired emotional and impassioned memories of past events. For P5 I had to be taken to the derelict pavilion to experience its place and her own understanding of it was inextricably linked to her lived experience of its physical landscape. As such, we can see that Digital Towneley was unable to produce the heritage of Towneley Park in relation to places that required a heterotopic diagram constructed from

spatial narrative and phenomenological experience.

In other ways, Digital Towneley was able to communicate aspects of the park's heritage well. This is demonstrated in Chapter 6 where we see that some of the participants experienced a sense of place through using the web app. The map element of Digital Towneley demonstrates how the web app was able to communicate a sense of the wider space and place of the park even though it was not a geographically accurate representation. In the same way, the network structure of Digital Towneley, while not an exact replica of the Towneley space, enabled the participants to navigate their own way through the content. In this way, Digital Towneley successfully provided an important aspect of the ability to perform and re-perform park heritage experiences. In addition to the spatial representation of the map, the Digital Towneley map also offered the participants a series of names with which to communicate about Towneley Park. Furthermore, P19 explains how the narrative content of the map was able to provide her with a sense of shared Towneley experience. Here, Digital Towneley was able to offer a common language for the participants to engage with, both in terms of textual names and spatial concepts. The map itself was thus able to function as a heterotopic diagram that provided users with the language to operationalise Towneley discourse. The map's geographically inaccurate representation and its links to other parts of the virtual park disrupted spatial norms and allowed the user the freedom to construct heritage meanings in a similar way to being in the park.

8.4.3: Towneley Public versus Towneley Custodian

During the feedback interviews, P11 voiced his disagreement with including images of park litter in Digital Towneley. He put forward a perspective that challenged that of the majority of the participants by demonstrating the council's need to 'put a positive spin' on the park. This represents a sanitisation of Towneley, especially for the participants who largely viewed the litter in Digital Towneley as accurate and appropriate.

What this conflict of opinion reveals is more than a simple disagreement about the level of litter in the park. Rather, P11 draws separating lines between the Council and the views expressed by everyday non-professional park users. He frames the Council as the rational

expert custodian in contrast to an irrational public. The different outlooks help to show some of the ways in which there is miscommunication between the participants and between the local authority and the local park users.

Following the development of Digital Towneley and then presenting it to the participants, the digital heritage object has worked as a catalyst to draw out some of the distinctions that the council may be making between itself and the public. The relevant digital features of the web app here are its ease of access and distribution; making it available to the participants and observing their reactions to it have been facilitated by Digital Towneley's portability. This supports Kidd's (2014) observations about the potential role of digital heritage; in addition to successes of heritage interpretation, Digital Towneley and the process surrounding its development provides a valuable opportunity to shed light on the actions and aims of the council as heritage custodian. Significantly, therefore, Digital Towneley is a key feature of this project in being able to represent some of the power relations in Towneley heritage.

8.4.4: Contribution to knowledge

This project demonstrates how digital objects may be perceived as legitimate heritage objects. In addition, some of the limits of Digital Towneley underline the importance of phenomenological experience as meaningful and potentially irreplaceable. As such, Digital Towneley has helped to underline the importance of dis-embodied cognition (see Chapter 6), or the role of the world around us as part of our cognitive processes. This project therefore makes a contribution to knowledge by identifying the limitations of digital heritage objects in representing phenomenologically experienced heritage.

This research also explores the intersection of the senses and emotions with digital media. Kidd (2017) identifies a need to develop our vocabulary for expressing concepts of empathy and digital heritage. This project contributes to our knowledge of the relationship between the digital and our affective experience of outdoor heritage. On the one hand this may involve the adoption of theoretical concepts such as heterotopia and habitus, while on the other hand it involves the important and meaningful language of a heritage site as used by local communities.

The content of Digital Towneley has been effective in several ways, but the role of Digital Towneley has been revealed to be more than simply a heritage object. Rather, by being part of the discussion, Digital Towneley has illuminated some of the ways in which heritage is perceived by different stakeholders. This project provides a contribution to knowledge by showing that the process of developing a digital heritage object can itself reveal new information about park heritage, and such methods are likely to be fruitfully applied to wider heritage contexts.

8.5: Research Question 4: Digital Media and Digital Heritage

How do socio-cultural discourses around digital media affect the experience of digital heritage?

My feedback interviews with the participants included discussions and observations about digital media in general. As we have seen in Chapter 7.5, there are various aspects of connecting and dis-connecting with digital media that affect the role and impact of digital heritage. The discourse that the participants entered into revealed some underlying values about digital media and technology that provide further contexts for the framing of digital heritage.

In Chapter 7, we see that at face value the anxieties of P4 were perhaps the most acute among the participants. His narrative showed that he felt forced into a digital world and his choice of words and phrases highlighted feeling a loss of control. P4 also identified the pressures to connect to the digital world as being economic. The result was a reaction to digital media that seems to have been informed by the discourse of the Go-On UK campaign; i.e. a privileging of finance-focused digital benefits over cultural or social benefits of digital media. P4's narrative showed a level of distress, but there were other examples of anxiety present among the participants. P11's narrative used less explicit language, but nonetheless demonstrated that digital media was a threat to his way of life. For P11 the ethos of digital media was causing a shift in the value of culture and social interaction; it represented for him a link to banality. We can see then that the perception of digital media is linked to value systems and concepts of culture. In this way, it is clear that discourses surrounding digital

media are significant in forming the habitus of our experience with digital heritage.

However, Digital Towneley was received very differently by these two participants, with P11 rejecting the web app in general and P4 seeming to embrace it. P4's attitude to digital technology was noticeably affected by two things during the course of the project. In the first case he was introduced to a tablet device on a holiday trip where his peers demonstrated how the device may be used creatively to view photographs. Secondly, demonstrating Digital Towneley to P4 resulted in an unexpectedly positive reaction whereby he saw some of the potential for communicating knowledge about the park to others. These examples demonstrate the importance of non-threatening contexts as facilitating the accessibility of digital media or technology. Consequently, the impact of my research approach is shown insofar as it has for some participants overcome the socio-cultural discourses surrounding digital media. By this I mean that my research approach appears to have prevented the socio-cultural neoliberal discourse of marketisation from dominating P4's interpretation of Digital Towneley.

The project also revealed some of the impact that age has on the reception to digital media. The evidence from this project indicates a wide range of skill across a broadly older demographic of participants. However, Chapter 7 shows how the older participants may be put off by the term 'digital' itself, while some discussed technology in terms of feeling left behind. The role of the workplace in forming digital skills comes through from the interviews and this has consequences for the perception of digital heritage, since the technologies used to access digital heritage can contain values themselves. This is highlighted by P16 who associates her desktop computer with work-related activities. Whether hardware or software, digital technology contains socially constructed meanings (Wajcman 1991; Bidwell & Winschiers-Theophilus 2012; Shanks 2007). We can see that the impact of Digital Towneley is dependent on the combination of technological medium on which it is loaded and the experience of the user.

