University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

Archaeology

Whatever Floats Your Boat: Public Engagement with Maritime Heritage in England

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctorate in Archaeology

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Abstract

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Within England there is an increasing proliferation of public engagement with maritime heritage, spurred by the aims of heritage professionals and policy makers to illustrate the wide value these sites have to the public, challenge misconceptions based on popular culture and make heritage relevant to all. However, to date no research has been done on the impact of this work which includes the perspectives of the people who deliver public engagement programming. These critical front-line voices are missing in the interpretation of how the public has access to maritime heritage and what the aims of this engagement are.

Through interviews with seventeen professionals who are delivering engagement initiatives and a broad literature review, this research examines seven themes: the current offer of engagement, the uniqueness of the maritime context, public perception of maritime heritage, the messages being delivered and the messengers delivering them, and how engagement helps create value.

The results suggest that the major barrier to public access to maritime heritage is the lack of capital knowledge of what maritime heritage is. Participants therefore aim to deliver small messages to change the preconceptions of the audience. The individuals working on engagement initiatives have developed a large toolkit to work with different audiences, reflected in the many ways of engagement on offer. Engagement is primarily based on creating fun targeted activities which will draw participants in using popular culture knowledge before delivering small messages to change their preconceptions. This engagement is both helped and hampered by the current competitive system of funding in England, which provides the needed finances to engage but has created a fragmented group of professionals and target requirements that do not always benefit all public stakeholder groups and heritage.

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Full interviews with research participants (Appendix F-R) are available online at https://doi.org/10.5258/SOTON/D1108

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Danielle Newman

Title of thesis:

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signature: Date:

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Abbreviations

HLF	National Heritage Lottery Fund
HFF	Honor Frost Foundation
NAS	Nautical Archaeology Society
RMG	Royal Museums Greenwich
NMMG	National Maritime Museum Greenwich
MAT	Maritime Archaeology Trust
MOLA	Museum of London Archaeology
TDP	Thames Discovery Programme
CITiZAN	Coastal and Intertidal Zone Archaeological Network
BSMAP	Black Sea Maritime Archaeology Project
DCMS	Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
PAR	Participatory Action Research
IPA	Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis
BSAC	British Sub-Aqua Club
PADI	Professional Association of Diving Instructors
IJNA	International Journal of Nautical Archaeology
EH	English Heritage
NT	National Trust
HE	Historic England
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CIfA	Chartered Institute for Archaeologists
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse

Chapter 1 Introduction

I remember seeing the ocean for the first, as an eight-year-old child whale watching on the west coast of Canada and thinking that it was the biggest lake I had ever seen. In my world there was no expanse of water bigger than that, my knowledge capital limited by geography and youth. This memory reminds me of just how contextual and changing an individual's relationship with the maritime world can be. Without access and engagement, it is difficult for people to understand what the maritime context is, how it relates to them, and complex role that it has played in shaping us. As with most concepts in the world, people must acquire knowledge capital in order to start understanding, contextualising and valuing something. Otherwise an ocean will just be a big lake. Even within England, which historically has an important connection to the water by virtue of being an island, modernisation of travel, commerce and the nature of warfare have left the nation with less of a relationship to the water (see 4.1).

Archaeologists and other heritage professionals have increasingly recognised the need to address this disconnect, both with the maritime world and heritage in general. One of the stated goals of archaeology has become to communicate our shared heritage with the general public (see 5.1). While this is undoubtedly for both altruistic and pragmatic reasons the result has been a proliferation of outreach, education and engagement initiatives. Due to the lack of maritime heritage and archaeology on the English school curriculum the public's fascination and perception with the subject has the potential to be influenced by anyone and is undoubtedly based on popular culture. Because of this, it is important that the messages being communicated on behalf of the heritage community are not only both truthful and ethical but can also capture the attention of the public. This is the heritage role filled by individuals who work on public engagement initiatives. However, to date no research has asked these individuals their views on the success, failures and impact of their work with the public.

In order to better understand the broad role and of public engagement with maritime heritage, this research explicitly aims to answer three questions:

1. In what ways are the public currently offered access to maritime heritage in England and what is affecting this access?

2. Who is delivering maritime heritage engagement initiatives and what are their aims?
3. Is there a substantial connection between public engagement literature and practice?

1.1 Project Rationale

This research is being conducted at an important point in the development of maritime heritage and its relationship to the public. Recent National Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) (Brinkley et al. 2010; Hewison and Holden 2004; Maeer and Killick 2013) and Honor Frost Foundation (HFF) (Firth 2015) papers seek to better understand the value of heritage, how people relate to it, and how it fits into the broader context of life in England. A 2016 British Academy/HFF HFF Steering Committee Policy Forum ‘ The Seamless Sea’ brought together a range of maritime projects to attempt to foster communication and find common ground between them, with the one aim being to develop ways of collectively raising the profile of the public value of the maritime cultural landscape (HFF and SCUCH 2016). It is clear that both the value of maritime cultural heritage and the relationship that the public has to heritage in general is at the front of many people’s minds.

In order to understand the relationships that the public has with maritime heritage, how value is being built, it is important to understand the range of access options being offered and the aims of these engagement initiatives. While a great deal of literature exists on engagement, even engagement with maritime heritage, very of few of these examples deal specifically with issues of communication, messages and the intent of the engagement. Two volumes in particular, *Out of the Blue: Public Interpretation of Maritime Cultural Resources* (John H. Jameson Jr. and Scott-Ireton 2007) and *Between the Devil and the Deep* (Scott-Ireton 2014) have been instrumental in collecting papers on the issues and practicalities relating to heritage engagement within the maritime context. And yet what is missing within this literature is the true sense of how this engagement with the public is working and who and what is driving it forward. While it is possible to look statistically at the impact of heritage this removes the very relevant human aspect of heritage engagement. Many evaluation processes focus solely on statistics of attendance and opinions of the public but allow limited opportunity for reflection by those delivering the initiative. This research aims to add another, often unheard, perspective on the how the relationship between maritime heritage and the public is being formed. In acknowledgement of the previous research and publications mentioned above, I have chosen to focus my research on better understanding the aims, objectives, practicalities and aspirations of eight initiatives through interviewing members of staff who work within engagement programming. If maritime archaeology wants to understand public perception, how and what messages are being communicated to the public, and how value is being created through engagement then these are some of the people whose views should be solicited.

This thesis is, in its essence, a study of the individuals who collectively work on engagement initiatives, how they do their jobs, why they believe engagement is important and what they feel their place is in communicating messages to the public. This research also aims to reveal the connections between aims and practices of heritage engagement and the messages maritime heritage are attempting to communicate to the public. Despite many publications on the subject of maritime engagement, no one has spoken to these practitioners before and allowed their voice to be a part of the wider discussions on the role of engagement in both heritage and society as a whole. By going directly to the source of delivery, fundamental questions can be answered. As mentioned, this research is important because archaeologists overwhelmingly agree that engagement is important, both altruistic purposes of allowing the public access to our shared heritage and the pragmatic purposes of securing funding for archaeological projects as a whole. However, there is no cohesive look at what messages are being delivered, nor the objectives and attitudes towards heritage of those delivering them. In general, there is a lack of discussion by those working on engagement initiatives on the methodologies and thoughts behind their work, largely due to confidentiality issues and a sense that the context of each programme is unique (Tully 2007:155). The statement “We cannot expect the field to prosper if we are unable to share our knowledge, successes and failure” (Tully 2007:156) is one that greatly underpins this research. In order to improve our engagement with the public it is important to understand more clearly what messages we are collectively putting forward and how we are doing so.

The structure of this research is largely thematic, with many chapters incorporating literature review and data analysis as well as interpretation of the connections between the two. It is hoped this structure will allow for a clearer narrative to develop and enable readers to engage with the themes as a whole. This introductory chapter includes a much-needed section on how certain problematic words will be used within this research, the results of previous research done by the author at a master's level which have influenced project design and a short discussion on the autoethnographic aspects of this work. Examination of the previous research essential as the work not only lead to the development of the research themes but has also proved invaluable in providing access to initiatives and in the analysis of interview materials and themes. The introduction of autoethnographic research early in this thesis allows me the opportunity to contextualise my place in the heritage engagement community, acknowledge my experiences within the field, and set the stage for reflection in Chapter 8 on lessons learned from this research.

Chapter 2 will then examine the various ways that people engage with maritime heritage in England, both on an active and passive level, to illustrate what the current offer from public engagement initiatives is and begin to answer the first aim of this research. The history of ethnography, relevant previous research and methodologies, and specific methodology for this research will be discussed in Chapter 3. This chapter will also include a brief introduction and contextualise the individual interviews and representative initiatives. The initiatives selected for this research are:

The Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS)

The National Maritime Museum Greenwich (NMMG) and Cutty Sark as part of Royal Museums Greenwich (RMG)

The Maritime Archaeology Trust (MAT)

Thames Discovery Programme (TDP) and the Coastal and Intertidal Zone Archaeological Network (CITiZAN) as part of the of Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA)

Dockhouse 4

Black Sea Maritime Archaeology Project (BSMAP).

Chapters 4-7 will each examine a specific theme; the uniqueness of the maritime context and public perception, messages, messengers, and value and evaluation. They will each include a comprehensive literature review, summary of each interview and a brief analysis of the interviews. Finally, the thesis will focus on the overarching aims this research by examining the connections found between the theory and practice of public engagement and the ways are the public currently offered access to maritime heritage in

England and the aims and backgrounds of the participants. This chapter will also include a form of autoethnography in which the author will examine the impact it has had on my perception and work in the field.

The outcome of this research will be a thesis that accurately reflects the current state of engagement within maritime heritage in England. It will both highlight the aims of stakeholders and recognize the issues faced by initiatives as they attempt to disseminate information to the public and the potential of engagement as a whole. It is hoped that this thesis will serve to engage with archaeologists, academics and policy makers who are unsure of the purpose of engagement. Equally, this research will allow the people working in engagement to realise the common issues and triumphs that they share. The opportunity for the engagement community to connect and read each other's perspectives on these issues cannot be understated.

1.2 Use of Language

Many words used in heritage, archaeology and anthropology have different meanings depending on the perspective of the people using them. Equally, how the audience interprets those words can vary and language has been used to both contextualise the past and exclude stakeholders (Mathers et al. 2005:9). This work in no way seeks to offer a final definition for any of the terms defined below. The flexibility in interpretation of these terms is fundamental to their ability to work within the different contexts they are used in. However, in order to avoid miscommunication throughout this document, it is necessary to offer interpretation of key terms.

Within this thesis the term *Professionals* should be interpreted as the wide range of people who work in public engagement in a professional capacity. This includes educators, archaeologists, museum employees, freelance contractors etc.

Heritage (see Chapter 7) is the both the tangible and intangible connections that individuals and societies have to the past. Tangible heritage is interpreted as object that is physically represented in the world, often identified through a top-down approach and based on a criteria identified by regional, national and international standards (English Heritage 2014:4). Intangible heritage is based more on social concept, involving aspects of heritage such as food, dance and oral histories. It also represents "….the bottom up relationship between people, objects, places and memories" (English Heritage 2014:4)

Engagement has become a ubiquitous term in the modern world, not only in heritage but also in any field which seeks to involve and interest outsiders in their work. Engagement is simultaneously the act of engaging and also the act of being engaged (Webster Dictionary, 2019a), and to engage is likewise both to hold the attention of and to encourage to participate (Webster Dictionary 2019b). Effectively, the use of the word engagement within heritage describes both the outcome of public/community/outreach archaeology as well as the act of offering these opportunities.

Within this research, the term *outreach* is used to describe aspects of public engagement that engage with the public in an informal way or in a place away from a traditional location (ie. museum or school). A more full discussion of the differences between education, outreach and engagement can be found in Intent of Programming (2.2)

The term *Stakeholder* is used to describe the various groups with different interests who have a connection to heritage (Carman 2011:497). It is frequently used in discussions of ownership of heritage, engagement with multiple narratives, and aspects of value and evaluation.

The use of the word *public* in archaeology has two definitions: 'public', referring to the state and related 'public' institutions such as the British Museum (BM) and "'the public' as a group of individuals who debate issues and consume cultural products, and whose reactions inform 'public option/ opinion?'" (Merriman 2004:1). The practice of *public archaeology* is seen as education and interpretation for the public in public areas such as parks, schools, and museums (Jameson Jr. 2014:21). It is worth noting that the field of public archaeology is much broader and examines the processes of meaning that occur when archaeology and the public culture meet. Again, Merriman explains that "Public archaeology, therefore, embraces the debates which open up between the official provision of archaeology on behalf of the public, and the differing publics which have a stake in archaeology, who will often debate amongst themselves about the meanings and values of archaeological resources"(Merriman 2004:5). Within this research, the term *public* is used to define stakeholders that are not professionals within heritage or members of governmental organizations/funding bodies/Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with ties to heritage.

Perhaps the most contested term being defined within this section is *community,* largely due to its ubiquitous use in both politics and society. Within heritage management, the term has been historically used to describe a group of people who have been grouped together based on a particular trait (Waterton and Smith 2010:5). Community engagement projects not only consult with groups, but actively involving them in the process based on the concept that "…it is no longer acceptable for archaeologists to reap the materials and intellectual benefits of another society's heritage without that society being involved and able to benefit equally from the endeavour." (Moser et al. 2002:221). These communities can be either self-identified or based on a certain demographic and need not be geographically co-located. They are often a stakeholder group within engagement initiatives, often representing a specific group targeted for engagement or pre-disposed to engage.

Finally, the terms *policy* and *practice* are interpreted differently within the fields of anthropology and archaeology. This is particularly true from a methodological point of view. Within anthropology, the term *policy* refers to the aims of an organization or individuals and it is possible to understand *policy* through interviewing participants. The term *practice* relates to the act of doing, and so from an anthropological point of view it is impossible to gather information on *practice* without observation of the activities. As Agar says, people do not always do what they say they do (Agar 1980:12). Fundamentally, the terms do not change when applied to archaeology, but many archaeologists would interpret *policy* as what has been written down by a higher authority as either law or guidance and *practice* as the day to day work and logistics of the field. From an anthropological perspective, this research is looking at the policies of heritage engagement within maritime archaeology. From an archaeological perspective, it is looking at the aims of practice. With most participants in the qualitative research coming from an archaeological and heritage management background, the terms used will predominantly be the archaeological interpretation to keep the document in line with expected heritage management interpretations of terminology. Exceptions will be noted within the text as necessary.

1.3 Previous Research

Research between 2011-2013 for a Master's degree in Maritime Archaeology at the University of Southampton greatly lead to the development of this thesis. The research began with a simple question, "What is outreach?" but soon expanded to include issues regarding the mechanics of outreach, how programming was delivered, and if the theories of outreach matched the practice. The final dissertation research question, how do archaeologists working in predominantly maritime based outreach programs apply theoretical ideas and ideal methodologies to the implementation of their programs, could only be answered through engaging with the community of archaeologists who deliver programming. I conducted initial interviews with seven individuals who were either currently working on or had recently worked on outreach projects on the south coast of England, with the results illuminating a community struggling with issues of funding, staffing and identity in maritime archaeology (Newman 2013). It is important to note that these projects were specifically *outreach* projects and did not include museums or more general engagement initiatives. The seventeen questions asked during this prior research (Appendix A) are important to acknowledge as they have helped form my prior knowledge capitol relating subject helped direct the initial research of this thesis. This prior research is briefly summarized here.

1.3.1 The Uniqueness of the Maritime Context and Public Engagement

The uniqueness of the maritime context was first examined during this research by asking participants if they perceived any differences in outreach programs for terrestrial or maritime sites. The issue of access was clearly the biggest perceived difference between outreach for these two environments. In terms of the methodologies and practicalities of outreach, this made a huge difference. It was seen as more difficult for the public to engage with maritime archaeology because it often seems more remote and separate. A major issue noted was the lack of ability for the public to form a personal connection to sites within the maritime context due to the lack of physical access. While it was possible for people to hold artefacts, try on dive gear and watch videos of excavations they would rarely be able to connect with an archaeologist while they are working or visit a site. Technological advances, both in terms of methodologies within archaeological practice and presentation of heritage, are gradually changing this. Broadly speaking, this question translated into implications on how programs are designed, however the theory behind outreach and engagement in general appeared to be broadly the same.

This is a theme that will be continued within in this research, largely because it is hopeful that with the addition of museums and initiatives who work on intertidal sites a more complete picture of the uniqueness of the maritime context can be achieved.

Previous research asked how participants thought the balance between the wants and the needs of the public should be managed as well as what they hoped to achieve with outreach.

The question regarding the wants and needs flagged up the importance of understanding the various different wants, needs and expectations of all the participants, be they the general public, funders or the initiatives themselves. Several participants also noted an issue with the lack qualitative evaluation within outreach initiatives. A double need for outreach for both the altruistic goal and as a way of ensuring the continuation of both specific initiatives and archaeology in general, was noted. Many participants believed that outreach was important to rectify a deficit of knowledge (Merriman 2004:5). The public is not aware of maritime heritage, which causes it to slip down the public agenda and lose support. Several people see communicating heritage to the public as the whole reason to do archaeology in the first place and a moral obligation. Outreach allows the industry to be seen as more accessible and keeps archaeology in the public eye so that it remains a social and political priority. In general, participants believed that people have the right to know the results of the work and we must make that accessible to them.

When asked what they hoped to achieve with outreach, influencing future generations and convincing them of the importance of heritage is seen as being of fundamental importance. People involved in delivering outreach will have ideas about what an audience needs to know which can potentially be different from what the funders want the audience to know. The audience does not necessarily know what it wants or what is needs. In general, it was seen as important to strike a balance between what the public wants (to have fun) and what the initiative and funders need (to deliver specific messages). Initiatives are asking the public to spend time with archaeology over other activities and have to acknowledge this. There must be an aspect of entertainment in outreach, but this has to be done in such a way that both the ethics and purpose of the initiative as it relates to maritime heritage are clear.

These initial responses have prompted me to consider the broad theme of the role of engagement on the public perception of maritime heritage, as well as issues around how evaluation happens. Is it possible for engagement to be both ethical and fun, particularly in a world where both treasure hunters and the media representation are not so confined to ethics? How are we evaluating the impact that we are having?

1.3.2 The Role of the Messenger

I initially believed that the people who delivered outreach programming would come from a similar background to myself: archaeologists who were interested in communication. However, the results of asking what training they have had which has prepared them for their current role showed people engaged in outreach for maritime archaeology come from a surprisingly varied background. Only half the participants had formal qualifications in maritime archaeology, with one participant having no formal archaeology qualifications at all. Opinions were varied on if it was better to be an educator or an archaeologist. There are clearly benefits to both situations, with an education background allowing people to have more familiarity with the school system as well as how to formally teach people, and an archaeologist being more familiar with the potential and scope of archaeology. It was noted that more important than background, the success of an initiative was often down to being “the right type of person”. Bad outreach was exceptionally damaging to the public perception of the field and it is necessary to have someone in place that can engage and communicate in the right way with the audiences.

The variety of backgrounds intrigued me and I was interested in finding out more about how the people who delivered engagement programming felt they fit into broader heritage engagement. Do they work for archaeology or the public? Do they see themselves as educators or archaeologists? What do they think their job is? If the success of engagement is based on having the right people doing good engagement, how do we know what kind of person that is?

1.3.3 Practicalities of Engagement Delivery

An additional area of research recognised as important was the impact of the practicalities of delivering outreach programming. The questions asked focused predominantly on the impact of funding and staffing, but also branched into target audiences and the use of media. The results indicate that it is important to recognise who is responsible for setting the aims of a project and what the agenda is behind them. Outreach initiatives are highly affected by who is funding them and the result of this is usually the need to aim for a targeted group or subject. There are many issues which result from both funding and staffing, particularly those of momentum and legacy of projects.

The results of questions on the benefits and negatives of using target audiences suggests that while outreach can benefit from being targeted and generally appropriate to the audience it's aimed at, by its very nature targeting eliminates the accessibility of an initiative. It is a double-edged sword in that in order to receive funding, many outreach programs must identify a target audience and yet the overall goal of outreach is to reach as many people as possible. Participants felt that previous government initiatives tend to focus on adding value to the curriculum of gifted and talented students or students at the lower end of the spectrum, resulting in average children not gaining access to programs. Equally, engagement can be targeted at a specific ethnic or minority group resulting in other groups being left out. The participants were divided if outreach is better if it is targeted and engages a limited amount of people or if the money spent could be better used to engage with a larger group.

Many outreach initiatives are being funded and staffed through HLF grants. The benefits to this are significant but there are issues with the amount of paperwork generated and people hours spent dealing with acquiring funding for projects and reporting on them. Other issues with HLF funding come from the temporality of the projects. In many cases, the public is really only just beginning to engage with the program fully before the funding runs out. Initiatives also face having staff for fixed terms and losing the specialist skills they bring once the funding ends. There is a frustrating requirement with each new funding application for something bigger and better to be presented, resulting in good projects having to be shelved after only one use despite the success and desire to continue with them. The lack of continuity in programming for outreach could potentially make it more difficult for long term engagement with archaeology.

The issues relating to the funding culminate in the much larger one of creating a legacy and sustainability in terms of outreach programs. Universally, the people interviewed agreed that creating a lasting and maintainable legacy for their work was important and unanimously they agreed that it was difficult. Increasingly, the practicalities of using the Internet as a means to initially engage the public with a project and provide a lasting legacy of it is being considered par for the course. The benefits and disadvantages of using the Internet as a legacy tool are very similar: It is very easy to put information online and leave it there. The potential for out of date websites to be damaging is very high as it gives the impression that the level of stewardship, ownership and appreciation of the project doesn’t exist.

It is unsurprising that this section of research generated the most amount of information, given that it allowed participants an opportunity to discuss issues which complicate their working lives. The concern over legacy for projects was not expected, but tied into a general dissatisfaction with how outreach programmes are funded and staffed. The temporary nature of engagement and the lack of an ability to create a lasting impact were clearly noted.