8.5.1: Contribution to Knowledge

This project has contributed to our understanding of the underlying discourse of digital media and, in particular, our understanding of how that discourse can impact the reception

of and engagement with digital heritage. Firstly, this relates to the underlying discourse priming heritage users for low expectations of the creative potential of digital heritage. Secondly, this relates to how the socio-political contexts of digital technology affect the consumption and interpretation of digital heritage. This has ramifications for the development of digital heritage in various contexts and prompts the importance of questioning the potential platforms on which a digital object may be delivered.

The methods used and the approach of this project demonstrate that it is possible to circumvent preconceived perceptions of digital media. This project therefore makes a contribution to knowledge by demonstrating that how digital heritage is presented to the public can have an impact on the level of their engagement with, or interpretation of, digital cultural heritage.

8.6: Research Question 5: Digital Towneley and the Participants

In what ways does the design and use of a digital heritage object affect the lives of Towneley Park users?

Beyond the role of Digital Towneley as a heritage interpretation, the web app made an impression on the participants in the context of Towneley Park. This section provides a summary of the ways in which the design of Digital Towneley and its use by participants had significant impacts on their lives.

8.6.1: Making a Mark

Chapter 4 highlight that participants may frame their experience of the park in terms of future possibilities, such as the expectation of taking grandchildren to the park or knowing that their relationship with Towneley will change in the future. Similarly, some participants communicated the importance of leaving their mark for future generations.

For some participants, the embedding of narratives was an important element of Digital Towneley. The co-productive process of this project has been an important aspect here, as it has framed the inclusion of their narratives in a context of equality of value. The Digital

Towneley object is the manifestation of co-production and offers proof that the research project did more than 'just listening' (Lynch & Alberti 2010). Not only did this demonstrate how the participants' viewpoints were valued, it also provided a way of devolving the definition of Towneley futures from the local authority custodian and myself as researcher (Graham 2016).

The public nature of Digital Towneley is also worth considering. The web app was effectively accessible to the world and this concept was not lost on the participants. This is significant as it offered a way of connecting to friends and family across the globe, but also in communicating their own messages about Towneley to the world. Digital Towneley was able to break the barrier of the heritage site as a published object independent of the local authority or any official heritage body⁴⁰.

8.6.2: Instrument of Change

A powerful impact of Digital Towneley is demonstrated in Chapter 7 where P5 and P14 see Digital Towneley as containing an important message about the value of the park; a message that they believe has the potential to challenge the authority of the local council and to champion the voices of the local community. In this sense, Digital Towneley is seen as a liberating force and a tool for challenging the established order. For P7, Digital Towneley even seems to take on a national political discourses of community. In terms of Towneley Park, the participants perceive the knowledge of the council as flawed or incomplete. Digital Towneley offers a way of presenting the missing pieces or balancing the flawed official view with their own legitimate lived experiences of the park. Here we can see what the literature identifies as a third space (Lynch & Albert 2010; Graham 2016) in which different stakeholders and the tensions between them may be explored and shared. For some of the participants, Digital Towneley has provided them with a position in that space.

⁴⁰ Digital Towneley was not promoted during this project and so it was only available to those who may stumble upon it through Internet searches. However, its potential for accessibility was important to some participants.

8.6.3: Contribution to Knowledge

Digital Towneley demonstrates the potential to involve the public in the formation of heritage meanings. The findings here show that a co-produced digital heritage object may function as part of a social or cultural movement to affect change in power structures. Here, we see that Digital Towneley can challenge established groups in terms of their role in defining heritage futures, but also in the production of contemporary heritage narratives. This research therefore provides a contribution to knowledge by enhancing our understanding of digital heritage objects as tools to effect social change.

8.7: Reflections on the Research Process

A number of issues arose during the course of this research project, which are worth reflecting on to explore ways of improving the research approach. In this section I discuss how some of the ways that I engaged with and involved participants could be changed to improve understanding, reduce anxiety and increase the direct involvement of participants. I also discuss how changes to approaches may have made Digital Towneley more relevant to the participants, as well as some of the aspects of this research approach that would benefit from further ethical considerations.

While open-ended interviews posed little problems, we can see from Chapter 8.3.4 that the open-ended nature of the field visits posed confusing choices for participants. To avoid the kind of frustration felt by P2, more preparation and communication with participants may have been of benefit. For example, a rewording may have been useful; instead of asking participants to take me to the places they felt were the most important, I could have instead framed the field visits around their normal use of the park space. Walking ethnographies may provide a useful approach for improvement here (Ciolfi 2015). The term 'important' perhaps communicated a value judgement that I had already made as a university researcher. On reflection, participants may have been anxious that their own value judgement would not correlate with my own and this may have introduced a barrier. Being more open about my own positionality is likely to have been helpful. Stating clearly what I wanted to get from a field visit would have helped to avoid the perception that I had

(purposefully) hidden my agenda. In this way, a clear statement that I want to see how they would normally use the park may have helped to reduce the pressure to show me something 'important'.

Similarly, there was room for improvement in the communication of my aims for the project as a whole. Since I was following a constructivist approach, I found it difficult to expand upon any possible aims for the project because, on the one hand, I did not know where the project would head and, on the other hand, I was anxious to avoid influencing the participants' responses. In retrospect, I see that the project would still have provided valuable data if I had stated some clearer aims and intentions for Digital Towneley. For example, to avoid confusing jargon, I could have explained that I intend to make a web app that showed pictures and stories about the park. In addition, I think that involving participants more directly at a much earlier stage in the conceptualisation of the project would have increased the potential for participants to guide the process. Were I to conduct similar projects in the future, I would explore the use of focus groups and creative workshops to involve the participants in the conceptual and creative process. Examples of art therapy in social and leisure studies may provide useful methodologies for developing this approach (Lu & Yuen 2012). Such an approach would move closer to the 'radical trust' model (Lynch & Alberti 2010; Bailey-Ross et al. 2017) by giving the participants more control over their contributions. This would have entailed time and planning, but the benefits would be a greater level of co-production and participant ownership of the outcomes.