1.4 Development of Methodology and Themes

The basic methodology for the master’s level research was a qualitative analysis of interviews with pre-set questions. Most interviews were conducted in this way, except for two participants who requested questionnaires in lieu of face to face interviews. Additionally, aspects of self-reflection were considered. While the methodology employed was satisfactory for this level of research, moving on it is recognized that a more robust approach grounded in theory will be needed. What has been firmly established is that at least one face to face interview with each participant is important in order to enable myself as the researcher to draw out further details as needed. The questionnaires lacked the human element of the conversations and reduced both parties to a one-dimensional character. While the words are important, so is the laughter at a question, the long pauses and the requests for clarification. Equally, the need to ask pre-set questions was ultimately seen as limiting. Not everyone could answer every question asked, and often the questions had been answered within a previous question and were redundant. A flexible approach is needed.

As such, the current methodology will draw on aspects of Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Autoethnography in order to acquire the most representative and accurate results in both the interviews and analysis of data. The potential for Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and word cloud analysis will also be assessed

The conclusions of this initial research suggest that people involved in outreach for maritime archaeology are engaging with theory, though perhaps not consciously. At the time of submission, it was impossible to decide if this engagement was because of research or education in theory or because of common sense and the characteristics of the people who are involved in the area. This area was identified as a clear potential for further research. Because the decision had been made not to include museums and to limit the field of study to projects on the south coast, the full representation of heritage engagement initiatives was not covered. Although it will not be possible to revisit all of these questions for the current research, they have greatly informed the development of current themes and identified gaps in both literature and my own research.

Through this research I have identified four overarching themes to investigate: the uniqueness of the maritime context and public perception, the aims, objectives and delivery of various stakeholder messages, the role of the messengers in this delivery and a better understanding of who is delivering this engagement, and a more robust examination of the values heritage engagement seeks to create and how this is evaluated.

1.5 Autoethnography

Due to the subjective nature of this work, it is important to recognise that my background is as someone who had a limited connection to the sea until my mid-twenties. I learned about the importance of the maritime world as an adult, and my initial connections were recreationally through diving and then more professionally through the Royal Navy. It was only after these experiences that I began formal research into maritime archaeology.

The work done during my Master's degree has inevitably biased me towards the outcome of certain aspects of this work as it was, though not known at the time, a pilot study for this research. As discussed above, this work suggested some very fundamental issues with how heritage engagement currently works within England. Furthermore, in the intervening years I have become a volunteer and occasional employee for the Maritime Archaeology Trust (MAT), volunteer at the National Maritime Museum Greenwich (NMMG) and have been employed for three years as the lead science mentor for the Black Sea MAP Project (BSMAP).

This personal history has allowed me insider knowledge on both the people and work within this field. The area of work is one that I would like to pursue in the future, and so it must be recognised that just as I am interviewing people for my research I am also keenly aware that they are forming first impressions of me and my future potential. This is balanced by the fact that for at least some of these interviews, I am not a stranger to the people I am interviewing. They are people I consider both colleagues and friends and the discussions we are having are in many ways a formalization of conversations we have had before. It is hoped that this familiarity will help during the interview stage to draw out aspects of the conversation and within the interpretation stage.

Therefore, there is a dichotomy in my relationship to this work. I am simultaneously the person who grew up with little association with water, and the person who has spent a great deal of my adult life seeking to understand it. Likewise, I am for some participants an outsider academic with whom they have no prior relationship and for others I am an old friend, colleague and potential future employee. I believe that this dichotomy will ultimately aid my research by providing a counterbalance to each interview I conduct and that the interpretation as a whole will benefit from both the seven year old seeing the ocean for the first time and the maritime archaeologist who has worked in engagement before.

Chapter 2 Ways of Engagement with Maritime Heritage

2.1 A Contextual History of Engagement and Maritime Heritage

In order to understand how engagement with maritime heritage in England has reached this particular point, it is important to understand and trace the history of the development of the subject. This includes not only the public's relationship with heritage and technology but also the relationship of those working in heritage to the public and technology and the development of legislation and national mandates. This section is by no means exhaustive of the subject, but rather presented as an indication of the complexities and interdependencies of the relationships of some of the stakeholders in heritage engagement.

2.1.1 14th to 19th century

If we look at the beginnings of maritime archaeology, it is important to acknowledge that since the ships first sailed there have been shipwrecks and the resources they represented have always been salvaged (Muckelroy 1978:10). It is only in more recent history that submerged heritage has been explored for the sake of curiosity. The legendary submerged sites at Lake Nemi, Italy, were explored first in the 15^{th} century and though accounts of diving bells date back to Aristo, in 1531 Guglielmo de Lorena began strapping weights to himself to collect material from shipwrecks (Emley 2017).

The act of researching and interpreting archaeology did not begin as a profession, but rather developed out of the public's engagement with the material past they found. The Society of Antiquities was formed in 1717 and by the early 1800's, many archaeological societies published reports, held meetings, conducted regular site visits and excavations (Piggott 1976:171–95). Primarily comprised of clergymen and enthusiastic gentlemen scholars of both genders, these groups were interested in classical works and viewed "celts" and "primeaval" archaeology of the UK as curiosities (Christenson 1989:158). It wasn't until 1881 that legislation was created to protect a list of sites, based on appeal by John Lubbock and A.H.L.H Pitt Rivers which expressed the importance of the preservations of sites for education and the public good. Pitt Rivers was also appointed the first Inspector of Public Monuments as part of the Office of Works, the government department responsible for architecture and buildings, and “it was through his efforts and willingness to go beyond the limits of the post that the principle of preservation and state-sponsored investigation took hold” (Carman 2012:26). In 1913, the Office of Works was given new powers to make a collection of the greatest sites and buildings that told the story of Britain, primarily prehistoric and medieval remains (English Heritage 2019a). A few years prior to this in 1908 the UK’s first avocational maritime archaeologist, the Reverend Odo Blundell, dived with the help of the Caledonian Canal Company to understand the construction of a crannog in Loch Ness (Muckelroy 1978:11–12)

It was the work by two archaeologists, Pitt-Rivers and Sir Mortimer Wheeler, which greatly catapulted archaeology into the minds of the general public. Pitt-Rivers is quoted at the opening of the of the Dorset County Museum “Although a county museum is not strictly an educational establishment, yet, if it is admitted that one of its chief functions should be the instruction of the public, the same principles must apply to these collections that apply to a school” (Pitt-Rivers 1884:10) and, determined to share his interest with the public, opened a museum and accompanying recreational grounds for the public in Dorset (Corbishley 2011:78).

Sir Mortimer Wheeler saw the importance of presenting archaeology in new and innovative ways, through a variety of methods. Through appearances on *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?* on the BBC in the 1950s, tours of excavations and weekly press conferences at Maiden Castle between 1935-7 and the vocal opinion that archaeology was about people and not things, his enthusiasm proved contagious and enthused the public (Corbishley 2011:80).

2.1.2 1950’s and 1960’s

The Council for British Archaeology was founded in 1944 with the aim of not only safeguarding archaeological material post World War II, but also improving public education about archaeology (Council for British Archaeology 2019a). The council recognised that gaining public support for archaeology was of paramount importance and within five years the main focus of the council had been decided: The CBA became the forum for archaeologists to collectively voice their views to the public, government and media as well as a vehicle to encourage archaeology in all levels of education and to encourage research on both a professional and avocation level (Council for British

Archaeology 2017). Similarly, the development of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1945 created a will to work towards more global protection and understanding of heritage as well as education mandates (UNESCO 2019a). Slightly later the Council for Nautical Archaeology (CfNA) formed in 1964 with the "the remit to act as a channel of communication between divers and the appropriate learned bodies to share discoveries within the field of marine archaeology." (Council for British Archaeology 2019a). These councils laid the foundations for engagement with the public both in and helped to foster a mind-set which included these ideals in both archaeologists and the public.

Technology developed during WWII greatly influenced how the public could become involved in archaeology. Two developments, self-contained underwater breather apparatus (SCUBA) and metal detectors, allowed people more direct access to maritime sites and heritage. Established in 1953, the British Sub-Aqua Club (BSAC) began as a small group of divers in London but very quickly evolved into a series of clubs dotted throughout the UK. By 1955, the membership had grown from 100 to 1,100. In 1959, BSAC because a founding member of the World Underwater Diving Federation (CMAS) and published its first dive manual (British Sub Aqua Club 2017). By the late 1960's, SCUBA diving became even more popular and accessible. The Professional Association of Diving Instructors (PADI) began training divers in 1967 and there is an improvement in the general safety of the sport and an increase in certification worldwide (Martin 1997). In the late 1960's, metal detectors become cheaper and begin to be imported into the UK to be used by hobbyists. An uneasy relationship with archaeologists develops and by 1969 people with metal detectors were writing to archaeologists asking for the best places to search for materials (Thomas 2012:66), brought about by concerns on how material was subsequently excavated.

2.1.3 1970's and 1980's

With a Labour government in power throughout much of the 1970's, there was an increase in focus on social inclusion and educational equality. A large proportion of archaeological work was done by local amateur archaeology groups who communicated much of their information to the public (Sayer 2014:58). It was during this period that the terms "public archaeology" and "community archaeology" began to be formally discussed as concepts within heritage (Sayer 2014:59). In 1972, Young Rescue, the pre-curser to the Young Archaeology Club, formed as a national programme for children UK wide with an interest in archaeology. The programme was created by Kate Perry and run by a committee for the next 21 years (Corbishley 2011:82-106). The CBA restructure of 1975 saw the creation of an Education Board to oversee the work of three different committees committed to educational programming.

Within the maritime field, the CfNA established the International Journal of Nautical Archaeology (IJNA) and the Nautical Archaeology Trust (NAT) in 1972. NAT was registered as a charity and operated to make information and training available to the public (Nautical Archaeology Society 2017). The following year, the Protection of Wrecks Act 1973 came into effect. The act allowed the Secretary of State the authority to designate both a shipwreck and surrounding site as protected, based on its historical, archaeological or artistic importance (Government of the United Kingdom 1973). The act also, crucially, outlined how an individual can commit an offence on the site but also stipulated that a license may be granted on a site. This was a timely piece of legislation as the 1970's saw the discovery of a number of Spanish Galleons and the modern advent of treasure hunting on submerged sites, in large part due technological advances in scuba diving (Roberts 2018:833).

With a conservative government in power between 1979-1997, there was a notable shift in political focus in economics, police and local government responsibilities for funding, as well as an increase on regulations on heritage in general (Sayer 2014:58). Archaeology was linked into wider government aims, as politicians realised the value heritage had to "justify the idea of continuity of values and the solid moral fibre of the UK" (Sayer 2014:59). Despite this, the 1980's could be considered a low in engagement between archaeologists and the public in terms of access to sites. The development of professional archaeology in the UK, highlighted by the foundation of the Institute for Archaeology in 1983, lead to a division between 'professionals' and 'amateurs' in the field (Sayer 2014:58).

During the 1980's there was a restructuring of many organizations who worked in heritage engagement. It was during this time period that English Heritage was formed, first as the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, with two roles: to care for the National Heritage Collection and to run a national system of heritage protection, which included listed buildings, planning issues and grants (English Heritage 2019a). The CfNA was incorporated into the CBA in 1984 and in 1986 members of the Nautical Archaeology Trust voted to change its name to the Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS) (Nautical Archaeology Society 2017). It begins delivering educational programming the same year with the aim of not just providing an introduction to maritime archaeology but also a chance for the public to get involved in projects (Nautical Archaeology Society 2017).

2.1.4 1990's

In the early 1990's there continued to be a decrease in involvement of avocational archaeologists, particularly in regards to decisions, because of the further professionalization of the field (Sayer 2014:59). This was due in part to increasing health and safety regulations but also to some professionals believing it undermined paid employment prospects (Sayer 2014:60). The development of Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG16) meant that the financial responsibility of some archaeology now belonged to the commercial sector (Sayer 2014:59). This, understandably, would have limited the amount of access avocational archaeologists would have to sites as many were now being run with the goal to excavate as quickly as possible as per the needs of the companies paying for the work. The financial value of archaeology was discovered, with both English Heritage (EH) and the National Trust (NT) beginning to charge people admission to sites (Sayer 2014:59). These decisions created additional barriers not only for the public to become involved in archaeology hands on, but also to physically see sites. The election of New Labour in the UK in 1997 brought about a change in policy and re- focused on community (Waterton and Smith 2010:6). This new focus required archaeology to justify itself to the government and focus on the 'value' of heritage within the wider public sector (Jowell et al. 2006:7).

Legal developments in the 1990's brought about changes in protection for maritime heritage and the ability for the public to engage with and report finds. The Merchant Shipping Act 1995 reiterated that all wreck material recovered from UK territorial waters and any wreck material brought into the UK from outside UK territorial waters must be recorded to the Receiver of Wreck. This included wreck material found in or on the sea, wreck material washed ashore in tidal waters and material recovered from a wreck site - regardless of age, size or apparent importance or value (Government of the United

Kingdom 1995). While this strengthening of regulations made salvaging from wrecks and selling on artefacts legally much more stringently controlled, it anecdotally created a situation where those who continued to do so were less likely to come forward with material they had found. The following year, The Treasure Act 1996 was complimented by the development in 1997 of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) with it being rolled out nationwide in 2002 (Thomas 2012:61). This voluntary programme encourages members of the public to record chance archaeological finds in England that were not declared treasure. Archaeologists and museums had requested that that the scheme be mandatory, however metal detectorists objected strongly to this. Given that the majority of these finds were by metal detectorists, and that museums and archaeologists said they would be willing to work with a voluntary scheme, the voluntary approach was taken (Thomas 2012:70–71). A review of PAS in 2008 suggested that it has developed into a partnership between members of the public and heritage managers and concluded with saying that it should increase its focus on outreach involving recording and education (Clark 2008:6).

A big change in heritage funding occurred in 1994 with the development of the HLF as the result of the 1993 National Lottery Act, which become the primary funder for the heritage sector as a whole (Hewison and Holden 2004:11). While this may seem to represent a new independence in funding, the HLF "…was, in reality, a new quango: while finances came from private money, the agendas were largely controlled by the government. Money was allocated to projects based on socially-determined spending, including their inclusivity and winder community values" (Sayer 2014:61).

A common wealth: museums and learning in the United Kingdom (Department for Culture Media and Sport 1997) focused on the provision for education in museums. Key findings in the report suggested that this provision was patchy, with 50% not offering any deliberate programming. Where it existed, provisions made for a limited audience, most often schools, children in family groups and local people. Only 1 in 5 museums had an education specialist on staff.

2.1.5 2000's & 2010's

2001 saw the adoption of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, an international treaty created as a response to growing concerns over the looting and destruction of maritime heritage. The convention sets a standard for the preservation and, critically, encourages training and information sharing for nation states with less knowledge capital as well as public access (UNESCO 2017a). Sadly, the United Kingdom has yet to ratify the convention citing "…that the Convention contains an overly broad definition of UCH, erodes the sovereign immunity principle for wrecked warships, and incorporates a creeping coastal State jurisdiction" (Roberts 2018:836). Community engagement as a whole was increasing to meet the New Labour social and educational goals, particularly benefiting from funding through HLF grants. As funding for the HLF, older quangos such as English Heritage begins to lose power, having its budget cut by a third in 2003 (Taylor 2007). Equally, the MLA had funding cut which resulted in PAS laying off staff, including their educational advisor. This was coupled with local governments losing control over heritage spending and funding becomes more central, resulting in many jobs being combined (Sayer 2014:62). Despite these cuts in funding, the government becomes increasingly aware of community archaeology and the value of heritage. Community archaeology first referenced in political text *The Current State of Archaeology in the United Kingdom: First Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group* in 2003 and it appears in 2007 in *Heritage Counts* as first official government use (Sayer 2014:62). The number of archaeologists employed in outreach in both museums and commercial units increased until 2008 when HLF funding was cut by 1/3 to increase funding for the Olympics. This cut meant that when projects came to the end of their HLF funding, they were often unable to continue (Sayer 2014:63).

The Aggregates Levy Sustainability Fund (ALSF) was introduced by the United Kingdom Government Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs as a two-year pilot scheme in April 2002. Eventually, it ran until 2011. One of the major goals of the fund was to develop outreach and dissemination programming to showcase the importance of aggregates in understanding the maritime historic environment (Dellino-Musgrave et al. 2009). This development enabled many specific maritime archaeology engagement projects, including 'Explore the Sea Floor' at Wessex Archaeology and both the 'Derek the Dredger' books, 'Mystery Wreck' activity book and a series of handling collection boxes for the Maritime Archaeology Trust (then HWTMA).

Since 1999 there have been large scale changes and attempts to reform and modernise the heritage sector in England. Primarily driven by the language of New Labour, the shift was an attempt to find relevance for a larger audience (Waterton and Smith 2012:162). This was drawn out of the belief that “one of the greatest challenges facing the sector [was] the perception that ‘heritage’ is elitist and irrelevant to many sections of society” (English Heritage, 2003 in Waterton and Smith 2012). The 2010 election of a Conservative/Lib-Dem coalition government largely brought about a return to localised spending and control as well as the abolishment of several quangos, including the MLA (Sayer 2014:64). This was accompanied by budget cuts of up to 32% (UK Government 2010:6). There was a broad shift from the idea of “community” to the idea of “society”, with individual systems working towards national goals (Sayer 2014:63).

In March 2010, the government “officially recognised the immense public interest in heritage and its multiple values, its ability to provide a sense of place, social cohesion, and identity” (Sayer 2014:64) by announcing *Public Policy Statement 5* and, subsequently, the *National Planning Policy Framework.* These guidelines strongly recommended public consultation and community engagement has subsequently become the way in which this is implemented (Sayer 2014:64).

2011 saw the creation of the Honor Frost Foundation (HFF) which has a mission to promote maritime archaeology. While the foundation has a focus on middle eastern heritage, it is not exclusively so and encourages the publication and research into a wide variety of subjects including public education and museums (Honor Frost Foundation 2019). The foundation continues to provide both grants and educational scholarships. In the following year UNESCO formed the UNITWIN Network for Underwater Archaeology as a capacity building network which aims to “…enhance the protection of and research into, underwater cultural heritage, by connecting in a formal way universities and professional training institutions working in the field of underwater archaeology. It will act as a bridge between the academic world, civil society, local communities, research and policy-makers” (UNESCO 2019a). Several UK universities are members or associate members in the network (UNESCO 2019b).

The 2014 government document, *Heritage Counts 2014: The value and impact of heritage* represented a further acknowledgement by the government of the value of heritage to society. It stated that participating in heritage improved not only the personal development and health of individuals, but also community life through social capital, community cohesion and mutual understanding. Heritage was recognised as making both financial, cultural and societal contributions above and beyond the cost of maintaining sites (Historic England 2014).

As of April 2015, EH has separated into two agencies. English Heritage, a charity, retained the original name and responsibilities for the National Heritage Collection (castles, standing stones, monuments, shipwrecks etc). A new government organization, Historic England, "took on the statutory role of giving expert, constructive advice to owners, local authorities and the public, and championing the wider historic environment." (English Heritage 2015).

2.1.6 Summary

Archaeology did not spring fully formed as a profession, but rather began with curiosity for the heritage people could see. The idea is important to remember as we examine the relationship between the public and heritage. Some early archaeologists, both professional and avocational, recognised this and engaged with the public. But in the 1970's archaeology began to become political as the social and economic value of it was recognised. The evolution planning legislation, the formal professionalization of the field and fear of increasing technology giving unlimited access all played a part in the disenfranchisement of avocational archaeologists and the public in the 1980's and early 1990's. There has been a slow recovery from this, but now there is a focus on community and stakeholder engagement with heritage.

Looking at specifically at maritime archaeology, there has clearly been a long and fraught relationship with salvage and treasure hunting. This is often linked to technological developments which have made access easier and legislation has been slow to recognise these developments. Nationally, the public engagement with the maritime heritage context has several champions including NAS, the CIfA's Marine Archaeology Special Interest Group & the HFF.

2.2 Intent of programming

Through initial research into public engagement it very quickly became apparent that a wide range of maritime heritage engagement programming is currently being offered in England. To fully understand the scope and impact of this work, there was a need to identify the intent of programming and initiatives as well as to look at how the public could engage with specific activities. The reasons behind why people develop resources to encourage the public to engage are just as varied as the reasons why the public engages with heritage. These differences exist because the needs of both the audience and the initiatives involved in specific projects will vary. In general, initiatives will loosely group activities as either *Outreach* or *Education* programming to address various aims and objectives and to reach the maximum audience. *Education* will primarily deal with school visits, site visits, formal talks, teacher resources, volunteer training schemes and other more formal aspects of engagement. *Outreach*, as mentioned in Chapter 1, is a difficult term in relation to engagement. Many organizations, such as MAT, still put all of their education under the term *outreach* and use it as a catch all for communicating maritime heritage. Other organizations use it to refer to any programming which engages the public in an informal way or in a place away from normal, for example NMMG. The use of the term *outreach* is problematic as it has undeniable connotations of “us” and “them” and suggests that we need to reach out to the public and effectively market maritime heritage. Certainly, those who are trained to communicate with the public are in an excellent place to facilitate the promotion of the it, but the term does not represent engagement.

Ultimately, I found the groupings of Education and Outreach did not accurately line up to the intent of heritage engagement. The focus was too much on how heritage managers were engaging with the public and less on how the public was engaging with the programming. Because of this I have elected re-classify specific engagement activities as either Active or Passive engagement. This allows both the research and the activities to be unburdened by terminology that may ultimately miss-represent the engagement. Rather than base the classification on the aims and objectives of the initiatives, which can be difficult to interpret and influenced by a variety of outside pressures (See 5.2). I am instead basing it on the apparent degree of effort/involvement required by the public to access the initiative. Broadly speaking, active engagement initiatives require the participants to decide to spend time learning about and engaging with heritage, usually at a specific time and place. Passive engagement is more akin to engagement by stealth, where the participants had not necessarily predicted they would be encountering heritage, it is a minor part of a larger activity or it is something that can be discovered by a participants own time or in their home. This reclassification enables me to better illustrate the current offer of engagement within England by charting how the industry engages with both its most unaware and most interested parties. Within each section, Active and Passive, engagement programming will be loosely presented in order of escalation of involvement (time, money, resources etc.) required by participants. Ultimately, this chapter aims to better understand how both types of programmes are working together towards providing engagement opportunities for different audiences within heritage and to identify current gaps within the offer.

The examples used will focus on maritime initiatives within England, but also occasionally explore UK wide, international, and terrestrial projects with links to maritime projects. This broader scope is largely to take full advantage of the literature that is currently available and provide the most varied examples of heritage engagement possible, with the understanding that the principles of engagement are similar internationally, at least within comparable nations with developed heritage management programmes. With new projects emerging monthly, the following examples should not be considered an exhaustive list of every engagement programme within England, but rather to be indicative of the type of engagement that is on offer and what has been published between August 2014 and August 2018. Some engagement activities form a small part of a much larger heritage initiative and are often buried as part of a larger report or remain unpublished. Such projects are not included within this research due to limited information.

2.3 Media

One of the most obvious ways that the public engages with heritage is through the media, which includes printed material, television, film, games and online apps. There is no denying that these aspects of the media contribute greatly to engagement, even in 2000 “popular media such as television (56%), magazines (33%), and newspapers (24%) were mentioned as major sources of information about archaeology” (Ramos and Duganne 2000:16). Because forms of media are used by archaeologists and non-archaeologists to communicate both education and entertainment there are intrinsic difficulties in understanding the intent of programming. The dichotomy found in trying to understand the intentions of behind other maritime heritage media and including them within this research has proven too ambitious within the scope of this thesis. West asks, is television educational or is it entertainment? (West 2004) and sadly that is a question that deserves a thesis of its own. Towards the beginning of this research I concluded that the topic of media and archaeology required far more substantial interpretation then was possible in a thesis where it was not the focus. With the inclusion of BSMAP and the documentary associated with it, it became important to include media as an element however media will only be included when it is being produced as part of a larger engagement initiative. This allows films, leaflets, short videos, podcast, books etc. that form part of the dissemination of an initiative to be included. This is no way reflects the complex role that media plays in presenting heritage to the public but is rather an attempt to delineate the boundaries of what is being covered. A brief summary of the role that media plays in public engagement will be included in Chapter 6.

2.4 Passive Engagement

Passive engagement is the style of engagement that the public can encounter without premeditation or at a time of their own choosing. This does not mean that a degree of agency isn’t required as a person must still make a decision to engage with what is presented to them and many will seek out these opportunities, but in general these are not activities that require individuals to commit to be somewhere at a specific place or time, require a great deal of funds to attend or even to anticipate maritime heritage being presented to them. Passive engagement often has a very casual approach and will often target families or people with an interest related to maritime heritage (eg. Diving, maritime history, the coastline). It does not “trap” people in an activity and generally allows people to engage at a level and for a length of time they decide. Ultimately, passive engagement is usually designed to be as non-threatening as possible.

2.4.1 Technology Based Learning

Technology forms a large part of how maritime heritage is communicated to the public, both remotely through digital content and also through in person activities at museums and outreach events. Using technology as a form of engagement is very attractive for both initiatives and the public, for a variety of reasons. Engagement with maritime heritage can offer a range of access issues depending on the context of the heritage (see

Chapter 4). The challenge of visiting and documenting sites which are difficult to physically access is largely being met by technology. In the same way that technology is granting archaeologists access to these sites, the information brought back is being used to generate engagement programming for the public. Even for initiatives where local access to the site isn't an issue, the web opens the project up to a wider audience. Technology can also play a role in invigorating how heritage is presented to the public through games, videos and interactive exhibits in museums, allowing it to compete with other enjoyable uses of leisure time. However, technology in all its forms requires maintenance. There are few things worse for public engagement then an out of date website or an under-repair sign in a museum. Perhaps more so then any other form of engagement, technology has the potential to appear dated and suffers from lack of legacy planning simply because many of the skills required to create and maintain it are not seen as a hiring or funding priority.

2.4.1.1 The Internet

Project websites are one of the simplest ways for an initiative to maintain a public presence. Websites can fulfil a variety of roles for an initiative and can have sections tailored to various stakeholders. As a priority, they provide information on current projects, the overall aims in the initiative, and ways to contact members of staff. Increasingly, initiative websites provide free engagement through interactive aspects of the site as well as the distribution of maps, videos, apps and podcasts etc. An example of website which combines all of these is the MAT website, which covers these aspects of engagement in a section called “Explore the Past” (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019). Publication and mass media allows initiative websites to give access to field reports, management plans, technically summaries, and other relevant documents to academics and heritage professionals (Catsambis and Morrand 2014:21). Increasingly, public engagement projects will use social media (ex. Twitter, Instagram and Facebook) to promote both individual initiatives and the projects is seen as essential.

This widens the dissemination of information on the initiative and allows for a greater contextualisation of heritage as a whole. It also gives a voice to both academics and avocational archaeologists who might otherwise not otherwise report findings by legitimising their work as part of a larger project. Websites can also be the vehicle to show the final results of an engagement project, such as MAT's Forgotten Wrecks of the First World War (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019b).

2.4.1.2 Virtual Access

The development of technology, such as Remote Operated Vehicles (ROV's), digital cameras and photogrammetric/laser recording, has revolutionized heritage management. While some suggests it weakens the arguments for excavation of sites (Ballard and Durbin 2008:250), in practicality this technology allows detailed access to deeper maritime sites and quicker recording for heritage. In the case of the Black Sea MAP project, ROV's are being used to scan and generate both high definition photogrammetry images and 3D printed models of the shipwrecks discovered at depths far too great to dive (Pacheco-Ruiz et al. 2019).

With these developments, virtual access to submerged sites through interactive tours has increased. Virtual dive trails exist for *HMS Colossus* (CISMAS 2019), *SS Braedale* (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019p) and the *London* (Cotswold Archaeology 2019). Most recently, The Thistlegorm Project (The Thistlegorm Project 2017) has used not only photogrammetry but also 360° video to showcase the wreck site. This type of presentation online allows for non-divers to better understand the in-situ conditions of a site and the practicalities of recording and excavation. When combined with virtual reality these 3D models and videos are an incredible form of outreach, allowing the public to understand the scale of site and recreating the moment of discovery for them.

2.4.2 Festivals

There are many maritime festivals in England that celebrate the connection an area has with the sea. The Great Yarmouth Festival is a free festival which runs annually and allows the opportunity to visit a wide range of vessels, from tall ships to current British Royal Navy patrol vessels, as well as enjoy demonstrations such as gansey knitting and maritime painting, sea-shanty singing and a variety of entertainment (Great Yarmouth Maritime Festival 2019). Other festivals, such as the Ipswich Maritime Festival (Ipswich Town & Waterfront 2019), follow a similar format. In 2013 and 2014, MAT and Southampton Heritage Federation organized the Southampton Maritime Festival (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2014).

The annual Festival of Archaeology, coordinated by the CBA has grown into a two-week festival in August to celebrate and encourage people to engage with their local heritage with over 1000 events in 2016 (Council for British Archaeology (2019b). Through the website, people are able to search for events by both type and time period, filtering by county. Event types include talks, find identification, archaeological skills, re-enactment, demonstration, exhibitions, guided walks or tour, family fun, hands-on activity & excavation visit (Council for British Archaeology (2019b). Events are run by various individual initiatives but promoted and supposed by the CBA on a national level. This support by the CBA allows for initiatives that would otherwise be unable to attract visitors a greater level of publicity. It also encourages organizations that might otherwise not engage with the public to organize a "one off" event and tie into a larger heritage network.

In 2017 several University of Southampton students and faculty presented Log Boat Live at Countryfile Live as part of the universities Research Roadshow, and annual tour of public engagement showcasing the research currently happening at the university. More broadly, maritime archaeology students have been contributing to the Roadshow through Science Busking, which involves talking to people for a few minutes with a few props about a specific element of heritage. Again, the themes selected attempted to showcase the connections between the past and the present by looking at archaeology relevant to people in a festival situation, e.g. Amphorae as transport vessels as compared to modern water bottle.

In all three of these examples, the public has access to information on maritime heritage through an interest in a related subject (local history, archaeology and festivals). These subjects are the aspect that provides the connecting point for people to relate maritime heritage to their current lives and interests. By situating maritime heritage within these broader environments, the public can interact with how the information is presented on their own terms. While the depth of knowledge that is being acquired is likely not high, by presenting maritime heritage in a more casual and connected way the perception that people have of the field.

2.4.3 Mobile Museums

In many ways, mobile museums represent some of the best forms of engagement possible. At their best, they can set up in car parks, schools, fair etc. without concern about services and simply offer the option for people to engage. The most known maritime mobile museum in England is the Maritime Archaeology Outreach Bus, owned by MAT. It is currently being used on the Forgotten Wrecks of the First World War project and has previously been used as part of the Common Cultural Connection project. The bus is a purpose-built mobile resource that was initially funded between 2009-2012 as part of the HLF Engaging New Audiences Project (Maritime Archaeology Trust (2019c). The bus can be customised to specific the engagement needs and features a wheelchair ramp and height adjustable table to increase access. There are a wide variety of activities on board, including A/V, games, a handling collection and tanks with mini ROVs (Maritime Archaeology Trust (2017). This is a highly useful tool for maritime outreach, as the bus is a self-contained, all weather platform from which a variety of themes can be presented. It can easily be set up by two individuals in the space of an hour and only requires the space of nine regular vehicles for parking. Although the bus is owned by MAT, it is possible for other organizations to rent it (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019c).

The success of the maritime bus is largely due to its ability to be set up anywhere with minimal effort and the flexibility of the content it displays. It is effectively a mobile museum with a wide range of engagement activities. Previous experience volunteering with the bus on several occasions suggests that there are always things to hold, things to watch, things to try on, things to read and things to do. While the posters and leaflets are often geared towards adults, the bus itself is visually designed to draw in children who will bring their parents with them. When it is free for organizations and groups to arrange for it to visit, it represents one of the purest forms of engagement I have documented. Even when a fee must be payed, it represents exceptionally good educational value for money because of the completely tailored experience it can offer.

The NMMG Maritime Memories Machine was an ice cream van that travelled to various locations around England to ask people “what are your maritime memories and what is your connection to the sea?”. The aim of the project was to gather answers to these questions and personal maritime stories through hands on activities, which in turn would be used in and inform the development of the new Sea Things gallery which opened in

2018. The van visited 16 different locations over the course of the summer, gathering examples of intangible maritime heritage and oral histories (Emergency Exit Arts 2017).

Finally, the BSMAP Roadshow was created in 2018 to engage with the science and heritage of the project through virtual reality, hands on activities for children & 3D prints of shipwrecks. The exhibit toured as part of the University of Southampton public engagement roadshow with stops including the Cheltenham Science Festival, Greenman Music Festival and Farnborough International Air Show. Modular in design, the roadshow was able to be presented by one person from a single box or expand to fill a large museum space.

2.4.4 Heritage Trails

Heritage trails are usually self-lead tours of heritage linked together to add greater context to each site. Traditionally, outdoor signs are used to link elements of trails together, allowing them to be contextualised as a series of panels creating a narrative. They can be elements on the same site, for instance a shipwreck, or different sites which are connected. Different types of maritime heritage trails exist worldwide, with some requiring travel by car, kayak, foot, or SCUBA diving.

Historic England recognises that dive trails, pioneered by MAT in Alum Bay, are an integral part of a broad education and outreach plan. Not only can divers visiting sites provide new photographs to aid in site monitoring, but the increase in visitors to the site can deter people from illegally visiting the site (Historic England 2015a:18). Within England, five Historic England protected shipwrecks currently have dive trails on them: *HMS Colossus, Iona II, Coronation, HMS A1 & Norman's Bay. HMS Colossus*, off the Isles of Scilly, is representative of what is offered to divers. The dive trail on the site was created by CISMAS and funded by a grant from HE. Divers visiting the site are given an on shore briefing by the boat skipper before diving. They enter the water with a waterproof guide and follow a route around numbered stations, which indicate areas of interest (Historic England 2015a:19). Slightly more accessible to the general public, but still requiring special equipment to complete, is the Heritage Canoe Trail from Stoke on Trent to Froghall. The trail guide is available as a PDF and includes information on both the practicalities and heritage, as well as time estimate for each trip (City of Stoke-on-Trent 2016).

Examples of terrestrial based heritage trails include those created by the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research in 2000. The trail is made up of six themes: Coastal Environments, Coastal Communities, Coastal Forts, Lighthouses, Historic Ports, and Historic Shipwrecks. Information about the trail is available in two formats, a physical paper that would be a poster on one side and a pamphlet on the other and a website. Both present the same information on the historical and cultural aspects of the sites, as well as access information. The website includes broader contextual information on the site and related topics through links (Smith 2007:53). This project pattern has also been followed with great success by the Cayman Islands Maritime Heritage Trail (Leshikar-Denton and Scott-Ireton 2007). MAT offers three podcast guided walks along the River Hamble and Isle of Wight, all of which provide details on historical and archaeological sites visible along the routes (Maritime Archaeology Trust (2019d). Museums such as the *Cutty Sark*, NMMG & National Maritime Museum Cornwall, are also using trails to design bespoke walking tours for different stakeholders. While many of these are for children (Royal Museums Greenwich (2019a), others include Black History Month, Death at the Museum, Ships in Art and the NMMG in 1 or 3 hours (Royal Museums Greenwich (2019b).

The benefits of trail and signage systems is that they augment activities that participants are already interested in with maritime heritage. Trails make things more interesting for people who would already be visiting the site and can draw in people by providing an easy and independent way for people to engage with heritage. Unfortunately, as with online resources, an issue associated with signage programmes is that they are often forgotten and left both out of date and in dis-repair (Nutley 2007).

2.4.5 Museum Based Engagement

Museums are an obvious example of engagement as they provide regular access to maritime heritage. Museums are a reasonably consistent form of engagement for people, with regular opening hours and all-season access. Broadly speaking, maritime museums fall into two categories: traditional building-based museums with a maritime-based collection and museums based around a single vessel. Examples of the first type of museum would be the National Maritime Museums in Greenwich and Cornwall, London Docklands Museum and the Merseyside Maritime Museum in Liverpool. The second type of museum can be represented by the *Cutty Sark, SS Great Britain, HMS Warrior* and *HMS*

Victory as well as the Mary Rose Museum, which is a based in a building but dedicated to one vessel. While ship-based museums can have physical access, issues related to their particularities, new restoration projects such as *HMS M33* have designed ramps, lifts and walkways with wheelchair users in mind (National Museum of Royal Navy 2019). An unfortunate reality is that the all of the ship-based museums listed above charge for admission, though with the exception of the National Maritime Museum Cornwall, the building-based museums are free. The high costs and specialist skills associated with preserving a museum ship mean that a large proportion of the budget must be spent on maintenance (Hicks 2001:163).

In recent years, museums have re-branded themselves as culturally inclusive and moved away from the image of being only for white, upper class, academics. They now primarily facilitate independent learning within the curated context of what is presented within them, encouraging engagement with multiple narratives presented. There are no time frames, routes or engagement requirements for visitors. Artefacts and heritage are presented in a variety of forms, enabling people to cherry pick the aspects they would like to engage with. Although the decision to visit the museum may not be voluntary, how a person engages with the spaces and contents is. Groups of visitors can also engage in social learning, discussing what they see within their own group and collectively interpreting what they are seeing. In general, studies have shown that what the public leaves with after visiting a museums and having an educational experience is highly unique, personalised and malleable (Catsambis and Morrand 2014:12).

Museums will also offer more ad hoc activities, usually geared towards families, such as access to handling collections, storytelling, character actors and arts and craft sessions. These sessions can be run by staff, volunteers or independent consultants. Personal observation suggests that the emphasis in these sessions is generally to provide hands on and interactive options to augment a visit to the museum, particularly to families with younger children who may find the collection difficult to engage with. The message in these initiatives are generally light and focus on a small take home message. Additionally, museums will also offer child specific play areas such as the Ahoy Gallery at the NMMG (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019c). They can be seen as part of a wider effort of making museums fun, social spaces as well as stealth engagement.

2.4.5.1 Games and Technology in Museums

As museum exhibits evolve within the digital world, more and more displays use technology to education visitors. Whereas in the 90's and early 2000's this was limited to videos, technology has now expanded into virtual reality (VR), augmented reality (AR), interactive tables, and the use of tablets and other devices to deliver personalised content to visitors (Erlick 2017). Since finishing conservation of the ship, the *Mary Rose* Museum has included augmented reality crew projected onto the wreck, showing them at times of both peace and war with a soundtrack providing both ambient noise and conversations (Mary Rose Museum 2019a).

Specific examples of the use of tablets can be seen in the NMMG Great Map activities (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019d) which allows people to chart their own expedition around the world while walking on a physical map. Captain Woodget's Apprentice invites children to play the role of an apprentice onboard the ship and complete various tasks (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019a). The use of tablets is not limited to children's games, as The *Mary Rose* Trust museum provides a free online app that visitors are encouraged to download before visiting, containing an audio guide, map, and large format guide (Mary Rose Museum 2019b).

Games and interactive elements are also commonplace within museums. These games effectively operate a stealth education, by placing the education in a format that entices particularly younger audiences. Examples of this within maritime museums range from model sailboats which the public attempt to sail around a course at the NMMC (National Maritime Museum Cornwall 2019) to an interactive such those at the *Mary Rose* which allow you to feed the crew, fight the French ships and listen to musical instruments (Mary Rose Museum (2019a).

2.5 Active Engagement

Active engagement is engagement which requires the public to make some form of commitment to learning. The commitment can involve time or location and can vary from a one-off commitment or a sustained commitment. People who engage in this way are anticipating that they will learn about maritime heritage and have made a deliberate choice in doing so. While many of these opportunities are more formal in nature, they are by no means limited to formal settings and styles of learning. Implicit in active engagement is the idea of participation, even in a limited manner, by all the stakeholders involves in the activities.

2.5.1 Community Archaeology

Community archaeology evolved in the 1970's and 1980's out of the increase in socio-political discussions in archaeology and the desire by post-colonial, indigenous and communities in general to be involved in archaeology at every stage of the research process (Tully 2007:158). It is generally based on the concept that different voices and perspectives involved in interpreting the past leads not only to more representative and accurate archaeology but also to a greater sense of social cohesion and a sense of local ownership of heritage (Tully 2007:159). Guidelines for community archaeology have been set out in *Transforming archaeology through practice: Strategies for collaborative archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt* (Moser et al. 2002) and *Community archaeology: general methods and standards of practice* (Tully 2007).

There are currently many excellent ongoing maritime heritage-based community archaeology projects running in England. TDP, CITiZAN and MAT Forgotten Wrecks of the First World War are other examples of community archaeology projects.

2.5.1.1 DigVenture

DigVenture began in 2011 and represents a new take on community archaeology, where the projects are crowd funded and the public are offered the opportunity to pay to dig on the site. The project prides itself in putting heritage back in the hands of the people through sustainable archaeology projects that do not rely on outside funding.

Through a 2014 HLF grant, the project was able to begin a Digital Dig Team, which allows for the site to be digitally recorded and uploaded onto the internet instantaneously (DigVentures 2017a). People who help crowd fund the project are offered a variety of incentives, from Digital Digger for £10 which offers immediate online access to information from the site to £1700 to visit the site and other local archaeology (DigVentures 2017b). Those who would like to dig on the site can chose from a range of options from one day to two weeks (DigVentures (2017c) and are supervised by a team of archaeologists on site. There is an emphasis on open data within the project, with both professional reports and detailed information the excavations and contexts available for free online after the project has completed (DigVentures (2017d). DigVentures has worked on maritime associated sites, the most obvious being a weekend activity of the Thames Foreshore (DigVentures (2017e), but also longer-term projects on Flag Fen, near Cambridge, UK and a seaside Iron Age Hillfort in Costa Dos Castros, Spain. The initiative appears to straddle the barrier between community archaeology and training dig, which does complicate interpreting it. While the aspect of crowd funding is very much in keeping with the spirit of community archaeology, the question of a funding model based on the people paying for the opportunity to dig on sites is an important one. Both DigVentures and other training digs offer the opportunity for members of the public to have both digital and physical access to sites they otherwise would not, and for archaeology students to spend more time in the field. However, it does place an emphasis on the commodification of both heritage and the process of digging a finite resource. It remains a problematic example that requires further consideration in future work.

2.5.2 Museum Based Engagement

Active museum-based engagement includes curriculum-linked, staff facilitated programmes for children, teacher led visits, museums tours and special events. Curriculum-linked programmes, such as those offered by the NMMG (Royal Museums Greenwich 2017a), London Docklands Museum (Museum of London (2019a), Merseyside Maritime Museum (Merseyside Maritime Museum (2019) and *Cutty Sark* Museum (Royal Museums Greenwich (2017b) offer students the opportunity to have a specially curated visit to the museums led by individuals with specialist knowledge of the subject. Programmes are generally listed by Key Stage category, allowing both teachers and the museum to better know the level the programmes should be pitched at. Additionally, these institutions offer information sheets to teachers would prefer to lead their students around on a self-lead visit. The benefits of museums offering educational programming taught by museum staff are many. Teachers do not have develop site specific knowledge relating to the collection at the museum and can instead use the knowledge of the staff, who in turn can communicate the message that the museum would like to the participants.

Most museums will offer tours to the general public and activities for adult groups. Some, like *Cutty Sark,* will offer a free monthly tour given by the curator. The *Mary Rose* Museum offers tours and activities to adult groups for a small fee (Mary Rose Museum 2019c). The benefits to a tour as opposed to simply visiting the museum are that the participants are able engage with the material by listening as oppose to reading, which some people find easier. As with talks, there is also the possibility of engagement with a member of the museum staff who will be able to answer questions and present the objects within the curated context. Tours are also beneficial to staff as they provide feedback on what people find interesting while visiting the museum and the type of questions people have about what is on display.