Although it was encouraging that some participants saw Digital Towneley as having the potential to change the way that the park is run, this does raise some ethical issues. While it is unlikely that Digital Towneley as it stands will effect change in local government procedures, the potential for digital heritage to impact official discourses has been revealed to me by this project. However, research participants may feel cheated if a heritage project fails in its aims to make political impact. Contrasting opinions published through digital means (e.g. social media or online heritage) may disrupt relations between institutions and heritage users. Such concerns were shown by P5 and P14 with regard to their interview transcripts. Alternatively, if final interpretations are not what were expected, participants may be upset with the final outcome, as occurred with the Leskernick project's travelling

exhibition (Bender et al. 2007). Kidd (2017) asks whether the manipulation of empathy is ethically defensible and here we may ask if the manipulation of nostalgia and affect is defensible. While Digital Towneley may have shown that this research project did more than listen, the promotion and display of the outcome (e.g. with an exhibition showcasing the Digital Towneley object and its narratives) would have demonstrated a clearer commitment to, and appreciation of, the participants' involvement. This could have been achieved by allowing the web app to be contributed to after the research project and would help to address the expectations of contemporary heritage publics in terms of digital engagement (Bailey-Ross et al. 2017).

8.8: Directions for further research

This research project clearly indicates the importance of phenomenologically informed heritage meanings. Further research would be of benefit on this topic in a number of ways. In the simplest terms, the approach of this research could be applied to wider heritage contexts. The approaches used in this study can help to tease out AHD and non-AHD meanings from our engagement with heritage. By taking a multimethods approach and observing phenomenological engagement with heritage, there is scope to develop our understanding of how heritage meanings are formed with tangible heritage artefacts or intangible heritage rituals and performances. This approach could be used to explore how museums and heritage sites affect visitors. For example, walking with visitors and allowing them to guide the researcher around a museum would enable rich qualitative data about reactions to exhibits, display features or museum layout. While the mapping of visitor journeys is not new, the inclusion of narrative analysis would allow the visitor's routes to be storified. This could be combined with narrative data from participant comments and linked to exhibitions or museum building features. Such a project would enable heritage researchers to gain insight into the formation of meaning for heritage users. Additionally, museum staff could incorporate this approach to improve their understanding of how visitors engage with their sites and displays.

Phenomenological language in terms of heritage needs to be further theorised. This research project can provide a foundation for moving in this direction. While I have identified gesture

and spatial narrative in this thesis, further research into the ways in which we communicate consciously or subconsciously with our bodies will be of value in exploring the multimodal nature of heritage meanings. I would like to develop this research project with more detailed participant observations that would enable a more granular approach to gesture and body language.

Similarly, the production of phenomenological heterotopic diagrams warrants further study. This thesis has identified that heterotopic space can be used as a way of theorising how human presence in physical places can form crucial elements of the apprehension and re-apprehension of a place; the meanings of places are operationalised through phenomenological experience. This can be unpacked further to explore the ways that heterotopic diagrams are constructed. Research projects would involve field work and participant observation, but moving forwards there would be benefit in encouraging participants to explore their own feelings about, and links to, discrete places. Radical trust models have been shown to be fruitful (Bailey-Ross et al. 2017) and this could be combined with co-productive and creative approaches to provide participants with the freedom to express their affective and phenomenological links to heritage places. As indicated above, such investigations need not be limited to outdoor or park heritage, but may further our understanding of museum spaces, artefacts or intangible heritage.

Digital Towneley demonstrated some potential to challenge the role of the heritage custodian. There is more to be learned about how a digital heritage object may impact the relationships between the heritage institutions and the heritage users. This would require the bringing together of stakeholders of a heritage site so that they could encounter the alternative perspectives of participants. Such an approach may result in confrontation and upset. For example, while this research did not raise very sensitive issues, disagreements about litter would have been likely if a focus group had been conducted. It is important to remember that people can have very strong feelings about heritage sites. Bringing people together is likely to involve different viewpoints and perspectives and conflicting opinions. With social factors also at play, such as age and class, the power relations in a focus group may generate upset as groups use their social, cultural and economic capitals to impose their viewpoint as definitive. However, such conflict can be beneficial, as engaging in conflict and

breaking out of the comfort zone of partnership rhetoric may be needed to bring about changes (Lynch & Alberti 2010).

I have discussed in this thesis some of the ways in which social, political and cultural contexts influence our perception and consumption of digital media. As Schradie (2011) argues, there is also the potential for digital media development to be less democratic than generally assumed. This project has at least partly involved participants and so offers a level of democratised digital development. However, even in the event that participants are heavily involved in the development of a digital heritage object, the role of such objects warrants further discussion. Claire Birchall (2015) describes some of the ways in which a data-driven society may not be emancipatory, and instead simply lift burdens of responsibility from the state. As producers of digital heritage, participants may become “responsibilized citizens” who “in order to fully participate [are] asked to be auditors, analysts, translators, programmers.” (Birchall 2015). While this may appear democratising, it is redefining the heritage user as worker, as identified by Brabham (2012). Might such a move absolve the state of responsibility to protect heritage, whether authorised or non-authorised in nature? The continuation of this research would benefit from addressing this question.

I would like to test the role of a digital heritage object further in this respect by incorporating digital training along with the co-productive development of digital heritage. Firstly, this would present the opportunity to explore the impact of digital heritage as created by heritage users and presented to heritage institutions. Secondly, it would present the opportunity to explore the power of a co-productive approach in circumventing the predominant economic discourse of neoliberalism and its focus on market functions for digital media. There is more to be learned about how society influences the way digital heritage is perceived and consumed.

8.9: Summing up

This study makes a contribution to the literature by enhancing our understanding of AHD in Towneley Park heritage and this can be applied to wider park contexts. In this respect, the

study demonstrates that AHD underpins park heritage management by local authority custodians. However, this research also makes clear that, while park users embrace both AHD and non-AHD meanings, park users are able to circumvent AHD and develop their own heritage discourses through performance in and use of space. This is an important observation as it underlines the agency of the public in the determination of heritage values and makes a clear case for the validity of public interpretations of heritage sites, objects and rituals.

In addition, this research has made a contribution to knowledge in demonstrating that co-production, as a process and in creating a product, along with reflexivity develops positive relationships and trust with heritage users. The importance of this is borne out through the generation of genuine heritage narratives. The study shows that this approach can produce heritage representations with the potential to challenge the roles of heritage institutions. This is demonstrated in the thesis where participants saw the affective narratives of Digital Towneley working to challenge the local authority custodian's way of running the park. In effect, the research approach laid out in this thesis can champion alternative discourses that may impact on how a custodian manages a heritage site.