2.5.3 Site Tours

Site visits to maritime heritage can be simple or complex, depending on the context the site is in. Terrestrial sites can often be reached with ease and intertidal sites with minimal effort. The Thames Discovery Programme routinely runs guided walks to the Thames foreshore for families, outside of normal engagement projects (Thames Discovery Programme 2019a) However, submerged maritime can generally only be accessed by divers, snorkelers or occasionally visitors on glass bottom boats. Site tours of submerged sites, such as those at the *Swan* and *HMS Dartmouth* in Scotland have proved to be a great success with no damage reported to the sites. They allow for small groups of qualified divers with permits to visit the sites unsupervised and lead managers to note that "…the Schemes have been invaluable in helping break down the sense of exclusion which recreational divers have felt in relation to historic shipwrecks" (Robertson 2003:74).

2.5.4 Talks and Lectures

Talks and speaking engagements remain one of the more common ways that archaeologists can formally engage with the public. This is because they are simple to facilitate, requiring only one member of staff and technology limited to a laptop and projector for a PowerPoint presentation, and are an easy way to connect with groups of people (Catsambis and Morrand 2014:19).

The benefits to this form of engagement are many. While sometimes the talk is held at an academic or public place, archaeologists are also increasingly asked to visit social and special interest groups such as the Women's Institute and local history societies. This allows the public to remain within their social comfort zone while still being in a mind-set to engage with heritage. The onus is firmly on the archaeologist and the public can simply absorb information. While larger venues may discourage dialogue, presenters will typically have a question session at the end and bring along artefacts for the public to handle. Examples of this type of engagement are the programmes NAS and MAT, all of which offer bespoke talks to the public.

2.5.5 Volunteering

Many archaeological initiatives and museums rely heavily on volunteers, in fact one would be hard pressed to find an organization that does not use volunteers. The most recent DCMS *Taking Part-Focus on Heritage* Report, covering April 1014-March 2015 and surveying 9817 representative members of the British public, suggests that 24% of the population had volunteered in an area covered by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport and of that number, 5% had volunteered in heritage (DCMS 2016a:7). With the population of the UK for 2015 estimated at 65.1 million, this means approximately 780,000 people volunteered in heritage during the time period. More recently, the 2015/2016 DCMS quarterly report states that of those who volunteered in heritage, the approximate amount of time spent volunteering in the previous four weeks was approximately 8 hours (DCMS 2016b:41). In 2013, the number of people employed in heritage was only 134,000 (Newcome et al. 2005), meaning that volunteers outnumbered employees by approximately 6:1.This suggests that volunteers now represent a large proportion of people involved in heritage management, though the degree of involvement obviously varies. The heritage industry is divided on if volunteers are performing the role of an unpaid employee, if the time spent on projects is done for leisure or if it is, in fact, a combination of both (Holmes 2003:341–344). There are many benefits to individuals who volunteer for initiatives, particularly as it affords them the opportunity to be a visitor who participates actively in a project (Holmes 2003:345). Volunteers are a ubiquitous part of heritage management and are found involved in activities from excavation, post-excavation, site research, education and outreach, curation, exhibition management, and beyond. The role that volunteers play is covered more extensively in 6.3.

2.5.6 Societies

There are several maritime archaeology societies of note, which cater to both divers and non-divers. NAS is perhaps best known and is covered more fully both below and within the case studies of this report (Chapter 3). Also, of note are the Cornwall and Isle of Scilly Maritime Archaeology Society (CISMAS) (CISMAS 2019b) and the Historical Diving Society (HDS) (Historical Diving Association (2019)). CISMAS was formed in 2004 and is primarily made up of divers. The bulk of CISMAS's work has been on the site of *HMS Colossus* and include site monitoring projects, excavation and the creation of a dive trail with an underwater guide (CISMAS 2019c) The society also holds several events a year, including visits to other ships and conservation labs (CISMAS 2019d). They maintain a public website which includes information on the society, membership and previous project reports (CISMAS (2019e). The Historical Diving Society was formed in 1990 with the aim of preserving and protecting diving heritage. It holds a variety of talks and events throughout the year, including an annual conference and dinner (Historical Diving Association 2019b). The society also runs the Diving Museum is Gosport.

The role of societies in promoting safe and ethical access to maritime heritage in the UK cannot be understated. They allow like-minded people to band together to achieve more as stakeholders, both in terms of physical access to sites and equipment but also intellectual access to visiting speakers and the knowledge held my members themselves. Societies provide an ethical way for individuals to express their enthusiasm for maritime heritage that is beneficial not only to the group but maritime heritage.

2.5.7 Licensee Programme

Importantly, Historic England has recognised that the "high level of non-vocational involvement should be regarded as an asset to the discipline, as there is demonstrably a greater requirement for survey and recording than can possibly be accomplished by professional archaeologists" (Roberts and Trow 2002:8). The newly updated *2015 Historic England's Accessing England's Historic wreck sites: guidance notes for divers and archaeologists* provides information on how sites designated under section 1 of the

Protection of Wreck's Act 1973 can be legally accessed, as well as general guidelines for all submerged heritage sites. This legal access is arranged through a DCMS authorised and Historic England managed system which enables volunteers and their teams to become temporary custodians of a site (Historic England 2015a:2–4).

One-year licenses are issued to applicants based on merit, and only to individuals who are considered competent to carry out the proposed work on a site for legitimate reasons (Historic England 2015a:6). Note that this does not mean that the licensee must have formal archaeological training but must simply be competent to undertake the task (Historic England 2015a:7). Each licensee is responsible for finding a Nominated Archaeologist, a person who is competent to offer archaeological advice, though the Licensee and Nominated Archaeologist may be the same person (Historic England 2015a:13). For activities that will disturb the site, a detailed project plan is required (Historic England 2015a:9). Once approved, the licensee is expected to uphold archaeological principles (including those set out in the Rules annexed to the 2001 *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage,* communicated with the Nominated Archaeologist and Historic England, ensure licensed activities conducted on the site are undertaken competently and safely and, finally, produce an annual report on their work to Historic England (Historic England 2015a:8).

The Licensee programme is effectively another form of community archaeology, which allows local divers to identify a site they would like to investigate and take the lead role in doing so. The advantages to this programme are that Historic England receive a competent annual report on the site which are monitored by people who actively care for it and routinely visit it in exchange for the small for the cost of managing the programme.

2.5.8 Formal Education

2.5.8.1 Heritage Within the English Curriculum

Until the 2017 school year, A level Archaeology was offered in some secondary schools. The A-level was controversially axed due to the evaluating body AQA being unable to develop an evaluation method for suitable for the 400 students taking the course nationwide (Vaughan 2017). While this is a blow to archaeology being formally included in the curriculum, both heritage initiatives and teachers have responded by seeking out ways to include archaeology within other subjects.

As archaeology is no longer part of the nation curriculum and archaeology graduates find it difficult to be accepted onto teacher training courses, resulting in a lack of knowledge by teachers on what archaeology can offer to augment the curriculum (Corbishley 1999:77). This is a major stumbling block in the work being doing by both the CBA and archaeologists in general towards the public understanding the role archaeology plays in uncovering the past (Moshenska 2009:55). As a result of this, archaeologists stress not only the connection with history but also the multi-disciplinary aspect of the field including English, Science, Math and Geography when they engage both initially with teachers and ultimately with students (Green 2000:7) in an effort to engage with schools in any way possible. Archaeology offers the opportunity for students to understand the importance of looking at the physical evidence of heritage, alongside the historical texts that may exist from the time, and physically interact with artefacts from that time.

Despite these challenges, archaeologists have found many ways to engage with schools. Within in the University of Southampton for example, engagement initiatives have resulted in maritime, osteology and pre-history-based PhD researchers visiting local schools and local schools to in turn visiting the university as part of broader exploration days. Archaeological trusts, such as the Canterbury Archaeological Trust Ltd and the Maritime Archaeology Trust offer resources that can be loaned, bought or downloaded for teachers (Canterbury Archaeological Trust 2019 & Maritime Archaeology Trust 2017b). Trusts will also arrange to visit and deliver specific sessions to schools, either in collaboration with the schools needs or an off the shelf exercise (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2017c). The interdisciplinary nature of the subject lends itself well to a variety of course, as illustrated by offers put out by both Surrey County Counsel (Surrey County Council 2019) and Canterbury Archaeological Trust (Canterbury Archaeological Trust 2019b) which suggest both humanities and science-based inclusions. The BSMAP Project specifically included an education component, with 32 A-level students being selected from a pool of those deemed at risk of not continuing in education due to their socio-economic situations to work alongside scientists on the project.

2.5.8.2 University and College Education

A wide range of university programmes and modules are offered in the UK, from undergraduate modules to PhD level supervision. These vary annually, however a table summarizing the courses available in 2014 is presented in Appendix B. The decision to undertake formal education in maritime heritage represents one of the highest forms of active engagement possible, where the student has made a conscious choice to undertake a rigorous module or course on the subject and be formally evaluated on it.

2.5.8.3 Career Development and Training Courses

In general, archaeologists appear to acquire new skills and training through either academic modules, on the job training or ad hoc peer training. The interdisciplinary nature of archaeology means that courses offered in a wide variety of fields may at some point become relevant to individuals, including commercial diving qualifications. The CIfA offers a variety of courses (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (2019a), which are primarily organized by specialist committees. Additionally, higher level specialist courses offered by NAS would also benefit non-avocational maritime archaeologists.

2.5.8.4 Massive Open Online Courses

Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) are online courses, multimedia courses offered for free by universities and other organizations on specific topics. Courses are organised into weeks, with each week having several steps that include opportunities for discussion between learners and facilitators (FutureLearn 2019a). Learners are able to progress at their speed and form a community of knowledge, with learners and facilitators working together to answer question posed. *Shipwrecks and Submerged Worlds: Maritime Archaeology* (FutureLearn 2019b) is a MOOC offered by the University of Southampton as an introductory course on the subject. The four-week course covers theory, shipwrecks, ancient seafaring, marine geoarchaeology, surveying, submerged landscapes, excavation techniques, and finishes with ways learners can become involved (FutureLearn 2019c). More recently, the NMMG has offered a five-week course called *Confronting Captain Cook: Memorialisation in Museums and Public Spaces.* This course focuses on the ideas of multiple narratives with the story of Captain Cook as well as memorialisation and commemoration in museums (FutureLearn 2019d).

2.5.8.5 Diver Training Programmes

One of the major audiences targeted for engagement initiatives are SCUBA divers. This is because more than any other audiences, divers are more likely to encounter submerged archaeological remains. Formal training for divers is provided by both the PADI and BSAC to help encourage both safe and ethical diving on submerged sites. The (PADI) Wreck Diver Specialty classroom component focuses on guidelines for researching, identifying and respecting wreck sites as well as basics of shipwreck survey, use of penetration lines and reels on wreck sites, dive techniques to avoid disturbing a wreck and general safety concerns. This training is then put into practice on four open water dives, enabling students to practice under the watchful eye of instructors. Learning objectives on the course include students understanding why only trained archaeologists should disturb sites, why specialist training beyond this course is needed to do so, and the responsibilities regarding laws that divers have on shipwrecks (Professional Association of Diving Instructors 2019). Additionally, PADI now offers a 'Wreck Detective Speciality' course. This course has been written by the Nautical Archaeology Society and builds on the PADI 'Wreck Diver' course. It comprises of two open water dives and a series of lectures held over one day. Unlike the Wreck Diver course, which focuses on the practicalities of wreck diving, the Wreck Detective Speciality course aims to expand student diver knowledge about wreck sites, limitations and laws, help them identify key features of wreck sites, additional diving equipment required and what to do with the information you collect from a site (Nautical Archaeology Society (2017b).

The Maritime Archaeology Sea Trust (MAST) now offers a two-day Basic Archaeological Diver course. The course is an approved PADI Distinctive Speciality and Scuba Schools International (SSI) Specialty, with certification awarded upon completion of the course. The training begins with lectures which offer a basic understanding of what maritime archaeology is, general excavation techniques, recording techniques, talks by guest lecturers and specialist information on laws which impact divers and maritime archaeologists in the UK. Divers then carry out three practical survey sessions on a local dive site. It is considered the most advanced PADI archaeological diving course at present (Maritime Archaeology Sea Trust 2019).

The focus of the two day BSAC Wreck Appreciation course is to enable divers to safely and legally dive wrecks and to recognise and appreciate what they see while diving Divers begin with lectures on safe wreck diving, equipment, maritime life, how to obtain information on wreck sites and local laws, and how to identify the main elements of a site and conduct a basic ship survey. Divers then conduct a basic survey of a local dive site (British Sub-Aqua Club 2019).

As well, the Nautical Archaeology Society offers a wide range of programmes targeted at divers and several field schools (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019a). This programme is discussed more fully in the Case Studies component of this research in Chapter 3.

2.6 Conclusion

This section represents the beginnings of interpreting the wide range of the access and engagement provided within the UK. While there are a great deal more specific initiatives and details to add, what is presented is indicative of current efforts at offering both active and passive engagement. It illustrates that, there are many different routes for people to gain access and/or become involved in cultural heritage. The offer to the public is there, whether people would simply prefer to look at objects in a museum or become hands on involved in excavation.

Looking specifically at maritime heritage, most of the access and engagement is being offered for both divers and non-divers. Community archaeology initiatives in particular are offering programmes aimed at allowing the public physical access to the intertidal zone and the chance to excavate, regardless of their ability to dive. Opportunities that are solely for divers still exist, though these are unavoidable and necessary as divers have unique access to the environmental context that some maritime culture. This illustrates that not all engagement is appropriate for everyone, but the variety of access offered should allow anyone to engage.

Chapter 3 Methodology

In approaching this research, it was initially decided to examine aspects of anthropology, ethnography and previous examples of how research involving living people was conducted. While I did not expect to find many examples specifically within the maritime context, I hoped to find some which use and research with archaeologists as the subject. Many of the methodologies used within this research are broadly situated within archaeological ethnography, a term that has increasingly been attached to work which deals with using living people in some context to understand an element of archaeology or heritage management. It quickly became apparent that this context varies greatly. As such, although the aspects of the methodology draw from an anthropological background, the language used is one that is more familiar to individuals working in heritage management and archaeology. This is very deliberate. While this research is clearly set within an academic context, it aims to be useful for individuals and organizations working in maritime heritage public engagement.

As well as more traditional methodologies, this research has looked further afield and drawn from the fields of health sciences and education relating to analysis of interviews. There is a need to be reflexive, critical, sensitive and imaginative about how we study heritage as this is an ever-evolving field of research. While it is important to remember that while methods, often borrowed from other disciplines, have not often been reflected upon in terms of how they should be adapted to study heritage (Stig Sorensen and Carman 2009:4) it is essential to embrace them. As such, this chapter will reflect on how a bespoke methodology has been created by examining the historical roots of archaeological ethnography and the ethnography of organizations, modern heritage case studies, and methodologies outside of heritage.

3.1 Ethnography and Archaeology

Historically, archaeologists and anthropologists used ethnographic methods based on an “extractive” model, which involved observing living people living in both historical and contemporary contexts and seeing how the techniques and traditions they used could be used to interpret archaeological evidence (Meskell 2005:89). Although this practice continues, the term ethnography is now interpreted in two ways: a way of doing research in the field and the outcome of that research. Ethnographic fieldwork, that is "fieldwork in which the researcher engages with the people being studied, shares their life as far as possible, and converses with them in their own terms" (Hirsch and Gellner 2015:11), produces an ethnography. Whereas the production of an ethnography is limited, the use of ethnographic methodologies to conduct fieldwork is found in a variety of fields, including sociology, psychology, human geology and health sciences. The prevalence of ethnography as a methodology in a variety of fields is largely due to the recognised importance of different narratives and points of view, as well as "an aspect of growing democratization or critique of established relations of power" (Hirsch and Gellner 2015:14) that has recently evolved.

Within archaeology, three similar terms are used to describe ethnographic work: ethnoarchaeology, archaeological ethnography and the ethnographies of archaeology. Edgeworth argues that the former two use ethnography as a method to augment archaeological work and the ethnographies of archaeology use ethnographic methods to understand the cultural practices of archaeology itself (Edgeworth 2010:54). This confuses the question of ethnography as a methodology or a rethinking of engagement with material culture as a whole. Researchers appear to recognise the need to study both archaeology and ethnography as forms cultural production (Edgeworth 2010:55).

It is easy to suggest that ethnography is just another methodology for archaeologists to deploy from their toolbox of skills. Although it is common to see ethnographic methods to be introduced on archaeological projects recently the term has grown to signify something different: merging of archaeology and ethnography to "…explore the contemporary relevance and meaning of the material past for diverse publics, the politics of archaeological practices, and the claims and contestations involving past material traces and landscapes" (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:66). The strength of the field now lies in the fact that it is more often being employed as a way to create a space for engagement. It downplays the differences between researchers and the public and acknowledges the temporality of our association with archaeology. It also recognises that the aspects of heritage being discussed are often politically charged and that various stakeholders have different agendas (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:67). This ties into aspects previously discussed relating to how value is created and the importance of engaging with multiple narratives within community archaeology. Indeed, many of the practices of ethnography described below are used by stakeholders in public engagement in order to facilitate a smooth dialogue between participants. While it is indeed a skill set that needs to be developed, understanding how to work within the space created by the aims and beliefs of stakeholder groups is at the core of what public engagement is.

Archaeological ethnography enables researchers to engage with multiple narrative interpretations of the material past, while still acknowledging that "official" modernist archaeology exists. There is always engagement happening on a local level with the material past, but sometimes this engagement treats the material as contemporary (which, of course, it is by virtue of existing in the present). The local use and interpretation of the material is just as relevant as the academic interpretation and the two must be engaged with simultaneously. This is not to suggest that these interpretations must be endorsed or accepted, or in fact not be open to debate and critique, but rather that they be offered the same *chance to be interpreted* as the academic archaeological interpretation (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:72). Archaeologists are not being asked to forgo their skills and knowledge but simply to consider the alternatives put forward by other stakeholders. Rather than judging the interpretation based on the perceived knowledge of the stakeholder who suggests it, interpretations should be examined using the same scientific rigour any theory would have. If archaeologists are truly working to understand how material evidence from the past can illuminate our present, they must be willing to accept alternative avenues.

Within heritage studies, there has been some development towards using this mind-set and creating heritage ethnography, though this is very much in its infancy. Most heritage research remains in a 'safe' zone, connected to ideas, sites and initiatives that are familiar. This has created a research area afraid of risk. Despite archaeology firmly moving towards a bottom-up approach to public engagement, how we study this engagement and grass-roots heritage is quite firmly top-down (Andrews 2009:142–143). It is significant for me to once again reflect on my role in both academia and public engagement. While I would very much consider myself a contemporary of the participants in this research, my role within this research is as an academic initiating the conversations and controlling the interpretation. Is this research top down or bottom up?

While the initial research questions came from a top down approach, through the connections I have formed during this research and the work I have done on public engagement the intent of this research is very much bottom up. The primary aim has always been to give a voice to the people who deliver public engagement so that their role in field can be better understood in a way that is accessible.

The concept of studying the ethnographies of archaeological practice developed out of an increasing concern with the level of engagement with reflexivity in archaeological theory and practice (Chadwick 2003; Hodder 2010). The cultural background of archaeologists as well as the social and material practices in which we do archaeology is hugely influential on the way we interpret and present the past. The material evidence is shaped by archaeologists in the present (Edgeworth 2010:53). There is a great strength in using ethnographic methods to look at how archaeologists work, particularly in helping to develop an ontology of ourselves. Ethnographies can have the power to shift the focus from the material remains to how those remains are used to shape the past, present and future of people through the production of archaeological knowledge. Equally, ethnographies can show the cultural and political interactions between archaeologists and communities, both local and further afield (Edgeworth 2006:15). What is particularly unusual in the ethnographies of archaeology is that unlike in many other cases where ethnography is used in archaeology, both the observer and the subject are part of the same culture. This means that the subject can quite easily read, respond and react to how they are portrayed. Within this situation, where my work is situated, the conclusions of the ethnographer can easily be challenged (Edgeworth 2010:54).

Because of the wide varieties of methodologies used in ethnography, many strands of archaeological studies have employed to gather qualitative data. For example, the archaeological study of the contemporary past, which demands that researchers engage with ethnographic accounts by social actors involved in the events as well as exploring the diverse public ideas of the significance of the associated material culture (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:70). This is particularly true in the area of heritage management where "heritage professionals use ethnography, interviewing and qualitative research on a fairly regular basis to inform their work" ((Kersel 2006:17)in Andrews 2009).

3.2 Methodologies

3.2.1 The Role of the Researcher

Archaeological ethnography, at its best, should be done collectively with the people traditionally seen as informants in the process. The emphasis should be on sharing, but it is important to remember that only one party is documenting the interaction that is occurring. While everyone involved in the process is participating, only one side is authoring the interaction (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:82). It is important to be self-critical and aware of your perceived role in the group you are engaged with. As a researcher, it is easy to say after a while that you are an insider. However, the group may see you in a different light by applying a criteria to being part of the group that you might not have considered (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:74). “Appropriate ethnography for archaeologists is not about learning about other people or about teaching other people, but about *sharing* with other people” (Pyburn 2009:165).

Wadsworth suggests there are four conceptual parties involves in Participatory Action Research (PAR), a form of ethnographic research: The researchers, (as in, those who have the research problem to solve), the researched and the researched for (those who will benefit from the research). He argues that all of the parties in question must be involved in the process of enquiry, particularly so that the researchers does not “study down” (Nader 1972) and also to improve the process of communication and the meaningfulness of the project. The development of a shared purpose between the groups is critical to maintaining research cohesion. It is, in many ways, active co-research in a democratic and non-coercive way wherein those who are to be helped by the results of the project actively contribute to the outcome of the inquiry (Wadsworth 1998).

3.2.2 Ways of Doing Ethnography

There are many techniques and processes used by researchers conducting ethnographic studies, both in archaeology and in social anthropology. The focus in this thesis is on aspects that seemed promising for my research, based on a brief literature review of both fields. These include participant observation, public interest ethnography and participatory action research. As interviews have been identified as the primary way in which participants in ethnographic research are engaged, the way in which they are conducted has been given consideration.