Finally, this thesis makes a contribution to knowledge by demonstrating the importance of phenomenological language in the creation of heritage meanings. As such, the study is able to show the limitations of digital heritage representations of outdoor heritage. This is demonstrated by the participants who identify in some cases the physical environment of the park as fundamental to their knowledge of it. The participants miss the physical environment and the diagram that it is able to produce with their interaction. Digital Towneley was missing crucial pieces to complete the knowing and re-knowing of the park.

Importantly, this thesis highlights the role of the physical environment in the process of cognition. Our senses, and the languages that mediate our experiences, are involved in our apprehension of reality. Reality itself is an integral element of that apprehension, and it forms part of the cognitive process in the same way that our bodies do. Physical reality is to our phenomenological cognition what our bodies are to our mental cognition. Thus,

environment, body and mind are connected like a rhizome. Our cognitive process of apprehending heritage sites can involve the physical matter of the site. This thesis therefore identifies the notion of dis-embodied cognition as a crucial part of our heritage meaning-making processes.

Appendix A: Development of Digital Towneley

The Digital Towneley web application (Figure 24) can be found online⁴¹ and is intended to be a representation of the park from the perspectives of the participants. The application allows the user to navigate different narratives of the park by following the connecting links between comments, images, places and stories that connect the participants and the park. Users can access several main features of the application in order to explore its content. A persistent menu throughout the application allows the user to access the main themes of the website at any point. Each theme section (Self, Family, Community) gives the user the opportunity to explore a theme in terms of text or image. For example (Figure 25) demonstrates the excerpts from participants relevant to *Self* and (Figure 26) demonstrates the images relevant to *Self*. Each picture or excerpt provides a link to either a participant, park location or theme.



Figure 24: Digital Towneley opening screen.

⁴¹ www.heritagemeanings.com/towneley

Following the links through to a participant would reveal a screen of excerpts from that particular person's interview and park visit. From this page, further information can be explored for each participant in the form of a 'biography' which lists a more detailed first-person account of each participant (Figure 27). An event from each person's life was also placed onto a time line within Digital Towneley so that users could get a sense of the span of time and provides a further point of access to the participants' perspectives (Figure 28). Two timelapse videos and some transition photos were made available that animate changes in time (Figure 29). Finally, users are able to use a map representation in order to navigate Digital Towneley through a spatial narrative by selecting landmarks identified on the map (Figure 20).

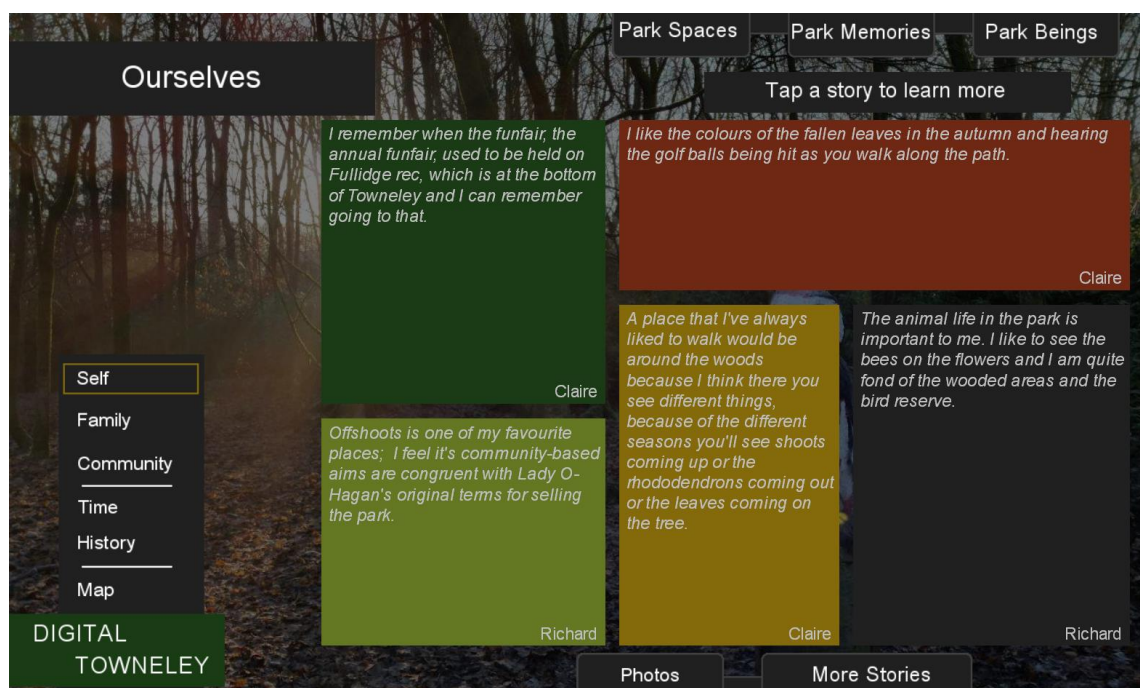


Figure 25: Digital Towneley self narratives

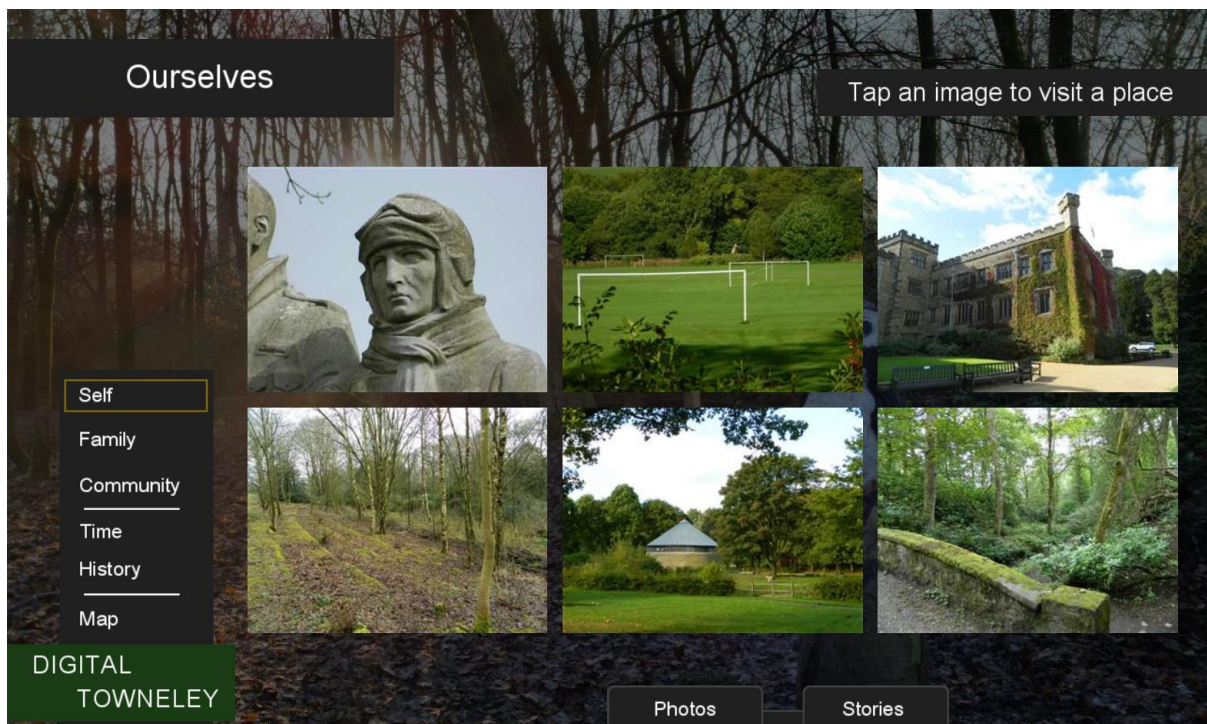


Figure 26: Digital Towneley 'self' photographs



Figure 27: Digital Towneley Participant 1 biography

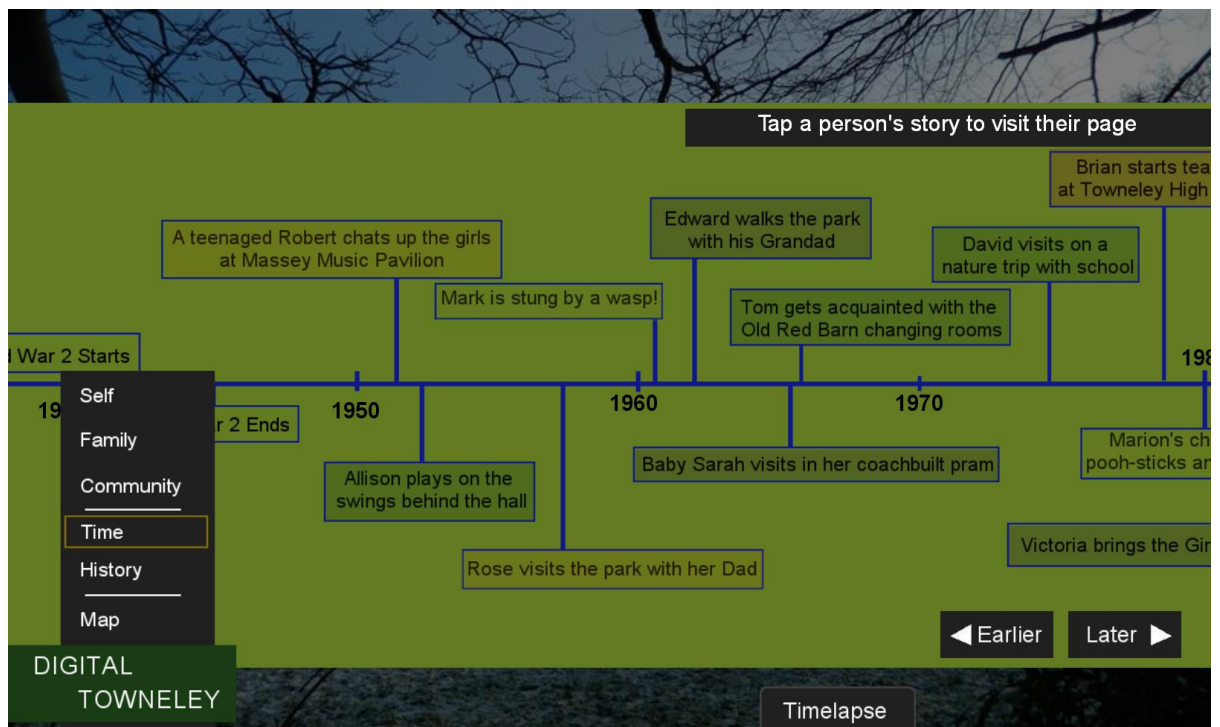


Figure 28: Digital Towneley time line screen

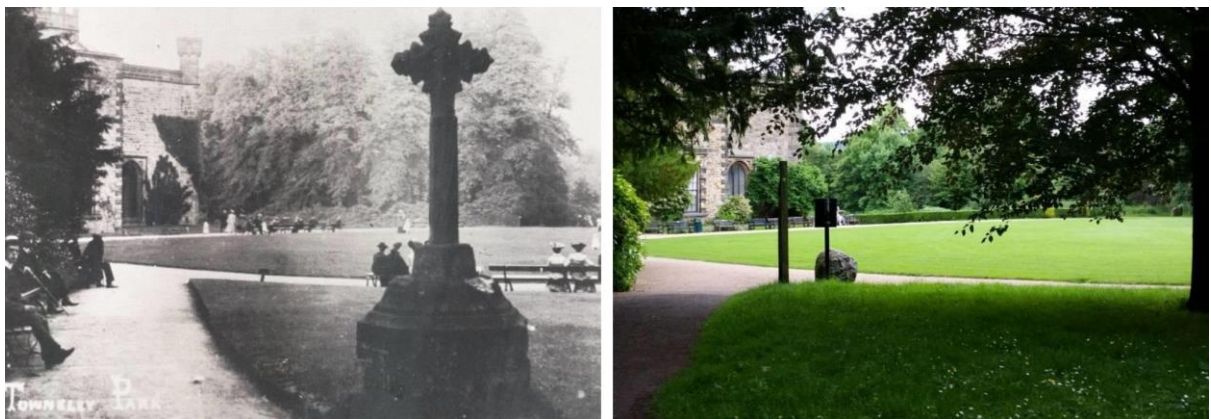


Figure 29: Digital Towneley historical comparison photos (1909 compared to 2015)

Digital Towneley Content

The development of the web application was based on the thematic framework developed from analysis of the interviews and field visits (see Chapter 3). The content of Digital Towneley can be split into two categories of text and image, which I will broadly outline here, before providing an overview of the design of Digital Towneley.

Digital Towneley Texts

The transcripts of the interviews and park visits provided the first sources for textual content. From the analysis of these texts, I was able to identify points of view and comments from the participants that correlated with the thematic framework and provided interpretations of the park space. In many cases, it was necessary to edit some of these comments so that they made sense outside of their original context and could function as stand-alone comments online.