3.2.2.1 Participant Observation

“Participant observation was created during the late 19th century as an ethnographic field method to study small, homogeneous cultures” (Tedlock 2005:151), a process which involved living for several years with the society and actively participating in their culture in order to obtain material for socially scientific study. Ethnographers involved were actively encouraged to split their writing into monographs for public consumption & memoirs for private use as well as objective ethnographic writing and subjective autobiographical works. This resulted in a split of information and distinct separation of the researcher from the experience, privileging them & failing to acknowledge that they were a part of the system they were researching. Discourse on these issues created the methodology of “autoethnography”, which allows for the researcher to place themselves within the work they are conducting (Tedlock 2005).

3.2.2.2 Participatory Action Research

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a methodology in which both the researcher and the observed play an active role in collaboratively engaging with the research questions. Wadsworth sums the method up by saying “Essentially, PAR research is research which involves all relevant parties in actively examining together current action in order to understand change and improve it. They do this by critically reflecting on historical, political, cultural economic, geographic and any other contexts which make sense” (Wadsworth 1998). PAR research deliberately seeks out to study something in order to improve it. It is a discovery & possibility-based methodology that is not embarrassed to admit that it doesn’t know precisely where it will end up. Therefore, the goal of designing a PAR based research project is to design a project that is flexible enough to allow for multiple cycles of *participation, action and research* so that the new possibilities can be acted on. The change and discovery don’t happen at the end, it happens all the way through. There is an inevitability to this change and understanding this leads to a more practical and ethical way of getting to the value of the research (Wadsworth 1998).

Further to this, Pyburn notes that archaeologists do not need a godlike view of how an entire culture works in order to do work within it, but rather need ways in which to exchange information and collaborate with informants. PAR, she argues, has been structured so that it is easy to do but still flexible enough so that the outcomes are not pre-determined. This requires a certain degree of honesty from the archaeologists using the method, as they need to listen & learn in order to reach a goal but also be willing to change it (Pyburn 2009:169).

PAR research is therefore a method of engagement that acknowledges the researcher does not have all the answers and is quite likely asking the wrong questions. It allows for a dialogue and exchange between all the parties involved and recognises that the *process* of research is exactly that. A process.

3.2.2.3 Interviews

Traditionally, ethnographic research focused on observations of groups to draw conclusions. This methodology works when examining a smaller group on a single site, but as Brown-Saracino et.al have noted this is highly impractical over multiple sites with a larger group, as a person cannot be everywhere at once (Brown-Saracino et al. 2008:550). Interviews are recognised as a more practical and less time exhaustive method of gathering data from multiple actors across a wide range of sites (Brown-Saracino et al. 2008:551).

Because of this, interviews are a common way in both archaeology and anthropology to conduct ethnographic research. Archaeological interviews are generally geared to finding out facts, whereas anthropological interviews are often more about participant observation. The focus is on listening to the subject and trying not to influence or bias the conversation (Stig Sørensen 2009:164). In general, the interviews should have three goals. To gain insight into the perception, attitudes & the level of awareness of the person being interviewed (Keitumetse 2009:206).

It is more common for small aspects of complex issues in heritage management to be engaged with using interviews (Stig Sørensen 2009:165). The vagueness of questioning and the lack of connection to the more complex and interconnected issues associated means that these complex issues are never really answered. Stig Sørenson suggests that this because of two factors: the newness of heritage studies resulting in a desire not to limit the potential of the field & a lack of information on methods used and the aims and objectives of projects (Stig Sørensen 2009).

The qualitative interview techniques used in ethnographic interviews are often considered to be process oriented, primarily aiming to understand the actor's view with the aim of discovery. Because of their nature, the researcher is often thought to have to give up a great degree of control over the situation and the results. One argument to that is the researcher needs to reposition themselves within the project and change their relationship to both the data being collected and the interviewees (Stig Sørensen 2009:165). In many ways, a hypothesis-based approach limits the results of interviews, by creating a bias in the questions & changing the perceived validity of answers. "The interviewer must ask questions in order to discover how the other person thinks, not how that person's thinking fits into their own thinking" (Stig Sørensen 2009:169).

It is important to contextualise language and terminology before beginning to conduct ethnographic interviews. This is not necessarily just archaeological terms but can also be local uses of a word (Keitumetse 2009:203). Participant and non-participant methodologies are "useful in discovering whether people do what they day they do or behave in the way they claim to behave during the interview. It is meant to cross-check information from interviews as well as reveal how people *perceive* what happens and not actually what happens" (Bell 1993:109).

In terms of creating a standardized or set script, Jones advocates against it and instead suggests that writing down a few questions as gentle guidance towards core concepts as that tends to allow people being interviewed to use their own words and set the agenda for the interview (Andrews 2010:155). The core questions assure that certain important aspects are always addressed, but they allow for a more natural sharing of information and less stifling of new ideas or concepts. By avoiding set questions the answers given are less pre-determined and result in a more fluid, reflexive approach means that it is possible to gauge the real situation and follow interesting lines of questioning rapidly.

3.2.2.4 Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) is a methodology developed by academics in health sciences, most notably the psychologist Jonathan Smith (Smith et al. 2009). A phenomenological approach to interpreting archaeology is not new (Tilley 1997), however applying it to qualitative analysis within the field is. IPA aims to analysis the participants personal perspective of the theme or event in a qualitative way. Smith suggests that it is impossible to get this 'insider perspective' directly because the researchers own conceptions complicate access, however these conceptions are essential in interpreting the participants perspective (Smith, J.A., Jarman, M., & Osborn 1999:218–219). IPA is concerned with understanding and interpreting the underlying cognisant thoughts of interview participants through looking at interviews in detail, first by writing down the general emotive, interesting or significant themes that have developed on a cognisant level before noting the connections between interviews (Smith, J.A., Jarman, M., & Osborn 1999:220). The researcher will develop a table of themes and subthemes that may be relevant, taking care that all the themes are represented in the transcript and not formed by the researchers bias, noting which themes are new and which represent previous research themes (Smith, J.A., Jarman, M., & Osborn 1999:223). The process is then repeated for each interview.

3.3 Case Studies in Ethnography Within Archaeology

The three case studies outlined below have been chosen not because they reflect the breadth of use of ethnographic studies in archaeology, but because they focus is on humans and not material objects. Emphasis has been placed on aspects of the methodologies that have been used, with these being drawn out to set precedence for the method developed below for this research. Particular attention has been paid to how data was collected and interpreted.

3.3.1 Charlotte Andrews and the Study of the Heritage Ethnography of Maritime Bermuda

In 2010 Charlotte Andrews published a report outlining her work on understanding how heritage works as a process. Her research primarily involved trying to understand how the maritimity of the island of Bermuda helped formation identity and community within the population, essentially their relationship with the sea (Andrews 2012).

The cultural uses of maritime heritage in Bermuda broadly fell into creating collective identification, a sense of belonging or a shared sense of identity (Andrews 2012:354). She discovered a great disjuncture between the maritime past and present, exemplified in interviews by the common theme of nostalgia. There was a focus on what was endangered or what had been lost, despite research showing that this attitude was both pessimistic and flat out wrong: the maritime culture in Bermuda at the time was thriving (Andrews 2012:356).

Andrews work also specifically dealt with how this community was engaging with the Bermuda Maritime Museum, an institution that they felt had moved away from a grass roots beginning and onto a path that focused less on the aspects of the maritime cultural landscape that they wanted. They felt alienated from the museum. Interestingly, this conflict steamed out of the informants' desire to connect more with the museum and see it reach its full potential (Andrews 2012:361).

The strength of this project lies in how the two ideas above are combined to produce ideas of how interviews and ethnographic work helps contextualise a community's association with maritime heritage, which can in turn help museum curators understand what the communities feel are important aspects of this heritage. The social value of heritage, Andrews argues, is evident in how broadly it is contextualised.

The methodology for the project was a qualitative-ethnographic one, combing fieldwork to observe people in their social worlds, targeted interviews, analysis and writing. There is an acknowledgement that the work is subjective, but also that this is appropriate because the material is inherently renewable and active (Andrews 2012:365). Using many of the qualities of PAR set up above, including curiosity, flexibility and the willingness to understand the project as a process helped build an ever-changing methodology (Andrews 2009).

Ultimately, Andrews suggests several methods to help heritage ethnographers move forward with research. The identification of 'loci" or sub-themes and mapping their association to participants provides a way of linking together the ideas expressed during interviews. Eventually, some loci will be strong whereas others will be weak: this suggests themes of importance to the people who are being interviewed (Andrews 2009). A total of 120 formal interviews were conducted, primarily at sites chosen by the people being interviewed. In agreement with Bell (1993), Andrews noted that heritage was often communicated non-verbally and that it was important to appreciate that data could be expressed in an interview in both a verbal and non-verbal way, such as through touching an object or even selection of the interview location. Originally, a script was created for the interviews to act as a guide. This was quickly put aside to allow for a more constructive interview to happen, free from assumptions about the questions that would be asked and the answers that would be given (Andrews 2009). Equally as important as the interviews themselves were the notes Andrews took during them. They acted as *in-situ* processing of the data being collected, which in turn allowed Andrews to recognise key concepts and areas in need of further questioning (Andrews 2009).

In developing my methodology, I have drawn on several aspects of this research. It is gratifying to see other research where the initial questions developed have operated as a springboard to understanding themes and directing as opposed to dictating the conversations. If the purpose of interviewing a person is to better understand their views on a theme, it seems presumptuous to know exactly what questions to ask. As well, the concept of using 'loci' to help determine themes will be used.

3.3.2 Paul Everill and Invisible Diggers: A Study of British Commercial Archaeology

Between April 2003 and August 2005, Paul Everill conducted a series of 28 qualitative interviews in order to better understand the relationships encountered and enacted by archaeologists working on commercial sites in the UK. The research engaged with the relationship between both the archaeologists and the material they worked with, as well as their relationships with co-workers and the units they worked for (Everill 2009). The interviews were supplemented by participant observation, an online survey & anecdotal comments (Everill 2009).

The terms of interview methodology, Everill used an informal interview technique, based on the ideas put forward by Burgess that "there is a long tradition in social science research where interviews have been perceived as 'conversations with a purpose'" (Burgess 1984:102). The interviews were organised thematically, with six basic themes set out to ensure that topics were covered. The exact order was flexible, and the interviews were often conducted in pairs so as to relax the participants & created a dialogue between the participants that often revealed more information. This required a very careful choice of pairings to ensure one would not overshadow the other (Everill 2009).

The more relaxed conversation with purpose tone set by Everill in his interviews and the use of pairs of participants in interviews are useful methodologies. While it may not always be possible to interview participants due to the size of initiatives being researched it would be interesting in groups where the participants are of a similar level within the hierarchy.

3.3.3 Matt Edgeworth and Acts of Discovery: An Ethnography of Archaeological Practice

Matt Edgeworth's work based on the idea that in order to better understand the end result and interpretation of archaeology, it is important to understand the implicit and contextual skill and rationales of those excavating at the present (Edgeworth 2003). The particular aspect of interest was the act of discovery, i.e. the initial encounter that a subject had with a material object (Edgeworth 2003). He worked as a participant/observer for 11 weeks on an archaeological site in the UK (Edgeworth 2003), initially as an ordinary digger to gain both the respect and access to the other diggers on the site. Subsequently, he would devote two hours a day to visiting each trench to discuss the history of the trench, how the excavation of it was currently going and what the future plan for digging was. Each day a different digger was interviewed in each trench. He would then sketch the site before compiling the interviews onto recorded event sheets and writing observations into a field journal (Edgeworth 2003). Edgeworth noted several issues with his methodology: it was impossible to maintain an impartial status due to his role as a digger and the familiarity he had with individuals after several weeks, which lead to a shift in tone of interviews from slightly tense to matter-of-fact. The increase in excavation speed towards the end of dig made it difficult for him to both keep up with the changes in trenches during the day and find time to conduct interviews, resulting in a previously formal structure become more casual conversations. Finally, lack of time in the evenings resulting in the abandonment of recording information on the events sheet and created a discrepancy in the level of recording as the research progressed (Edgeworth 2003).

The three examples showcased about illustrate how ethnography can be used to better understand the relationships formed in the process of engaging with the past. All three researchers adopted an informal interview technique and used participant observation to inform their work. In terms of the methodologies used, Everill's seems particularly useful to my research. The presentation of themes of the participants as opposed to specific questions as well as the concept of interviewing in pairs are of interest and will be incorporated into the formal methodologies. Andrew's concept of "loci" will be useful for moving the research forward by helping to identify themes and specific questions that are providing relevant answers to the broad questions.

3.4 Methodology

The methodology for this research has been largely influenced by ethnography and, to a lesser extent, interpretive phenomenological analysis. As suggested by Frances Maggs-Rapport, these methodologies have many things in common: “They are both exploratory, they both use the researcher as the data collection instrument and they both emphasize the need to take a self-conscious approach to research.” (Maggs-Rapport 2000:219). The difference is that ethnographers are looking to give a voice to participants whereas “the interpreter tries to interpret the situation, presenting texts as fully as possible whilst pointing out where their understanding has been confirmed or negated by the participant's comments” (Maggs-Rapport 2000:221). By approaching this research as both an ethnographer/observer and researcher/interpreter it will be possible to not only provide a voice to the participants and their views, but also to examine and interpret the data on a larger scale to fully understand the state of maritime heritage engagement in England by better understanding the experiences of the participants. This methodology also enables me to recognise my unique place and relationship to this research, as both a participant and researcher, through autoethnography and allows me to interpret the interviews in a more holistic manner. The ethics of this research have been reviewed and approved by the University of Southampton (Ethics ID:13537).

3.4.1 Case Study Selection

Following the literature review, it was decided that the best methodology for this research would be interviews conducted with people directly involved in communicating maritime heritage to the public. Interviews represent the best way to conduct reactive research in this field, allowing myself to ask for clarification and better draw out new themes and concerns from the participants to create more participatory research.

A desk-based assessment of potential initiatives UK wide was conducted (see Chapter 2) to help create the fore-understanding/ground required to both select case studies/participants and understand the practical context of the field. Initial research revealed differences in national legislation relating to maritime heritage on both a global and UK wide basis, which could affect access to maritime heritage. Coupled with the financial pressures of visiting sites outside of England, the decision was made to focus entirely on English based initiatives. This allows for all the initiatives being analysed to be on relatively equal footing in terms of access to funding and subject to the same national aims and objectives. Once the sample size was geographically limited, engagement initiatives were grouped based broadly on involvement in active engagement, passive engagement, engagement with divers, engagement with non-divers and museum engagement etc. As many potential participant initiatives were contacted as possible within England. The following initiatives responded positively and had representatives interviewed: Maritime Archaeology Trust (MAT), Thames Discovery Programme (TDP), CITiZAN, Black Sea MAP (BSMAP), Boathouse 4 (B4), Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS), Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Maritime Archaeology Society (CISMAS), National Maritime Museum Cornwall (NMMC), Royal Marines Museum (RMM), National Maritime Museum Greenwich (NMMG), *Cutty Sark*, and SeaCity Museum (museums). The strategy for case study selection involved finding a balance in initiatives between HLF/Public/Other funded, large/small initiatives, museums/other and diver/non-diver targeted programming while minimizing case study numbers.

Initiative	**Funding**	**Diver/Non-Diver**	**Large/Small**	**Museum?**
Maritime Archaeology Trust (MAT)	HLF	Both	Small	No
Thames Discovery Programme (TDP)	HLF/MOLA	Non-diver	Small	No
CITiZAN	HLF	Non-diver	Large	No
Black Sea MAP (BSMAP)	Philanthropist	Non-diver	Large	No
Boathouse 4 (B4)	Paid admission	Non-diver	Small	Yes
Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS)	HLF/Society membership	Both	Small	No
Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Maritime Archaeology Society (CISMAS)	HLF/Historic England	Both	Small	No

National Maritime Museum Cornwall (NMMC)	Paid admission/HLF	Non-diver	Large	Yes
Royal Marines Museum (RMM)	Paid admission/HLF	Non-diver	Small	Yes
National Maritime Museum Greenwich (NMMG)	Nationally funded/HLF	Non-diver	Large	Yes
Cutty Sark	Paid admission/HLF	Non-diver	Large	
SeaCity Museum	Paid admission/HLF/ Southampton City Council	Non-diver		

Figure 1 Comparison of engagement initiatives

The following case studies were selected as examples of multifaceted public engagement initiatives: MAT, CITiZAN, TDP, BSMAP, NAS, *Cutty Sark*, NMMG and B4. A brief desk-based assessment of the selected initiatives is presented at the end of this chapter. This additional assessment was based on publicly available information, apart from BSMAP which included internally circulated reports. The aim of this additional research was to both better familiarise myself with the initiatives and their projects, as well as to pull out any information relating to the stated public engagement aims and objectives.

Concurrent to this, a broad literature review of heritage engagement with an emphasis on literature related specifically to maritime heritage, was conducted to help identify and group themes. I was at this point employed to be the Education Assistant on BSMAP, which allowed me to increase my participation in the field and experience first-hand the broad lived in situation of my participants. I became part of the community and communicated not just as researcher/interpreter but as a colleague with some of the participants. This enabled me to have both the practical knowledge and the theoretical knowledge of several years of research on theory, which has greatly informed the autoethnography section of the discussion.

3.4.2 Interview strategy

Prior to the interviews each participant was emailed a list of discussion questions (Appendix C), the research protocol (Appendix D) and a consent sheet (Appendix E). The consent sheet and introductory email stated that due to the nature of the questions being asked anonymity was impossible. As the views of the people being interviewed will be directly related to their work, and the pool of participants is relatively small, it is impossible to make the views anonymous. Indeed, it would be detrimental to the research to not present the people as individuals with their own backgrounds and ideas on engagement. Any issues were mitigated with straightforward honesty of the lack of anonymity on my part as a researcher at the beginning of the process and the opportunity for participants to read transcripts of their interviews before analysis.

Participants were offered the choice of venue: their place of work, the Centre for Maritime Archaeology at the University of Southampton, or a public café (the latter being the most popular choice). They were also offered the choice of being interviewed alone or in a group. Interviews were conducted over a period of several years, though interviews within each institution were conducted in close proximity. The majority of the participants opted to be interviewed on their own. Two group interviews were conducted, one with two participants (CITiZAN) and one with three participants (MAT). A comparison in interview quality between single participant and group interviews will be included in Chapter 9 as part of a broader discussion of the application of the methodology. This will also evaluate whether group settings stifle or encourage discussion.

3.4.3 Interview Themes

Throughout this process, the research aims to be Participatory Action Research (PAR) by not only being reflective during the interview but also in moving forward with the concerns of the participants. It was hoped that the first set of discussion questions would prompt the discovery of further themes and they were considered a jumping off point for discussions. Participants came from a wide variety of backgrounds and had different levels of broad connections with maritime heritage public engagement. Because of this, certain questions were occasionally omitted or modified to fit the context of the interview at the discretion of the interviewer. In addition to the questions set out below, many of the interviews began with asking the participants to talk about their initiative and how it engages with the public. This was discovered to be particularly beneficial as it allowed participants to relax, grow comfortable with the situation and proceed unconcerned that they had not talked about a specific project. This also allowed participants to present their work as they perceived it. The initial themes and questions were as follows:

Theme 1- Maritime context

1. Does the challenge of provision of access (physical, intellectual and cultural) dictate how you design maritime heritage programming?
2. Do you believe access to maritime heritage is being/can be provided at the same level as terrestrial heritage?
3. What is the perceived effect of public fascination with 'treasure hunting' on the perception of maritime archaeology?
4. Do you feel that the public is willing and interested in engaging with maritime heritage?

Theme 2- Messages

1. How do you design engagement initiatives?
2. What do you believe is the most effective way to change public perception through engagement?
3. How do you think the messages being delivered by public access initiatives are being perceived/received?
4. Blue Sky Thinking
    a. If you could design a public access initiative with no concern over any mitigating issues, what would you design?
    b. How would you implement this initiative?
    c. What do you think needs to change in order for an initiative like this to happen?
    d. Why would this be your ideal approach?

Theme 3- Messengers

1. How do you believe your background has helped prepare you to deliver engagement programming?

2. What do you believe your role is in heritage management?
    a. Do you consider yourself an archaeologist or an educator?
    b. Do you believe you work is for the benefit of archaeology or the public?
3. How do you think engagement programming has changed since you became involved in it?
4. Why do you believe we are engaging with the public?
5. How do you think we have arrived as this point in heritage engagement?

Theme 4- Value & Evaluation

1. What do you think of when you hear the term heritage models?
    a. How are current theoretical models being applied to the design and delivery of public access initiatives?
2. How are practicalities (national interest, targeting audiences, funding & staffing) affecting aims & delivery of public programming?
3. How do you evaluate your engagement initiatives?
4. What makes engagement successful?

These four themes were identified as potential starting points based on initial MA research (Chapter 1). Theme 1, the uniqueness of the maritime context, was developed because the review of engagement methods (Chapter 2) suggested that context still plays a role in how engagement is offered. I was interested in finding out how broadly the participants would think about engagement, access and the maritime environment and if it would tie into the main areas of focus on their initiatives. This theme also seemed like the best place to situate questions about uniquely maritime issues of public perception and the role they play in engagement. Theme 2, Messages, deals explicitly with how engagement initiatives are designed, the role various methods play in delivering these messages, and identifies the potential for public engagement through blue sky thinking. The blue-sky thinking questions are particularly important to help understand how individuality affects public engagement messages and design.

This leads into more questions on the messengers themselves, examining the backgrounds and aims of the individuals involved in engagement programming in Theme 3. One of the key aims of this research is to better understand who is delivering maritime heritage engagement initiatives and what are their aims. It is vital to understand how they are contextualising their role, who they believe their work benefits, and why they believe the public is being engaged with it. This theme also offers the opportunity to ask questions relating to how they believe engagement with the public has changed in recent years. Overall, the hope is that these questions will showcase both the uniqueness and similarities of the participants and how this might impact engagement and the variety on offer to the public.