For each participant, I wrote a more detailed 'biography' based on the combined data of the interviews and field trips. These biographies were styled in a first-person format and, although they were grounded in the data from the participants, these texts were effectively a product of creative writing. As Hawthorn (1997) identifies, creative writing texts do not present definitive realities as defined by the author. In this way, I intended the text to be open to interpretation and not privilege any one voice over another. Consequently, readers are able to engage with the biographies from their own contexts. Nonetheless, with the aim of preventing my own interpretation dominating these biographies, I contacted each participant and provided them with a copy of the biographies and excerpts, seeking their approval for inclusion on Digital Towneley. Through this approach, I offered participants the opportunity to comment or make changes as they saw fit⁴².

⁴² Details of changes are discussed in Chapter 8

Digital Towneley Images

Throughout the project I collected photographic content for Digital Towneley. I made regular trips in order to photograph the park in different weather conditions and seasons. I also sourced historical images of Towneley from Burnley Library and the Towneley Hall museum archive.

Some of the participants (P1, P4 & P16) offered photographs, both digital and printed, for inclusion within the project. Some of these images were included as part of Digital Towneley in order to further represent the viewpoint of the participants. I used my curatorial and artistic judgement in a similar approach to those taken at Leskernick (Bender et al 2007) and Catalhoyuk⁴³ to decide which photographs offered representations which correlated with the themes of Digital Towneley.

An official council map served as a guide for designing the layout of the Digital Towneley map. Again, taking a cue from the artistic approaches of Bender et al (2007) and Catalhoyuk, I decided to design a map which represented the space of the park but which was not to scale. The relevance of space and travel within the park identified by the participants was represented by the inclusion of path detail as well as the effect of a map more generally. In addition to this, I added an animated humanoid character, who would react to user input, to visualise human movement across the park space.

I designed the map in a cartoon style, hand drawing the symbols for each location shown on the screen. I deemed a cartoon style approach appropriate to the subjective nature of the Digital Towneley content; the aim being to counter the positivising effect of map representations of landscape as identified by Tomášková (2007). There are of course numerous locations within, or qualities of, the park which are not represented on the Digital Towneley map. Some of these features, like the golf course and the tree coverage in general, were loosely identified through the use of repeated images. The absence of other features, such as the various streams or nearby roads and housing, ran the risk of isolating the representation as separate from its wider geographical or community context, but this is

⁴³ <http://www.catalhoyuk.com/research/illustration>

perhaps an unavoidable effect of maps in any case.

Digital Towneley Design Process

I sought design inspiration for Digital Towneley from colour guides (color.adobe.com) and by viewing winners of the Museums and the Web Awards (MW 2015). The latter presented a web feature project called 'Classless Society' by the Tang Museum⁴⁴ (Skidmore College, NY) whose content also include narratives from participant interviews (Figure 30). The style of 'Classless Society' offered an accessible interface and so I adopted elements of this for Digital Towneley. It was at this stage that the final style of Digital Towneley came together with separate sliding screens dedicated to narratives and images for most main sections. The colour scheme for the application was based on the environmental colours of Towneley mentioned by the participants (autumnal leaf colours, tree greens and browns) and the signage found in the park (dark background with white font).

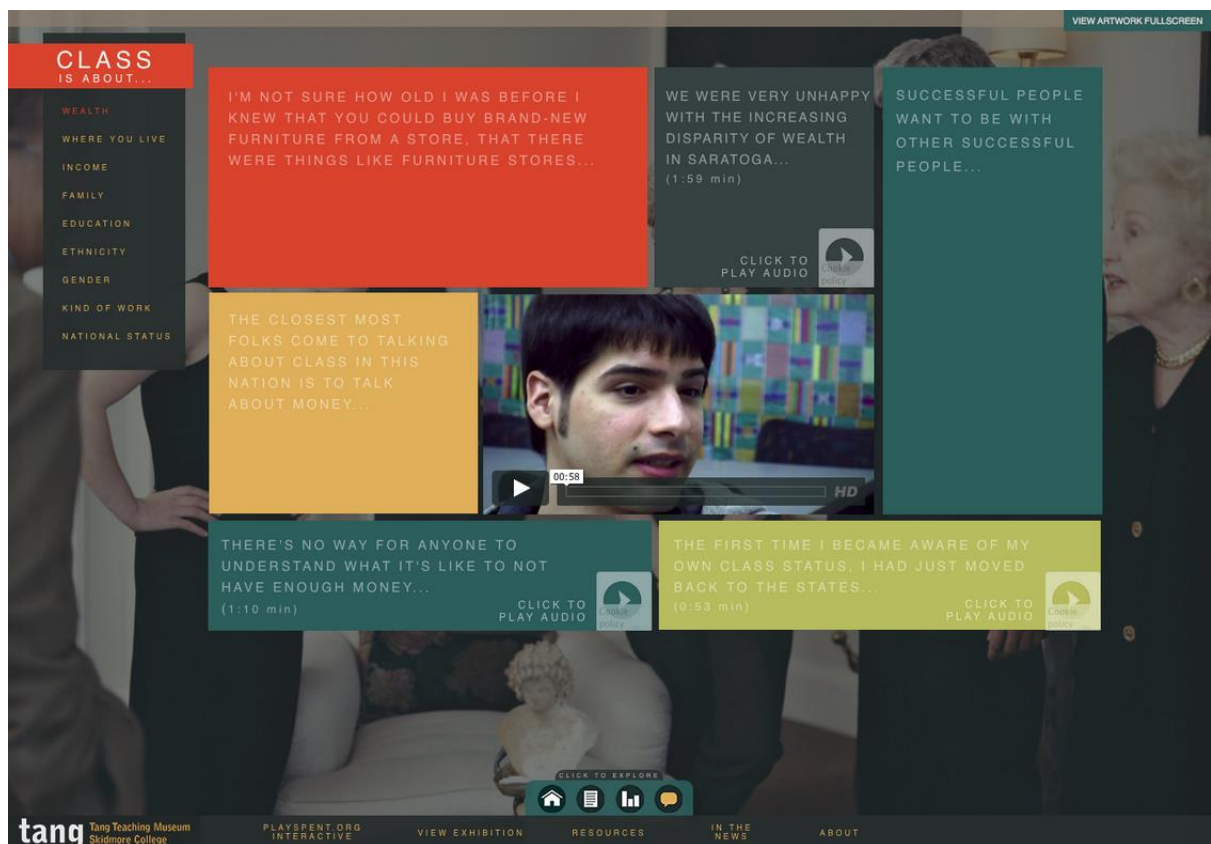


Figure 30: Tang Museum's 'Classless Society' digital heritage interpretation [Source: Tang Museum 2014]

⁴⁴ <http://mw2014.museumsandtheweb.com/bow/tang-museum-classless-society-exhibition-website/>

Underlying this design process were influences from several sources. My reflective journal identified the influence of adventure video games played in my youth:

I wonder about LucasArts games again and the role of maps in the Indiana Jones and Monkey Island games – why not have a small animated character walk around the map?

[Reflective Journal 01/10/2014]

I recognised the strong link between the place of the park and the stories (the verbal and geographical/spatial narratives) that the participants told about it. The strong link between narrative and space in adventure games influenced me to explore the use of an interactive map within Digital Towneley.

An alternative style of representing a network of stories can be found in the online hypertext novel 253 by Geoff Ryman (Ryman 2015). This is a website which offers hypertext links allowing the reader to explore the story of a London underground train and its passengers. The story is not delivered in a traditional linear manner. Instead, the reader is able to explore character contexts and points of view in a variety of orders. Links between character text may be made based on their relationship with other characters on the train or their proximity to other characters in the carriage. The collection of stories is linked to create a complex web of narrative and this web is accessed through fairly rudimentary graphical means. The effect is one of intimacy with the passenger characters because the reader learns secret things about them.

In terms of the project's interview and visit data, it was clear that the connections between the various park and participant meanings were not limited to the geography of the park or the sensual experiences of the park. The non-linear nature of the participant narratives suggested that a non-linear approach would work well as a representation of this network of meanings. The concept of 253 was therefore influential in my development process as it presented a way of exploring a series of connected stories through a non-linear route. Moreover, Ryman's online novel offered the potential for the reader to make choices. This correlated well with Bianchi's (2006) exploration of digital heritage interface design, in particular step 5 which describes a 'multiple dimension' approach whereby the visitor may

engage with various modes of access: e.g. catalogues, cross-references and stories. This enables the visitor to “divert from a path” as they explore the data (Bianchi 2006: 454) and for me this resonated well with the multi-dimensional nature of the participants' experiences of Towneley Park. In this way, Digital Towneley was designed to offer the user a choice in how they explore the content.

I have used the London Charter (LC 2009) to guide the design of Digital Towneley. There are several notable aspects to the London Charter which apply here. Firstly, the Charter recommends making clear to users “what a computer-based visualisation seeks to represent” (LC 2009: 4.4). Consequently, I included on the opening screen of Digital Towneley what the aims and intentions of the application were, making sure to be clear that it is not intended to be an historical representation. The second aspect of the London Charter which played a direct role in Digital Towneley was the recommendation that digital cultural heritage be sustainable (LC 2009: 5.2). In this sense, the charter is referring to the sustainability of a cultural object in the face of developing technologies. I adopted HTML5 and XML formats for developing Digital Towneley because they are open-source formats which will offer few barriers to the migration of the data to new technologies.

Technical Structure of Digital Towneley

I used an XML database to store text for Digital Towneley. These texts were the ‘narratives’ for the website. The database also stored metadata linked to each narrative. This allowed narratives to be cross-referenced with each other through various attributes (e.g. participant, location, theme). It was therefore possible to:

- (i) Collect narratives together based on a common attribute
- (ii) Link to other narratives, based on a common attribute

The Digital Towneley web application was therefore able to populate its text fields with narrative excerpts based on a user’s selections, whether they were based on location, person or theme. Users could then click on an excerpt and follow a link to a different aspect of the park.

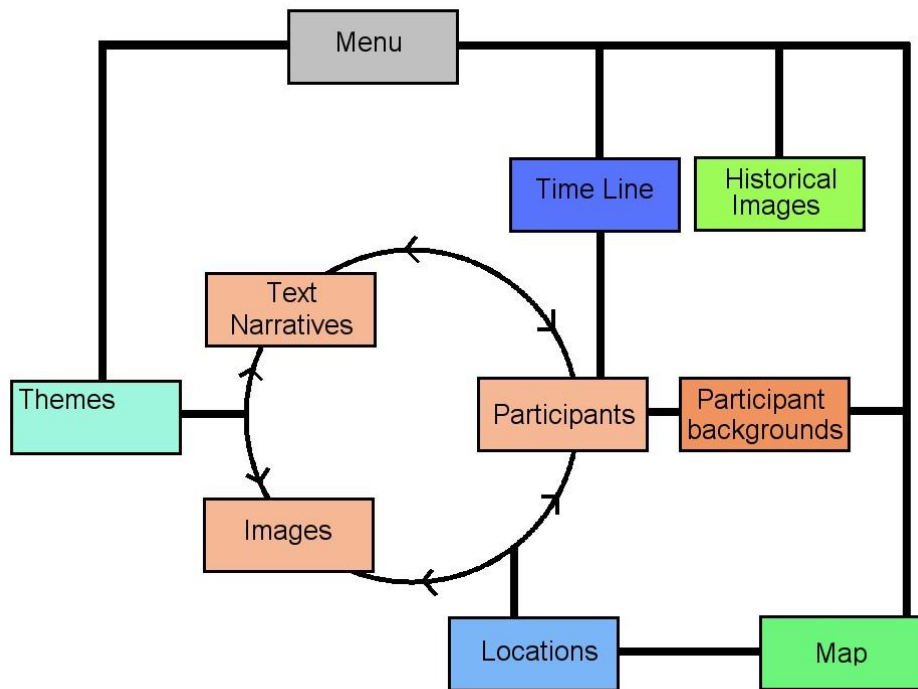


Figure 31: Structure of Digital Towneley

Figure x shows the internal structure of Digital Towneley. The image of Digital Towneley functions as a Graphical User Interface for accessing the participants' meanings (mediated by myself and the research process). The effect is a network containing nodes with multiple links to other nodes, much like the rhizome (Deleuze & Guattari 2013) and Hodder's (1986) network of archaeological meanings. Although finite, the connections of the network offer the visitor the potential to take multiple 'paths' while exploring Digital Towneley. Important to note here is that the term 'path' refers not just to geographical movement within the park as represented through the map, but also refers to the paths created by memories, lived experience, time and the body; all represented either through narratives, images or the time line. My intention was for this structure to offer a simulation of the freedoms of choice within, and subjective connections to, the physical park.

Appendix B: Ethical Approval Documentation

University of
Salford
MANCHESTER

College of Arts & Social Sciences
Room 626 Maxwell Building
The Crescent
Salford, M5 4WT Tel:
0161 295 5876

14 May 2014

Alex McDonagh
University of Salford

Dear Alex

Re: Ethical Approval Application – CASS130015

I am pleased to inform you that based on the information provided, the Research Ethics Panel have no objections on ethical grounds to your project.