Finally, the fourth theme will deal with value and evaluation. It is clear from initial literature research that all stakeholders involved in heritage engagement want initiatives to show demonstrable effects and impact on participants. Examined more closely in Chapter 8, this series of questions begins by asking how participants engage with developed heritage models. This question was asked to try to understand if participants are engaging with literature relating to the field. The aims of other stakeholders, particularly funding bodies, has the potential to affect initiatives. Therefore, it is important to discuss the amount of funding and staff that an initiative has, where that funding comes from, the audience it has to target and the current national interest as these aspects all have a huge potential to impact what public engagement is offered. Likewise, not only is evaluation usually tied into funding, but it is also an important barometer of the success of a project. Measuring the impact of an initiative is complex and can be done on a qualitative or quantitative basis (or a combination of both, see 7.3). It is significant to the understanding of public engagement and the major goals of influencing public perception of the field to find out how this is being done and if the participants believe it works. Finally, as it is suspected that the first question on evaluation will result in answers based primarily on what funders want (see Chapter 5) the interviews finish with a question on what the participants believe makes for successful heritage engagement.

It is hoped that these themes will help answer the broad research question of how people working on maritime heritage initiatives which focus on communicating with the public are impacting the perception of the general public, what they believe their role is, and how we value and evaluate maritime heritage. The interview methodology chosen will allow participants the opportunity to reflect and discuss their role and that of their initiative within the heritage sector and feedback into the research process by being reflexive and adaptive. Although controls are in place to ensure equality within the interview process, these "conversations with a purpose" (see 3.2.2.3) are flexible enough to demonstrate the impact and potential of the participants on heritage engagement.

3.4.4 Analysis

The analysis of the interviews was a process spread over several months. The first broad analysis was done as part of the transcription process, during which each interview was transcribed word for word with all vocalisations such as laughter and sighs included. After this, a brief summary was made, and key quotations were selected from each interview. These summaries allowed me to examine both the viability of pre-existing themes and identify new ones. In particular, attention was paid to the words participants frequently used to see if they represented a developing theme or concept. This was first attempted using a word cloud generator, but this method was ultimately unsuccessful. Therefore, Charlotte Andrew's "loci" methodology was combined with IPA to draw out both new themes and get a sense of the emotive responses being generated. It must be stressed that IPA is not the main method of analysis but has been used to augment more common ethnographic methods. Though the questions by nature lead to a more qualitative analysis, where possible quantitative data was then gathered to be presented in graph form. Because of the highly qualitative nature of the interview process, only the very definitive responses have been classified with the rest placed into a non-applicable category. The low number of participants in the study also means that each participant carries a larger percentage weight. Therefore, I would suggest that the quantitative analysis of these questions must only be taken as indicative of the trends within the answers. A brief qualitative analysis of the interviews was conducted to summarise the data. The interviews and summaries were then left for two months. This allowed me to revisit the data with fresh eyes as well as to research and integrate new themes. The second analysis period was primarily to draw together initial results of the interview data and connect this data to the themes found within the literature.

At this point, the analysis aspects of the research gave way to a discussion in Chapter 8. This chapter brings together both my experiences of working and volunteering in the sector, the literature and theories, and the interpretations of the interviews to understand how public access is currently being offered as well as the aims, objectives and messages of public engagement in maritime heritage contextually.

3.5 Introduction to Case Study Initiative and Interview Contexts

For the purpose of this research, eight heritage initiatives have been selected as representative of maritime public engagement programming in England: Black Sea MAP, Maritime Archaeology Trust, Nautical Archaeology Society, National Maritime Museum Greenwich, Thames Discovery Programme, the Coastal and Intertidal Zone Archaeology Network, the *Cutty Sark* & Boathouse 4). The initiatives selected represent the different categories they have been grouped into (museums, diver engagement and general engagement) as well as a range of different sizes, funding bodies and initiative types. A brief summary of the initiatives and the programming they offer, as well as contextual details of the interviews and settings, are detailed below. Details were accurate as of December 2018.

3.5.1 Black Sea Maritime Archaeology Project

As part of the wider Black Sea MAP project, an educational programme targeting at risk 17-year-old students was developed. The initiative saw 32 young scholars work towards a Gold Crest Award working either onboard the project research ship or in labs at National Oceanography Centre, Southampton. The programme was STEM based and aimed to highlight careers in STEM and encourage learning and general skill development (Aldridge 2018). Scholars completed a one-week training programme in April before beginning placements. The programme was fully funded as part of the expedition by the Hans and Julia Rausing Trust.

As part of the legacy of the project a series of online resources were created for 10-14 year olds based in the UK. A series of three short films with accompanying activities covering core sampling, careers & problem solving at sea encouraged students to think more broadly about science and heritage (Black Sea MAP (2019a). A poster highlighting careers of people involved in the project was sent to all schools in England and Wales (Black Sea MAP (2019b).

The project also funded an award-winning travelling exhibit. Using a combination of VR, 3D printing, hands on activities and films the exhibit travelled for six months as part of the University of Southampton Research Roadshow before being gifted to the Museiko, the children’s museum of Sofia.

Additionally, a film team followed the project for three years resulting in a two-part documentary *Ghost of the Deep: Ancient Shipwrecks* (Channel 4 2019).

Catherine Aldridge, Education Lead, was interviewed over Skype in April 2018. Her complete interview is available as Appendix F. Ruth McKay, Lead Mentor, was interviewed in March 2018 at Winchester Cathedral (Appendix G). David Belton, Executive Producer for *Ghosts of the Deep: Ancient Shipwrecks,* was interviewed in October 2017 at a café in central London (Appendix H).

3.5.2 Maritime Archaeology Trust

The Maritime Archaeology Trust (MAT), previously known as the Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology, is a well-established charitable trust based in Southampton, UK, with over 20 years of experience working within maritime archaeological heritage (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019e).

MAT is involved in a wide range of both active and passive engagement activities and has historically been a leader in engagement in the UK. The current HLF funded MAT project involves recording and researching the inscribed graffiti left on a section of Southampton wall by Second World War troops (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019f). The most recently completed MAT engagement project is ‘Forgotten Wrecks of the First World War’, a four-year HLF funded project that aimed to mobilise volunteers to better document some of the heritage surrounding First World War maritime heritage sites on the south coast of England (Maritime Archaeology Trust (2019g). Volunteers assisted with diving, fieldwork, research & dissemination of information of sites (Maritime Archaeology Trust (2019h), with information being used to create six temporary exhibitions as well as a wide variety of educational resources (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019i).

Additionally, MAT completed the Common Cultural Connection (CCC) project with partner organisations in France and Spain. Co-Funded by the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union, the project aims to show new audiences the maritime connections between the three regions and create international links between schools (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019j).

Because of the longevity of MAT as a heritage engagement provider, they are able to offer many legacy projects to schools. The most well-known is the Discovery bus (see

2.4.3) but MAT can also offer bespoke school sessions (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019k). Other resources include kits available to rent, books and resources to purchase and free online recourses and downloads (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019l).

The Trust also operates the Shipwreck Centre and Maritime Museum on the Isle of Wight (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019m), with admission rates charged. Exhibitions include information on *SS Mendi 1971*, HMS A1, the Halley Diving Bell, and Bouldner Cliff (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019n). School tours are available upon request (Maritime Archaeology Trust 2019o).

Stephen Fisher, Jasmine Nobel-Shelley, and Jose-Oscar Encuentra were interviewed as a group at the author's residence in March 2015 (Appendix I). Amanda Bowens chose to respond to the interview questions via email in April 2016 (Appendix J).

3.5.3 Nautical Archaeology Society

The Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS) is a UK based charity which operates to allow everyone access to maritime heritage, establish further research and publish the results of projects internationally (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019c). NAS is most well-known for running an internationally franchised training programme for both divers and non-divers interested in maritime heritage, as well as publishing the International Journal of Nautical Archaeology (IJNA) (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019d) and running an annual conference in the UK (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019e). The society operates with limited paid staff and utilises volunteer members in many roles within the group including as trustees (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019f). Membership offers a wide variety of benefits, including the newsletter, access to the IJNA and discounts on courses and conferences and membership in the NAS diving club (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019g). NAS is currently based in Fort Cumberland, Portsmouth.

The NAS education programme offers two online courses, an Introduction to Maritime Archaeology followed by Underwater Archaeology AND/OR Intertidal & Terrestrial Archaeology. Both are complimented by skills days, with a Recorder Day being a prerequisite to the Surveyor Day. NAS also offers a wide variety of one- and two-day maritime archaeology courses, covering subjects in research, pre-fieldwork, fieldwork and post-fieldwork (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019h). Individuals are welcome to take one off course or to work towards various certificates offered by NAS (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019i). NAS relies on a Tutor Team based around the world to deliver training courses as needed (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019j).

As well as training courses, NAS is actively involved in maritime heritage research. It is actively involved in a number of projects, including the Gresham Ship Project, Norman's Bay Protected Wreck Site, *Holland No.5 Submarine* Site & *SS Cragside* (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019k). NAS has also been involved in the creation of three dive trails: The *A1 Submarine*, the Duart Wreck Diver Trail and the Norman's Bay wreck (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019l). It runs the Adopt a Wreck Scheme, which encourages both divers and non-divers to help record sites they are routinely visiting (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019m). Finally, the ongoing Big Anchor Project encourages people from around the world to photograph and document anchors they have found and upload the results onto a database (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019n).

NAS is also involved in capacity building projects internationally, including training in Lebanon and Cyprus (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019o). The recent addition of the IJNA Webinar series, supported by the HFF, provides the opportunity for stakeholders around the world to attend a virtual conference and access related IJNA literature for free (Nautical Archaeology Society 2019p).

Mark Beattie-Edwards, Chief Executive Officer, was interviewed in September 2015 at the Jolly Sailor pub in Hamble (Appendix K). Peta Knott, Education Officer, was interviewed at a café in central London in March 2018 (Appendix J).

3.5.4 Thames Discovery Programme

In 1993 the Museum of London began a six-year project to survey aspects of the Thames foreshore, primarily using local university students and archaeological societies (Thames Discovery Programme 2019b). Based on this highly successful work, and the work done by the Thames Explorer Trust in encouraging public access to the Thames (Thames Discovery Programme 2019c), the Thames Discovery Programme (TDP) was created to help monitor the erosion occurring along the foreshore of the river (Thames Discovery Programme 2019d). TDP is managed by the Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) and employs three members of staff. It is based in the MOLA offices in London, England (Thames Discovery Programme 2019e).

The primary focus of the initiative is the Foreshore Recording and Observation Group (FROG), a collective of 500 plus volunteers who has been trained and certified by TDP to record the archaeology of over 20 key sites of archaeological interest. The volunteers work with TDP archaeologists, assist with training new volunteers, run outreach activities for their sites and monitor the site year-round (Thames Discovery Programme 2019f).

As well as the FROG programme, TDP runs a series of guided foreshore walks year round that are suitable for families (Thames Discovery Programme 2019g) and the Riverpedia project, an archive detailing the history and archaeology of the river Thames (Thames Discovery Programme 2019h).

Eliott Wragg, Senior Community Archaeologist, was interviewed in April 2015 on the foreshore of the Thames near Greenwich (Appendix M).

3.5.5 Coastal and Intertidal Zone Archaeology Network (CITiZAN)

CITiZAN is a MOLA run national HLF funded project which began in 2015 and aims to develop a network of citizen scientists to record, monitor and promote intertidal archaeological sites. While the project is national, each of the six Discovery Programme sites has a locally connected training team of two Discovery Programme Officers and one archaeologist (CITiZAN 2019a). Volunteers are offered training on recording intertidal sites using both the initiatives bespoke smart phone app and a paper equivalent (CITiZAN 2019b). Each Discovery Programme runs a public engagement programme targeted at local stakeholders and visitors to the area, offering talks, guided tours and other events (CITiZAN 2019c). A major outcome of the project is the creation of a coastal map (CITiZAN 2019d) where members of the public can upload and view information. A series of step-by-step guides are provided (CITiZAN 201e) to help.

CITiZAN is also developing a series a low tide trails as part of the formal opening of the England Coast Path in 2020. Tours of these trails are currently being led by members of the CITiZAN team, but eventually the trails will be self-guided using an APP (CITiZAN 2019f).

The project has a large social media presence and runs a newsletter, Blog, Instagram, Twitter and Facebook page (CITiZAN 2019g). Staff and volunteers of the initiative have been featured in season 2 of *Britain at Low Tide* (CITiZAN 2019a)

Alex Bellisario and Lauren Tidbury were interviewed in May 2015 at the Centre for Maritime Archaeology, University of Southampton (Appendix N).

3.5.6 National Maritime Museum Greenwich

Founded in 1934, the National Maritime Museum (NMM) is the largest maritime museum in England. It is a publicly funded museum which houses 16 galleries, including four new state of the art galleries partially completed with HLF funding. A special exhibition gallery is accessible for a fee, or free with membership. The galleries aim to tell the story of Britain's association with the sea throughout history and are designed to be both physically and intellectually accessible to everyone (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019e). There is a focus on family and interactive learning with the Ahoy! Immersive gallery, interactive games and giant ships on the Great Map & family friendly trails (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019f). As well a large-scale events surrounding events such as Chinese New Year and school term holidays, the museum offers free arts based make and do activities on Discover Sundays (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019g) and Play Tuesdays for under six children at a cost of £4 (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019h). Ticketed guided tours are offered several times a day (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019i) and on Saturday, actors as historical characters lead family tours through galleries (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019j).

The learning team has developed many national curriculum linked learning resources, primarily designed for teachers to use in conjunction with a visit to the school (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019k). Teachers may self-lead students but are encouraged to let the museum know they are attending or book facilitator lead visit (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019l). For adults the museum offers maritime lecture series, which is usually thematically linked to the special exhibition. It houses the Caird Library and Archives, the largest maritime reference resource in the world, is open to the public (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019m).

The NMM offers a wide range of ever-changing social programming, for example the Saturday Art & Design Club for children aged 13-16 (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019n), LGBTQ+ Family Network events (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019o), a local communities museum takeover (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019p) & film screenings.

Katie Cassels, Family Programme Producer, was interviewed in February 2018 at the National Maritime Museum (Appendix O) Martha Burns Findlay, Senior Manager, was interviewed in May 2018 at the National Maritime Museum (Appendix P).

3.5.7 Cutty Sark

The *Cutty Sark* is a ship museum located in Greenwich, England. The ship itself is a tea clipper which first sailed in 1870 between Shanghai and London. In 2007, a major restoration of the ship was cut short by a major fire, resulting in a longer than anticipated restoration project that has subsequently allowed better access and over 90% of the original ship hull to remain on display (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019q). As part of the Royal Museums Greenwich, it is part of a larger collective of museums which aim to showcase the importance of the sea, ships, time and the stars and the relationship these have to people (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019r). An aspect of this situation is that the museums involved share resources (including staff, volunteers and branding themes).

The ship has been transformed into a museum, with both the interior of the ship and upper deck open to visitors. The interior of the ship includes interpretation, artefacts and interactive exhibits. It is also home to the Michael Edwards Studio Theatre, which is used as a performance art space (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019s). The glass enclosed area surrounding the famous copper hull of the vessel is open to the public and used as a venue for special exhibitions and education activities.

A series of formal education, curriculum-linked, facilitators lead workshops are offered for students from Foundation Stage to Key Stage 3 (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019t). Programmes range from actor lead exploration of the ship to team challenges to be the winning crew of the ship (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019u).

A fully interactive app, Captain Woodget’s Apprentice, has been created which allows younger visitors to complete small missions on the main desk of the ship. Additionally, under-5’s backpacks and family trails are available from the admissions desk (Royal

Museums Greenwich 2019v). Costumed actors play a wide variety of characters, including the Captain, the cook and the ship's figurehead, allowing visitors to interact with historical figures. Every Wednesday, toddlers are welcome for songs, stories and playtime. Other events include curator's tours, special tours in British Sign Language, storytelling workshops and special events (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019w). There are specific volunteering opportunities organized through Royal Museums Greenwich, with roles advertised on an as needed basis online (Royal Museums Greenwich 2019x).

Jessica Lewis, Curator, was interviewed in the café at the *Cutty Sark* in April 2015 (Appendix Q).

3.5.8 Boathouse 4

Located in Portsmouth Historic Dockyard, Boathouse 4 is both a working boathouse and museum. The venue is accessible with a historic dockyard ticket. The central portion of the building houses the International Boat Building Training College (IBTC) Portsmouth, specialising in traditional shipwreck apprenticeships, and Solent Marine Academy who offer Level 3 apprenticeships in Marine Engineering (Boathouse 4 2019a). Visitors are able to watch restoration and build activities from walkways. The museum exhibition features a range of interactive exhibits and small theatre (Boathouse 4 2019b). Volunteers are invited to participate in a wide number of projects, including restoration projects, guiding tours, research & hands on activities (Boathouse 4 2019c). HLF funding enables Boathouse 4 to offer a range of activities for schools and community groups, most notably hands on woodworking activities (Boathouse 4 2019d).

At the time of interview in March 2015, Caroline Barrie-Smith was the Community Participation and Learning Officer at Boathouse 4. The interview was conducted at the Boathouse 4 building. A complete transcript of the interview is available in Appendix R.

Chapter 4 Chapter 4: Uniqueness & Public Perception

4.1 Uniqueness of the Maritime Context

There is an ongoing discussion within archaeology regarding the uniqueness of the maritime context. This discussion began in *Taking to the Water: English Heritage's Initial Policy for The Management of Maritime Archaeology in England* (Roberts and Trow 2002), in which English Heritage acknowledged that maritime heritage should be treated on a par with terrestrial sites and yet the characteristics of the environment meant that maritime sites needed specific policies. The report states that:

1. "they [sites] cannot be easily accessed and managed without specialist skills, techniques and equipment, and consequently, access to the resource is comparatively expensive;
2. They [sites] are situated in a hazardous environment, subject to continuous and sometimes rapid change;
3. in general terms they [sites] are poorly understood and, as a result, have poorly developed research frameworks; and
4. they can be located outside the territory of their state of origin or beyond the territory of any nation state (i.e. in international waters), and can be unattributable to any single state (i.e. built, flagged, crewed, victualed or cargoed by more than one country)." (Roberts and Trow 2002:4)

It is important to recognise that while English Heritage clearly believed that the maritime context creates a unique environment and acknowledges the high potential of access issues, the context of *Taking to the Water* is the management of sites and the development of policy, not public engagement. Many aspects of access to maritime sites and the work being done on them has improved in the 17 years since this report was published, particularly with respect to research frameworks (Ransley et al 2013). This document is still relevant as it represented the starting point for how English Heritage viewed working on maritime sites.

More recently, the differences between maritime and terrestrial contexts are discussed in *The Social and Economic Value of the Marine Historic Environment: issues and opportunities* (Firth 2015) which notes that *Heritage Counts 2014* alarmingly appears to interpret the difference between the two as purely interpretive and "so vanishingly small that no further elaboration is warranted: Marine and Maritime Heritage Doesn't Count" towards the historic environment (Firth 2015:14). Firth goes on to challenge this assumption and asserts that four differences should be considered relevant: Visibility, Accessibility, Mobility and Mutability (Firth 2015:14). The visibility of maritime heritage is variable, but many of the sites which generate the most interest are submerged. England is place with a large amount of very visible standing heritage i.e. castles, stone monuments etc. This contributes to submerged archaeology as being somewhat out of sight and out of mind for the public (Underwood 2014:28). If a person is standing in front of a castle which overlooks the sea and is told that just off the coast there is a shipwreck it is likely that what they will take away from the day is the castle. The physical presence of the heritage on shore trumps the hypothetical object underwater. This has led to the development of 'sea blindness', the tendency for society to not recognise its continued dependence on the sea, which effects not only heritage but other maritime and marine endeavours (Firth 2015:16). Submerged and intertidal sites are notoriously difficult to directly access and as such, many projects focus on either divers or indirect access. While various intertidal archaeology projects previously discussed in Chapter 2 are working towards allowing access for the public, even they are constrained by tides, health and safety, and numbers of participants. Visibility and accessibility are two obvious differences between terrestrial and maritime heritage, but Firth's ideas relating to mobility and mutability engage more with general maritime archaeological theory. Vessels, one of the major assets of maritime heritage, were traditionally designed to move around and often have a relationship with many locations including where they were built, docked, and have ended up. This means they have a connection with many people and places beyond where they currently are located and these connections can be used to reach a wide audience through encouraging the formation of connections (Firth 2015:16)(see 5.4). Maritime heritage assets are often found hidden within an ever changing, mutable, landscape. Because there is often no trace of the site "peoples's experience of heritage assets is not framed by access such as gates and paths as they are on land. In order for the public to discover the significant of marine and maritime heritage assets and thereby realise their heritage value, it is necessary to explore in an open environment how the sea was structured spatially and chronologically amongst those that used the sea in the past, even though such structuring does not reflect the type of boundaries and features with which people are familiar on land" (Firth 2016:17). Simply put, the familiar and comfortable geography of the cultural landscape on land makes heritage easier to engage with because they do not have to think abstractly about how they physically associate with it.

The relationship that the public has with these spaces is complex and, unsurprisingly, personal. Paradoxically, the sea is seen in both a positive and negative light by people the world over. From a phenomenological perspective, water can be seen as an excellent example of Ingold's concept of the generative field which suggests that people don't simply live in a landscape, they experience and engage with it while assessing and using various benefits it offers (Ingold 2000). Cooney describes the importance of the sea to people who live in coastal zones as both a bringer of life, through fish and marine life, as well as capable of causing death through sudden changes in conditions. It is both valued and feared, as well as utilized and respected (Cooney 2004:325–326) and historically has been seen not as a divider but as a way to connect people and places (Childe 1940:4). How humans interact with the sea is ultimately connected with how we view the sea itself, and that is in turn dictated by our use of it. Physically, the sea can be seen as a dark, deep unknown space with a surface that humans move on in ships or explore through other means, when in reality it is a complex environment that is more than just a surface to travel on (Steinberg 2013:159). These contrasting ideas speak to the complexity of human association with the sea and to the complexity of the sea itself.