Yours sincerely

Deborah Woodman
On Behalf of CASS Research Ethics Panel

Appendix C: Recruitment Documentation



Mr Alex McDonagh
Allerton Studios
University of Salford
Salford
M5 4WT
a.d.r.mcdonagh@edu.salford.ac.uk
Tel. 07473 988830

Dear Sir/Madam

I am writing to invite you to take part in my research project, which I am conducting as part of a PhD in Heritage Studies at the University of Salford. I enclose an information sheet, which explains the aims of my project.

I hope that you will be able to contribute through an informal interview and a group trip to Towneley Park in the summer. I would also value your input as part of a group concerning the development of a website representing the natural environment of Towneley Park.

If you are willing to take part, the interview will take no longer than 30 minutes. The visit to the park can be as long or as short as you wish depending on the group.

If you feel that you would like to be involved in this project, please fill in the enclosed consent form and return to the above address and I will contact you to arrange an interview date. If you would not like to be involved, please feel free to destroy this letter.

Thank you for your time

Yours sincerely

Alex McDonagh

Representing natural heritage online

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important that you understand the reasons for the research and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. If you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me using my details above.

What is the purpose of this study?

This project aims to explore how people feel about natural heritage and how these feelings can be expressed through websites. By involving the public it is hoped that a website can be developed which will help to explore how we represent heritage using digital media. The study also aims to both explore what barriers exist in accessing natural heritage and to identify ways of making natural heritage available to the wider community.

What will the research involve?

The natural heritage location that this project will explore is Towneley Park in Burnley. The project aims to collect first-hand accounts of how the public feels about this site. This will be done through informal interviews and field trips to the site.

During the field trips, the participants will identify what they feel is important about Towneley. This will be done using the method that they are most comfortable with. For example; photography, sketching, poetry, audio recording – any method which will allow them to provide the researcher with something to use for the website.

The things that the participants find and provide will be used to build a website. The website is intended to be an online exhibition which will showcase all of the things that the participants feel are important about the site.

The participants will also be requested to join feedback groups during the development of the website so that it can be designed collaboratively.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen either as an individual or member of a group/community who regularly use(s) the park and whose views are sought for this study to help explore cultural barriers to heritage interpretation.

Do I have to take part?

Involvement in the project is entirely voluntary. If you decide not to take part you are free to withdraw from the research at any time without needing to give a reason. If

you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be given a copy of this information sheet and a copy of a signed consent form to keep.

There are four phases to the research:

1 - You will be asked to be interviewed informally for around 30 minutes at some time during February/March 2014. The interviews will take place in your own home or in a mutually agreed place with which you would be comfortable.

2 - You will be asked as part of a group to join a field trip to Towneley Park during the summer (June/July) of 2014. There, you will be asked to identify which parts of the park are important to you as indicated above.

3 - You will be asked to join a feedback group in August/September 2014 to offer feedback on the development of the website.

4 – You will be asked to join a feedback group in October/November 2014 to offer feedback on the completed website.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

Participants will be credited and acknowledged on the website unless they prefer to remain anonymous. The final product will be publicly accessible.

The project will also be written up as a thesis as part of the PhD. All participants will be free to access the data and the published thesis will be available for the public to read.

Contact details and identifying information will be destroyed on completion of the project.

Contact for further information:

Mr Alex McDonagh
Allerton Studios
University of Salford
Salford
M5 4WT

Tel.: 07473 988 830
Email: a.d.r.mcdonagh@edu.salford.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: "In what ways does new media simulation affect the interpretation of natural heritage?"

Name of Researcher: Mr Alex McDonagh

Please read the following and sign at the bottom of the page if you consent:

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 20/01/2014 (Version 1.2) for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I agree to take part in the above study.

I understand that the researcher may wish to publish the above study and any results found, for which I give my permission.

I agree for my voice to be tape recorded during the interview and for the information I provide the researcher to be used to create a website.

I am aware that I may be photographed, filmed or voice-recorded during the field trips and give my consent for this to happen

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from this research project at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I may choose at any time to withdraw information or content that I have provided without giving a reason.

I understand that any identifying information or contact details will be destroyed following the completion of this project.

Name [Block capitals]:

Address:

.....

Tel. No.:

Email:

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Participant Consent Form version 1.1 (last updated 20/01/2014)

IS TOWNELEY PARK IMPORTANT TO YOU?

DO YOU WISH TO TAKE PART IN A RESEARCH PROJECT RELATED TO TOWNELEY PARK?



My name is Alex McDonagh and I am conducting PhD research at the University of Salford into the portrayal of natural heritage through websites.

As part of my research I am looking for people who value the park and are willing share their feelings about the park with me. I am also looking for people who could help me with feedback and opinions on my website development.

Your participation would involve:

- 1) An informal interview of around 30 minutes to be conducted somewhere convenient for you
- 2) A trip around the park to identify the things that are important to you
- 3) Feedback groups about the website that I will develop

Participation would be entirely voluntary. The project does not have the resources to cover the costs of participants.

If you are interested, please contact me for further information.

Tel. : 07473 988 830

Email: a.d.r.mcdonagh@edu.salford.ac.uk

Appendix D: Feedback Interview Questions

| List of questions for feedback interview with participants |
|--|
| Has the website caused you to think differently about Towneley Park? |
| How do you feel about your involvement in the project? |
| What would you have included in Digital Towneley? |
| How did you feel about the themes (self/family/community) used in the website? |
| Can you show me what you feel is most important about this digital representation? |
| What aspect of Towneley does this website make most clear for you? |
| Would it be fair to say that using the website, Towneley came to you or you went to Towneley? |
| Did using the website change the space or the room you were in? |
| How often do you use the digital technology? |
| On a scale of 1 to 10 how comfortable are you with using digital/Internet technology? |
| Are there any other thoughts you had about the website or Towneley that you would like to express? |

Appendix E: Photographic Field Visit Narrative

| | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
|  | P5 and P14 talk about the decorative flowers by the hall. |  | P5 and P14 talk about the ornamental garden. |
|  | P5 & P14 say that the path behind the bowling green is scruffy now |  | P5 & P14 lament the barrier but enjoy the tree and view |
|  | P5 & P14 talk about stress, mental health and views at Foldys Cross |  | P14 points out a dead tree which needs dealing with |
|  | P5 looks over Boggart Bridge |  | P5 & P14 show me a path behind Boggart Bridge |
|  | P5 & P14 talk about the tennis courts and their own past |  | P14 thinks an old entrance is hidden beneath the wall foliage |

Appendix F: Digital Towneley

Digital Towneley can be accessed at www.heritagemeanings.com/towneley or through the executable file on the USB drive attached to this thesis.

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