On world maps, "outside" maritime environments are often represented as static blue shapes which are a stark contrast to "inside" terrestrial areas that are made up of settlements and political lines (Steinberg 2013:159–160). It is important to recognise that even today, "…waterborne activity does not shape its environment or constrain its subsequent use, and is not bound physically with mappable features, is one of the reasons why seascape characterisation using land based approaches has proved elusive" (Firth 2016:16). The maritime environment has effectively been written off as an uninhabitable, ever changing area by many stakeholders. The sea can therefore be seen as an "other" place, separate from the rest of the world, and this is reflected throughout heritage both in terms of separate laws to deal with the maritime context, separate museums to showcase maritime heritage and separate engagement to highlight the methodologies and finds.

Our relationship with the sea manifests itself in different ways, both positive and negative. Fear of the sea can largely be explained by a combination of myths and the fact that it encompasses many of our worst fears: the dark, the unknown and suffocation. An example of this is a fear of the sea, thalassophobia, which is a recognised phobia that primarily manifests as a fear that something is lurking unseen (Atlas Obscura (2015). Thaslassophobia is based on a general basic set of fears, theorizing that "…in context [a fear of the sea] is not irrational. It's primal. We all have this fear of darkness because we can't see, and we rely on our vision to protect us. If you shut your eyes and you can't see, now you have to rely on senses that you don't normally rely upon." (Atlas Obscura 2015). Because only a small amount of people ever get to experience being underwater, thanks to SCUBA or other means, for the majority it will still be one of the few places in the world they cannot physically see. Even snorkelling offers only limited access based on how long a person can hold their breath, firmly tethering people to the surface.

Some members of the public are less interested in engaging with the past because they do not see it as part of the here and now, a relevant aspect of their life. Ian Jack notes that "The sea can still make us scared and wistful…but it also seems to have lost its power. The tide of its images, metaphors and stories has been steadily retreating." (Jack 1998:4), suggesting that we have not only physically lost our connection to the sea but also have become culturally separated from it. When the public does engage with heritage, it is a nostalgic view of the past, one that is largely imagined and often linked to imperialism and British Naval rule (Day and Lunn 2003:300). The term nostalgia, from the Greek *nostos* and *algia* which translates to 'a painful yearning to return home', is used to describe the positive personal connection people have internally formed with the past as compared to the present (Merriman 2000). People do not have direct engagement with the sea in the same way that they historically had, through work, for food and as the main mode of transporting goods and people, which again contributes to a feeling of nostalgia despite this lack of direct connection (Day and Lunn 2003:296).

While there is nothing intrinsically wrong with employing nostalgia or popular aspects of heritage to encourage engagement, Day and Lunn comment that "as direct experiences of obvious maritime connections diminish, such presentations can produce a romanticised and uncritical perspective of British associations with the sea." (Day and Lunn 2003:305). It is important to note that, given this lack of connection, the social perceptions of maritime heritage are now affected even more by what is communicated through engagement than in previous generations.

In recent years there has been a revitalization of waterfront areas in cities around the world. This revitalization often occurs in former port cities where the waterfront area had gone into disuse following post-World War II urbanization projects and the change in industry water transportation to train and truck. The abandonment of these areas results in them being treated as dumping grounds and created both economic and social barriers within cities. The revitalizations are an attempt to revitalise downtown economies as well as improve the environment and quality of life for residents (Burns 2007:95–98). Revitalisation is not without issues, including the problems involving the social gentrification of areas and the concept that what is being created is, in fact a fake and "sanitized image of the maritime past" (Sieber 1991:128). However, the outcome of these projects are often that a greater number of people are able to visit and connect not only with their maritime past but also their maritime present (Burns 2007).

Archaeologically, maritime heritage is unique not only because of the techniques used to excavate sites or the questions it allows us to answer, but because of the thoughts and feelings that it provokes in people (Wijkander 2007:66). In terrestrial heritage iconic sites are standing heritage such as a castle, temple or other grand structure which is usually abandoned or in ruins. In maritime heritage, the iconic site is that of a shipwreck, which has been lost. Wijkander argues that this fundamental difference is what sparks the public fascination with maritime heritage (Wijkander 2007:66). The vicarious thrill of finding the unknown, of making a great discovery, or going on an adventure captivates the public.

The result of this paradoxical relationship of being both drawn to and shying away from the sea is an inevitable situation that affects how people engage with maritime heritage. It not only has to compete with very visible heritage to attract attention, but also counteract both cultural and innate fear it generates in some stakeholders. The question must be asked is how this affects public engagement, both in terms of access and design of initiatives. It seems difficult to imagine that issues of access, both physical and perceived, would not affect programming given that many sites are submerged or require knowledge of tide times to physically access.

4.2 Public Perception of Heritage

As the above section suggests, the public's relationship with the maritime context is part of what makes it unique. Understanding what the public's perception of maritime heritage is an important factor in understanding the aims and expectations the public has with engagement. Every field has misconceptions that surround it, and because of the way that archaeology in general is presented to the public in mainstream media (6.4) it is not surprising that maritime heritage has been misconstrued. Some public misunderstandings and misconceptions are harmless and easy to challenge and correct, and many of the small take home messages in public engagement aim to do this. Of more serious concern are the activities of treasure hunters who pass their work off to the under-informed public as rigorous archaeological investigations (McManamon 1991:6). The impact of this is largely a public who is misinformed and often unable to differentiate between ethnical and unethical projects.

To date, no specific analysis of public engagement with maritime heritage has been published. Previous work on public perception of heritage generally focuses on quantitative analysis of survey data. This is not surprising as this type of empirical data is more cut and dry to work with and more emphatically illustrates perceptions. In examining the examples of public perception research, it is critical to consider the biases that may be evident within survey responses. Willingness by the public to take the time to respond to a detailed survey concerning archaeology and heritage could be seen to indicate that the participants feel the subject is important. This in turn can skew the data towards a more positive result. While this by no means nullifies the value of the results which follow, it is an important to remember and recognise the multifaceted public views of heritage and examine the robustness of the data.

Ramos and Duganne's report, *Exploring Public Perceptions and Attitudes about Archaeology* (2000) is a United States based survey of 9,000 members of the public. While predominately focused on terrestrial heritage, it does offer some insight into what an average western view of archaeology is. Participants were, overall, aware of archaeology but had a "fairly broad and moderately accurate understanding of what archaeology is. However, the American public's knowledge of archaeology and what archaeologists do is neither solid nor clear and it includes misconceptions about the field of study"(Ramos and

Duganne 2000:30). A relevant example of this is that 77% of participants knew that archaeologists studied shipwrecks, compared to 92% who said they studied fossils and 85% who said they studied dinosaurs (Ramos & Duganne 2000:13-14).

More reassuring are the results published in 2018 by the French National Institute for Preventive Archaeological Research as part of the NEARCH Project. As part of a large study of European views on public perception and expectations of archaeology and heritage, 4,516 people across nine European countries, including the UK, were surveyed using an online questionnaire (Kajda et al. 2018:6). The survey was conducted by the Harris Interactive Research Agency, widely considered to have one of the most representative samples worldwide, with the representative minimum of 500 participants per country (Kajda et al. 2018:7). Many participants considered archaeology to be a science and related to the analysis of the past. The majority also felt that the State should be responsible for funding and management (Kajda et al. 2018:10). 91% believed that archaeology had great value for society, with respondents particularly viewing it as linking the past with present identity and passing knowledge to future generations (Kajda et al. 2018:11). In terms of the role of archaeology for the public, responses indicated a higher value on the protection of heritage as compared to the pace of commercial development, the need to disseminate information on both projects and heritage, and a more democratic approach involving stakeholders to interacting with heritage and archaeology. The participants wanted to meet archaeologists, take part in local projects, attend conferences and generally have a say in the decision-making process of sites local to them (Kajda et al. 2018:12). The general results of the survey indicate that while archaeology and heritage are seen as socially important, more work has to be done to disseminate information and for the field to become more inclusive of multiple narratives and views (Kajda et al. 2018:19-20).

On a smaller scale, a pre-course and post-course survey was done by the author as part of the University of Southampton *Shipwrecks and Submerged Worlds* Massive Open Online Course in 2015 (see 2.5.8.4). Approximately 10,000 people participated in the course, of which a subsection of 498 people participated worldwide in the pre-course survey and 143 in the post-course survey. The aim was to identify basic changes in perception brought about by participating in the course. Participants were invited to write down all of the words they associated with various terms, including “The Sea” and “Maritime archaeology". These were then turned into a basic word map, with the size of each word corresponding to the frequency used (see Figure 1).

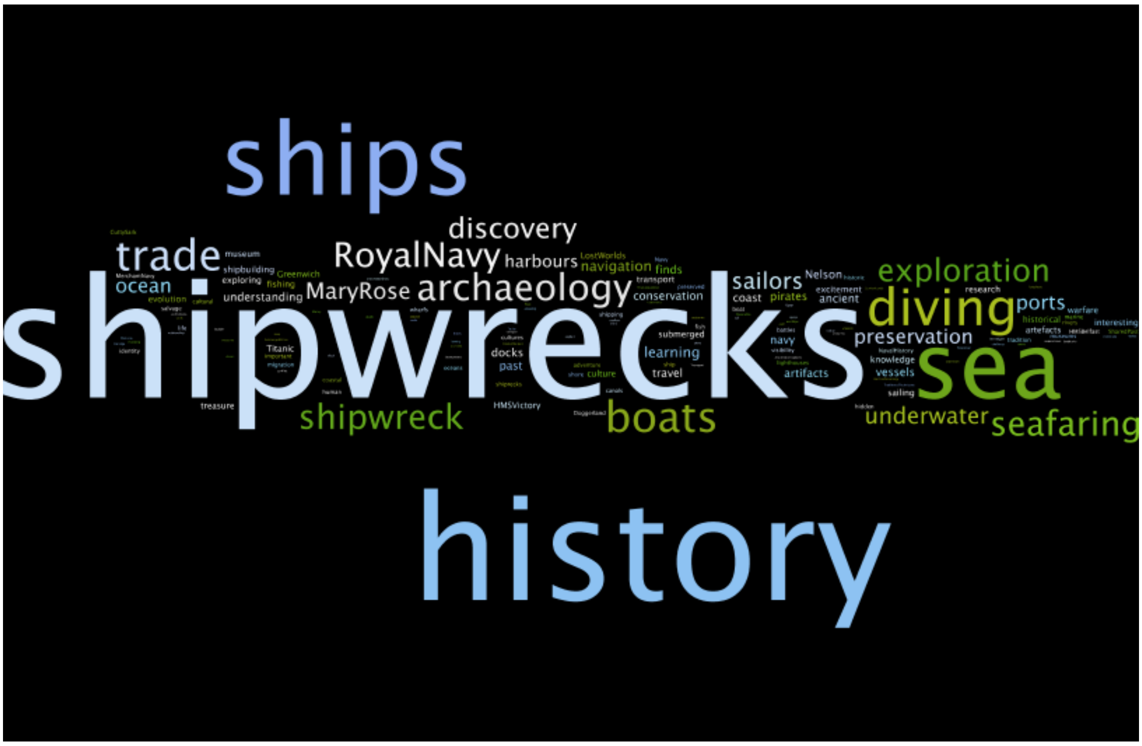

Figure 2 Pre-course word association with "maritime archaeology"

The initial terms used to describe *maritime archaeology* (Figure 1) reveal a limited view of the field. Although some emotive words, such as "exploration" and "discovery" are reasonably well represented, the major terms are related entirely to shipwreck and diver-based archaeology. This in indicative of the public's fascination and exposure to shipwrecks as the main example of maritime archaeology.

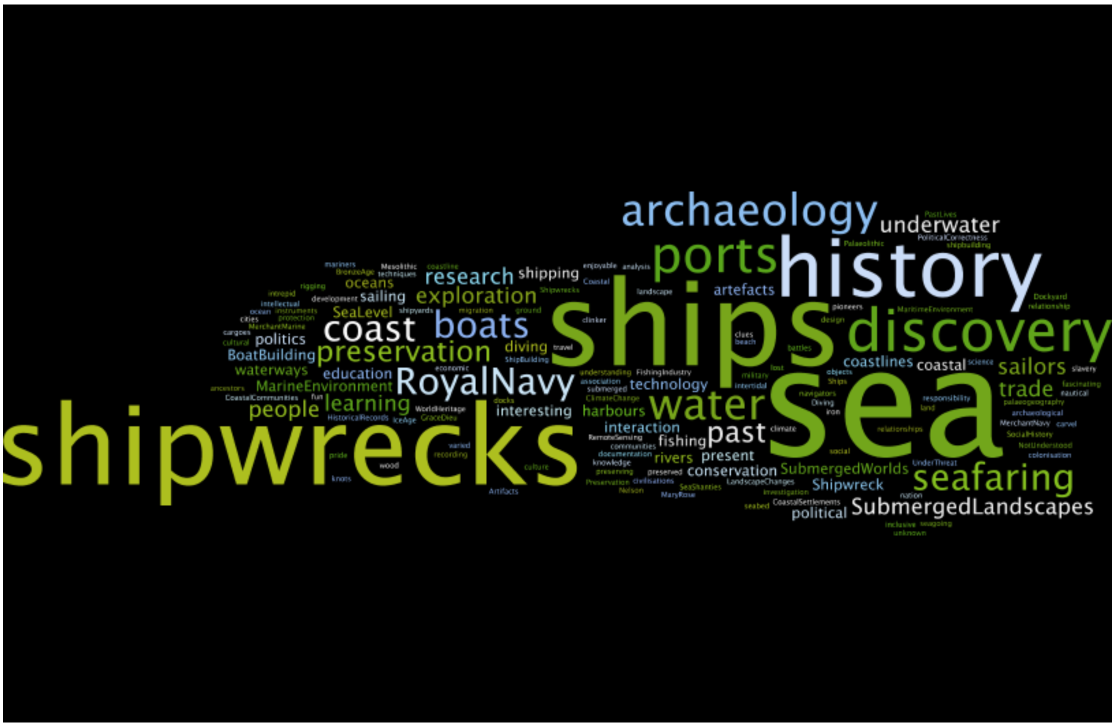

Figure 3 Post-course word association with "maritime archaeology"

While the results from the post-course survey (Figure 2) still indicate shipwreck archaeology as a main point of interest, it is exciting to note the huge increase in words people associated with the term. Although the key words of “shipwreck”, “ships” and “history” are still obvious, the breadth of these terms suggests participants have widened their perception of what maritime archaeology and showed changes in both the quality and quantity of words used to describe “maritime archaeology”.

This broadly tabulates with research done by ComRes, a leading research consultancy, which looked at the public’s perception of the word *heritage* in 2015 (Figure 3).

Figure 4 Word association with the term Heritage ©ComRes 2015

Heritage was overwhelmingly seen as a positive term and as viewed both on a social (indicated by the generic terms of *old, pride, history, important and culture)* and personal level (*family, tradition, ancestry*)(Figure 3). Analysis of this data concluded that most participants believed that it was important to protect the UK's heritage and the UK government had a moral responsibility to do so. When asked if heritage was obstructive to future housing developments most participants were either apathetic (26%) or tended to disagree (26%) or strongly disagree (26%). The contribution of heritage to the UK economy was mostly seen as attracting tourists (81%), the economy in general (73%) or the creative industries (61%) (Wicks & Ali 2019).

The initial results of the MOOC survey suggest that engagement has the potential to diversify the public's knowledge of maritime heritage. As important, the results of both the MOOC and NEARCH surveys suggest that the public has an appetite to engage with heritage by participating in heritage management and courses on the subject. The Heritage Alliance survey results indicate that the public overwhelmingly views heritage as a positive aspect of culture (See Chapter 7).

4.3 Summary and Developing Themes

Heritage found within the maritime heritage can be considered unique in a variety of ways beyond the technology and methods used to access it. Despite the revitalisation of waterfronts in recent years some members of the public struggle with perceiving the modern relevance of the maritime world and many connect with it in a purely nostalgic way. As Firth has noted, visibility, accessibility, mobility and mutability are all elements which predominantly affect how engagement with maritime heritage can happen. These aspects are not as prevalent in terrestrial heritage. The sea itself is seen in both a positive and negative light as it both brings resources and greater connections but is also an ‘other’ space full of the unknown. It is interesting to note that these fears have become a unique selling point of maritime heritage in the public’s attraction to it. The unknown, the adventure and the discovery fascinated the public.

Public perception of maritime heritage is heavily influenced by popular culture and media, which may or not be ethical. The uncertainly of this makes it difficult for the public to understand what representations are accurate. A report from 2000 (Ramos and Duganne) suggests that the public is deeply unsure of the role of archaeologists and what they do. More comforting is recent work by the NEARCH Project which suggests that the European public is both broadly aware of what archaeology is and the benefits it has for society as a whole. The report also indicates a desire to engage as stakeholders in the heritage process. Even more specifically, the Heritage Alliance research suggests that heritage in the UK is overwhelmingly viewed as a positive and that the government has the moral responsibility to protect it.

Work done on public perception as part of the *Shipwrecks and Submerged Worlds* MOOC suggests that engagement with public access initiatives leads to greater knowledge capital of maritime heritage.

As a result of this research there is a need to better understand if the uniqueness of the maritime context has implications when designing public engagement, particularly in terms of access. Parity of access between terrestrial and maritime heritage should also be examined. The influence of popular culture of the publics perception and the public willingness to engage and improve their knowledge capital should also be analysed.

4.4 Interview Summaries

These summaries have primarily been drawn from participants answers to the following questions:

1. Does the challenge of provision of access (physical, intellectual and cultural) dictate how you design maritime heritage programming?
2. Do you believe access to maritime heritage is being/can be provided at the same level as terrestrial heritage?
3. What is the perceived effect of public fascination with ‘treasure hunting’ on the perception of maritime archaeology?
4. Do you feel that the public is willing and interested in engaging with maritime heritage?

A full transcript of each interview is available as Appendix F-R, with quotes referenced as the appendix number and question number. Each section below covers the participants answers to all questions within the theme. Participants names have been abbreviated to initials.

4.4.1 Black Sea MAP

CA flagged the physical difficulties of working onboard a ship, particularly disabled individuals. She also felt is was important to ensure the students were totally prepared because of the immersive and time limited training programme “…we had to think through the experience and what it is about and how to work with young people and how to prepare them and get them ready for that.” (Appendix F Q1). This included ensuring the programme focused on an awareness of what maritime archaeology was, as the majority of students did not know about it, as well as understanding the individual needs of the students based on their backgrounds. In terms of public perception, she believes that giving people a direct experience is the best way to create depth of understanding. In order to give a breadth of understanding you need to offer opportunities for people to engage by doing activities in places they access, be that online or in person.

DB also commented on the practical side, in particular the high costs of filming underwater and the technical and safety requirement. Additionally, the fact that there is no sound underwater created an issue to overcome. “During the process of making the film you have to be much more focused and much clearer about what and when things are happening and what you want to film. Because you can't rely on what people are saying. You lose one whole dimension of film and so you really are required to tell the story visually." (Appendix H Q1) This was further complicated by the fact that many of the visuals of the scientists were of them watching an ROV monitor. The maritime environment itself became an important tool for building the story of the project, almost a character in its own right. There was never a need to talk about treasure because the focus for the filmmakers was on the Quest because "…audiences, they don't need to see something shiny but they need to find and see revelation and I think it's more about revelation than about treasure" (Appendix H Q4). There is a huge public appetite for truth-based heritage documentaries because people love story-based history and what is can tell us about ourselves. Documentaries have a sense of implied integrity and can showcase the breadth of the project. However, he believes that the way people are consuming heritage has broadened massively. Filmmakers have to be aware and switched on to this, and recognise that while documentaries have an important role young people are not sitting and watching documentaries on TV. This is evident in how the BSMAP education legacy component was put together, using both film, VR & hands on components to inspire young people.

RM focused initially on the challenges of getting young people interested in a maritime archaeology project when they had no idea what the topic was. "I think the initial hooks that you might get from saying to someone do you want to come and try a medical course or an engineering course what's something that we didn't have. So we had to work a bit harder to get them interested in the first place. But I think once we did it was worth it because quite a few students really did have their horizons broadened by just knowing a little bit more about the maritime archaeology." (Appendix G Q1). Public engagement is the only way of changing the perception people have of a field. Researchers are passionate about their specific area of study but need to do outreach so that the Public and Policymakers interested in their work. It's fundamental that researchers are able "…To say look this thing is not scary and is not beyond you, it's possible for you to come and be involved in it. But you need to know little bit more about it." (Appendix G Q5)

4.4.2 Maritime Archaeology Trust

SF began by stating that the "the challenges for maritime archaeology and maritime heritage over every other form of heritage are quite unique and fundamentally difficult. The prime one being the access, and that has to dictate how you construct the provision of access and the programming." (Appendix I Q1). Because people are less informed on the subject they don't appreciate what they are being shown and "..there is a mistaken belief or understanding by the general public that stuff that is underwater is not there anymore and doesn't exist in the same way, that a ship that has been sunk doesn't exist anymore. And it's trying to cross that boundary of people that I think has to dictate how we provide a different form of access." (Appendix I Q1).

JNS agreed that it was not just the physical but also the intellectual access issues, particularly as archaeology is not covered in schools. "It's not easy for people to just step into it…I think it means that we put in a lot more background that we might not, otherwise. So, for example, in a lot of our school sessions our opening introduction is ten minutes on, broadly, what is a maritime archaeologist, what is maritime archaeology, what do we do that's different from land archaeology." (Appendix I Q1).

In this case, a follow up question asking if access to maritime heritage was being or could be provided at the same level as terrestrial heritage. JNS believed this was largely because of a lack of knowledge capital in the public. SF believed that while the knowledge base could be improved, the issue of provision of physical access was too big to provide parity.

JOE did not agree. He believed that with a large enough budget it would be complicated, but possible for maritime sites to have the same access. This is particularly true because "…the technology today allows you to have the same access, the problem is that the technology is much more expensive in underwater then for terrestrial." (Appendix I Q2). SF agreed with him, but both JOE and SF believed that the budgets needed were so huge it made this impossible.

JNS and SF believe that using the public's fascination with treasure hunting is a gateway to bringing people in. SF admits that "It's a two-edged sword, the whole treasure hunting thing, because something I think that archaeology, particularly maritime archaeology, does itself and injustice by veering away from treasure and this constant need to claim that it's not treasure." (Appendix I Q3). Many things excavated in the maritime context fit the definition of treasure and maritime archaeologists need to re-claim and re-contextualise the term so the public can differentiate between treasure hunting and treasure. JNS advocates expanding what people define as treasure and working with the public to understand that maritime heritage is "…precious because it's a rare resource and if you start with a concept that is known, like treasure, you can then expand into something that is broader and a bit more unknown and explain it in terms that people are a bit more familiar with." (Appendix I Q3). JOE believes that maritime archaeologists have until recently done themselves a disservice by being"…away in academia, in this different world that is away from other people, with the idea that we are right and they are wrong. Ok, they are wrong, but they are in the real world." (Appendix I Q3). Maritime archaeology has been slow to take advantage of things like PR and marketing and allowed treasure hunters to claim the public perception of what the field is by being persistent.

JNS and JOE both believe that public engagement in person is the best way of changing the public's perception because you are able to adapt and react to what their perception and skill level is, unlike more static forms of engagement.

AB1 stated that yes, the challenge of providing access did dictate how programming was designed. Physically accessing both underwater and foreshore sites was difficult, though possible to overcome. People had to be engaged on both an active and passive way, depending on the site. Intellectual access can be overcome largely through "…use of appropriate language and frames of reference and recognising that the language that is commonly used in stakeholder and academic circles is not very accessible for many audiences."(Appendix J Q1). Interpretation was the key to helping people understand underwater sites. There are issues of relevance, "…despite being an Island nation, much of the UK's population does not have a direct link with their maritime heritage: often they can't see it, perhaps they aren't even aware it's there, it doesn't enable them to do anything, or stop them from doing anything, so it's often not on people's radar. Inland communities can have more of a disconnect; people vising the Maritime Bus often say, with an apologetic tone 'we don't live near the sea' and suggest that they feel maritime heritage is, therefore, not relevant for them."(Appendix J Q1). She did no believe it was possible for access to be provided to maritime heritage at the same level as terrestrial heritage, simply because not everyone can visit an underwater site. It was possible to improve the opportunities offered through technology. The public's fascination with shipwrecks has been heavily influenced by the media bias towards these finds meaning both that “that sites which have no monetary value but do have an interesting story to tell, are often overlooked by the media” (Appendix J Q2). The result can be that the public thinks maritime archaeologists only care about the shipwrecks that have monetary value and that these are the only shipwrecks we find.

4.4.3 CITiZAN and Thames Discovery Programme

LT stated that many people assume you have to be able to dive to access maritime heritage, overlooking intertidal archaeology. “There are lots of things on the foreshore that people look past and often see as littering the coastline. That's what I think it's about, raising awareness of coastal heritage as well.” (Appendix N Q1). She also flagged that there is lots of access options through museums and exhibitions.

AB believed that there are very few differences between terrestrial and maritime archaeology “because terrestrial archaeology is underneath the ground and you can access it unless it's in the museum, so it's exactly the same barriers you have, just maybe slightly different. It's a different process of accessing it. At least you can access maritime archaeology under the water because you could dive. If it was buried under two tons of earth then you won't be able to access it at all. All we have in terrestrial archaeology is museums, ok so we do have some open-air sites, but it's very similar barriers. The fact is you get more archaeology because there is developer lead archaeology, and there isn't the same developer lead archaeology in maritime.”(Appendix N Q1). LT argued that there are more constraints because of tides and visibility.

AB also suggested that even if people could visit a site, the lack of archaeological knowledge and training means that people can’t interpret a site without help. Until artefacts end up in a museum and are laid out for people the barriers to intellectual access are very similar. There is just more terrestrial archaeology because of developer lead archaeology.

In terms of the public perception of maritime archaeology LT believes that it is changing and moving away from an artefact focus, with people being more receptive to the idea of submerged environments. AB thinks this is because of an increase in awareness of climate change. Terrestrial archaeology had to undergo a radical shift in the field during the switch between rescue archaeology and PPG-16. She believes that because maritime archaeology is a newer field it will take it a bit longer to catch up. However, the public's perception used to be that you were either Indiana Jones or an academic, and that has changed. LT observes that there are lots more outreach and museum exhibits, which will help to change the perception. If people have time and the internet they can access lots of training and information.

EW believes that because the TDP project focuses on London, which has traditionally had lots of access to the Thames, that access is less of an issue. The foreshore is generally not privately owned and there is no need to contact anyone for access as it is all Crown Estates. This allows people to physically engage with the archaeology. The programme has been designed because of this access and "It's funny, because access really isn't an issue here. If you didn't have the access we wouldn't be able to do what we do here." (Appendix M Q1). In terms of parity of access between maritime and terrestrial heritage, EW states that if you look at the bigger picture "…people are likely people are much less aware that they can engage with it because they don't even know it exists. And certainly, even professionals in some cases sort of think "Oh foreshore archaeology is stuff that's being washed up" as opposed to stuff that's eroding out." (Appendix M Q2). In general, he believed that it should be easier to get people engaged in London because of the ease of physical access to the intertidal sites. Public engagement is a great way of changing the public's perception because they realise it actually exists and that they can get involved and see the sites.

4.4.4 Nautical Archaeology Society

MBE argues that the NAS programme doesn't provide access to sites and so has not dictated how the programme has evolved. However, "I think what we would tell people is that if you want to access a historic wreck site then by having done NAS courses and having had your mind expanded, then you are much more likely to understand what you are looking at." (Appendix K Q1). A follow on question was asked about the difficulties of the average person having access to maritime heritage. MBE answered that while it was difficult for people to access underwater heritage, maritime heritage was everywhere. This was largely because "…nowhere is greater than 70 miles from the sea, and we have a massive canal system. It's all around us so it isn't difficult to access." (Appendix K Q2). He questions if the public even has a perception of maritime heritage, but thinks that when the public thinks of maritime archaeology they think of the *Mary Rose* because that was the last big maritime project and resulted in a museum. Because people are exposed to the underwater world through the media, they are interested in it "But I don't think, I'm not sure, that it's about archaeology as such, about the discovery of these new parts of the human endeavour that we've never found before. The public doesn't think "Oh, if it wasn't for those great underwater archaeologists" (Appendix K Q4). The treasure hunters have done a great PR job of getting themselves lumped in with maritime archaeologists in the media, to bolster their credentials. The maritime archaeology community needs to stand up and publicly denounce treasure hunters who are claiming the credentials (even though the media likely won't care).

PK began her answer by speaking of two enthusiastic volunteers, one who is blind and one who is in a wheelchair. This has led to NAS developing new programming that is more accessible to everyone. In developing the education programmes for a broad audience, "I try to have them as diverse in both interests and cost and geography and still sometimes that isn't suitable." (Appendix L Q1). The NAS programme is also international and has moved into e-learning, and through that cultural challenges have emerged with translating the course. A course that was previously delivered face-to-face in Arabic will now be online, however the spoken component of the course will have to be changed because of the many different dialects. The cost associated with that makes access difficult. The costs associated with access means that people will sometimes consider other options and "Although it's wonderful to have organisations like CITiZAN who provide free training that sometimes can be counterproductive for us in that people say "Well CITiZAN are doing that for free why can't you?"" (Appendix L Q1). Despite the advances of technology, she does not believe that access to maritime heritage can be offered at the same level as terrestrial heritage, on the basis that physical access is impossible for some people on submerged sites. "Everyone says that it is an immersive experience when you use virtual reality and yes, it is amazing but it's still not the same. So it's perhaps being a little pedantic but I think we try our best and we need to keep trying to deal with this but we are never going to replicate the true feeling of excitement, of cold, of wonder that you get when you experience underwater sites." (Appendix L Q3). She believes one of her main roles is to re-educate the public on the differences between maritime archaeology and treasure hunting, in part to counteract what the media and popular culture put out. She believes it's important that maritime archaeologists show that our work can be sexy as well. "I think we can use that [treasure] and try and say actually gold is really exciting because it doesn't disintegrate underwater and it doesn't tarnish so it is going to survive. And coins are really exciting because they tell us a date, not because they are shiny, but because they give us a date. So we can try and twist it around to our benefit but it's going to be hard work." (Appendix L Q3).

4.4.5 Royal Museums Greenwich

JL stated that for interpretation on the Cutty Sark the priority was to keep the social aspects of visits for groups and families in mind. Films are kept to less then three minutes and captions to 50-100 words. The piecemeal aspect of the interpretation is specifically designed to "…create opportunities to have a conversation as a group and to explore things together. And I think that's very important because it allows people to explore the ship and for it not to be a linear narrative. That's part of the fun, exploring the ship, and I think we've tried to develop something that encourages that type of engagement." (Appendix Q Q2). She believes that maritime heritage is the history of Britain and that it is easy for people to forget that we are an island nation. Because of this, maritime heritage in the UK starts at a disadvantage to other countries such as Holland/ Nertherlands. Historic ships are costly to maintain which has caused a decrease in their numbers. When the public comes to visit the *Cutty Sark*, many come to tick it off the list because it is a well-known site. People do not come with an accurate perception of what the site is, and leave delighted because they got more then expected. Public perception can be changed through engagement, particularly when *Cutty Sark* is able to offer reduced entry costs and put on a complete range of activities for the public on a special event weekend.

KC believes that maritime heritage is a harder sell to the public. The NMM links all programming to the collections or a theme or the site in general, but works hard to find familiar hooks to bring people in. While maritime heritage can be a bit more obscure, everyone has access to it "…but it can be a little more difficult to encourage people to realize this connection."(Appendix O Q12). Once clarification of what maritime heritage is is determined, people recognise its relevance to them. Because of Greenwich's connection to mudlarking it is important to talk about treasure and get people to understand that what they are finding can be significant. “You're always going to get people doing it. There needs to be more of a conversation between the two and way of using the public facing aspects of treasure hunting in mudlarking to talk about the importance of what's being found on a broader level.” (Appendix O Q4). The best way of changing the public’s perception of maritime heritage through engagement is to use objects as a starting point for people to think about alternative perspectives. While facilitating and interpreting concepts is important “…They [the public] need to be having these conversations and encountering different perspectives in order for them to be able to think about things seriously and challenging their own perspectives” (Appendix O Q5).

MBF believes that parity of access to maritime vs terrestrial heritage depends on who you ask and where they are located in England. It is very easy for people who don’t live on the coast to forget that Britain is an island. However, “I think for some people who live in England, maritime heritage is their heritage. They very much see it as their heritage of their nation and part of their conscience identity. For other people, who are living in inner city London or the Midlands or wherever, actually that is very very far from their mind.” (Appendix P Q1). The perspective on what heritage is specifically maritime depends on the individuals and the community links to maritimity. The term maritime itself is a major barrier to the public because it isn’t a word that people use outside of the field. Because of this, using words like treasures of the sea makes it easier for people to engage and relate to the subject. People are fascinated by treasure because of popular culture, but also because people love curious things. There is a generational shift in what aspects of heritage people find interesting because each generation has different aspects of heritage that have been promoted by popular culture. The most effective way to change the publics perception is to try and understand “…who it is we want to engage with and understand their experiences and there needs and interest and motivations. Once you know that, you can figure out what aspects of maritime heritage are going to most appeal to them.” (Appendix P Q4).

4.4.6 Boathouse 4

For CBS, the issues of access does not dictate the design of maritime heritage programming at all. She believes that if you start from the position that it might you put up barriers for yourself to create access. “So you start thinking “Oh, this is quite intellectual, maybe we shouldn’t do this for an outreach project” or you think something is a bit too high brow or difficult to access then immediately you are coming from a bottom up approach.” (Appendix R Q1). By taking a top down approach access isn’t difficult. Because of this, access to maritime heritage can be provided as the same level as access to terrestrial heritage. “If I took it from the other angle, then again it stifles your creativity. It stifles your enthusiasm for being able to do something and it stifles your blue sky thinking to be able to make something more interactive and engaging and fun and new…modern and fresh. So absolutely, I believe that I could interpret ice to eskimos, it doesn’t really matter what the subject is.” (Appendix R Q2). She believes that the publics perception of treasure hunting and maritime archaeology is based both on the media and how you grew up. Many people have grown up with the idea of treasure and treasure hunting from adventure stories they have read and so they embrace that. It is important that heritage managers understand that these ideas are there. Different people have different perspectives on what is treasure and how artefacts should be cared for and interpreted. Understanding this is the best way of working to change the public perception of the field because “…we can never tell someone that their thought is wrong or their way is wrong. It’s not wrong, it’s just their perception.” (Appendix R Q5). By being non-confrontational, you can start a dialogue with people and explain to them how much more a site can reveal if archaeological methods are used.

4.5 Theme Analysis

The following questions were presented to the participants as the starting themes for aspects relating to the uniqueness of the maritime environment and public perception. As stated in the methodology chapter, there was a degree in variation in how the questions were asked and questions were occasionally omitted. For specifics, please consult Appendixes F-R.

1. Uniqueness of the maritime context
    a. Does the challenge of provision of access (physical, intellectual and cultural) dictate how you design maritime heritage programming?
    b. Do you believe access to maritime heritage is being/can be provided at the same level as terrestrial heritage?

2. Effect on public perception of maritime archaeology
    a. What is the perceived effect of public fascination with 'treasure hunting' on the perception of maritime archaeology?
    b. What do you believe is the most effective way to change public perception through engagement?

4.5.1 Uniqueness of the Maritime Context

As suggested by the discussion above (4.1), there is uniqueness of the maritime context perceived by both formal bodies, maritime archaeologists and academics writing on the subject of our relationship with the maritime world. Interview participants were asked to discuss what I believed was the overarching difference between the maritime and terrestrial context, access in all its forms.

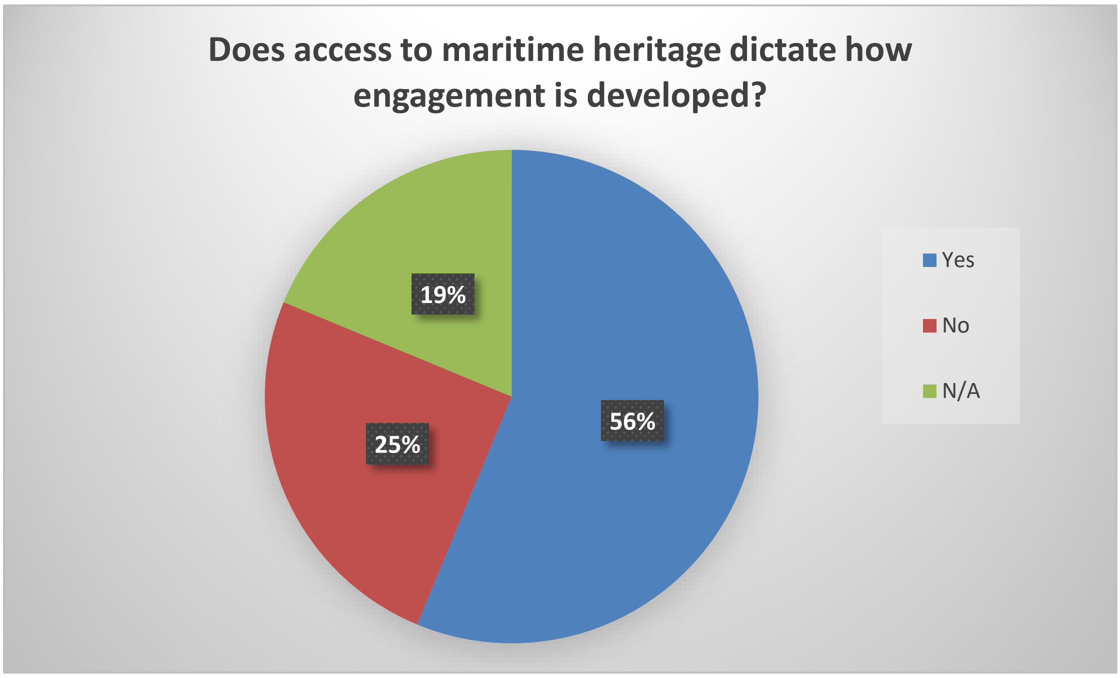

Figure 5 Participant answers to question: Does access to maritime heritage dictate how engagement is developed?

As Figure 4 illustrates, 56% of participants believe that the challenges of accessing the maritime context dictate how programming is developed. 25% did not, with the remaining 19% being unclassifiable. Of the classifiable answers, 69% believed that the challenges of access influenced programme development and 31% did not.

This suggests that for most people who work in maritime heritage engagement, there is a perceived difference in access. The main issues cited relating to accessibility are based on the limited knowledge capital that the public has of the subject, often heavily based on popular media (RM). Both EW and MBE state that they believe the public doesn't know that maritime heritage exists. As mentioned in the MAT group interview, archaeology is not a part of the curriculum and so how people have interacted and learned about it is very piecemeal. When engagement projects are offered, they may not be at the right time, location or price point for the public (PK).

While it is physically difficult to access submerged sites (CA), participants cite intertidal projects and museum spaces as a way of mitigating the issue of physical access (LT). However, there are different types of logistics involved in physically accessing sites that would not normally be present on terrestrial sites and it is impossible for non-divers to access submerged sites to the same degree as divers (PK). Even some divers have to be encouraged to apply for visitor permits to sites, as the paperwork involves can be intimidating (MBE). The fact that we are only ever 70 miles from the ocean and have canals crossing the country mean that people have the ability to access water spaces, though they may not always recognise this (MBE & MBF). While it seems clear that people can have access, if they are not located on the coast it is very easy for them to forget this because, as MBF says, it is very far from their minds.

In general, participants appear to approach working on maritime based projects as a challenge that can be overcome regardless of the context or issues of access. CBS states this most directly when she cited using a top down approach to designing public engagement, worrying about content before logistics. Technology is increasingly being used to facilitate the public visiting submerged and intertidal sites (DB, JNS, AB, PK & JL), expanding how the maritime heritage can be presented to a wide range of people. Programmes are working with local stakeholders to ensure content is culturally accessible (PK) and makes use of local knowledge (LT).

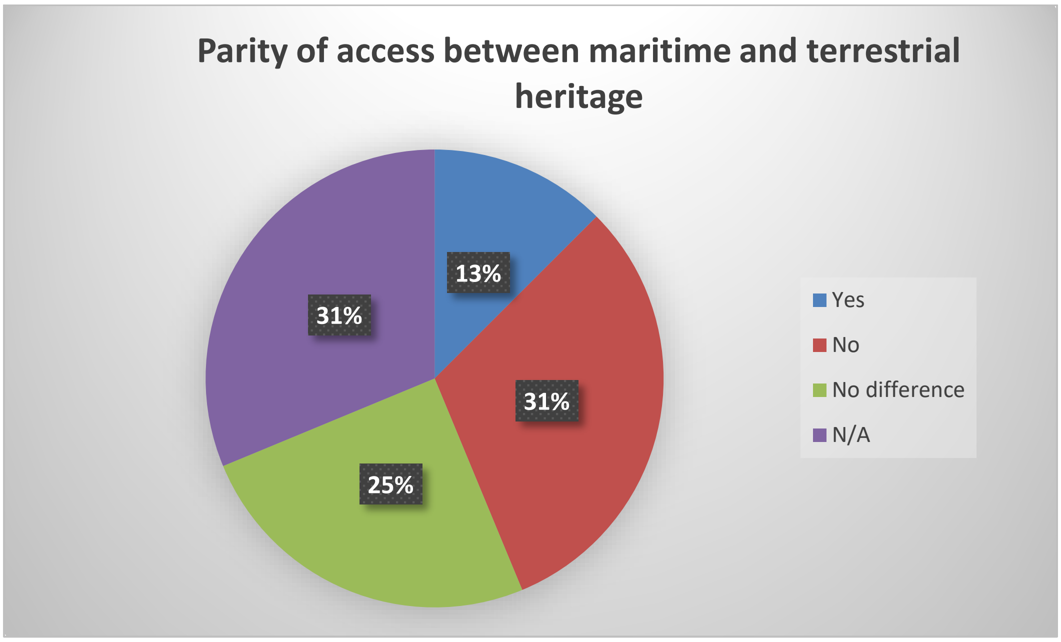

Figure 6 Participants answers to questions regarding Parity of access between maritime and terrestrial heritage

The results of this question were particularly interesting (Figure 5). I had not anticipated the high number of participants (25%) to say they saw no difference in how much access the public has to maritime heritage as compared to terrestrial heritage. When the non-applicable participants are removed, 42% of participants believed that parity was or is impossible, 36% saw no difference and 18% believed that parity was possible.

When participants believed parity was not possible it was it was because of issues of access, primarily physical (SF, AB1, PK) and intellectual (JNS, EW, SF). It is impossible to replicate the exact physical and emotional experience of visiting a submerged site (PK & AB1). As JOE states, the biggest barrier to true parity of access on submerged sites is financial and with enough capital invested in a project, many people who wished to visit could. This is echoed by DB talking about the comparative increase in cost to filming underwater.

The many participants who believed parity is possible but has currently not been achieved, citing issues relating to the public perception of maritime heritage (LT, KC & EW). The public retains a narrow view of what maritime heritage is, for example that is it just for divers (LT) or related only to the Navy (KC). Because of the ease of access to Crown Lands, EW believes that it is actually easier for people to physically access intertidal archaeology in London then terrestrial archaeology. A point to consider is if intertidal archaeology, when it is not submerged, is land or sea. While there are certainly health and safety and timing issues surrounding intertidal sites, they do not require specialist equipment to access.

Four participants, AB2, MBE, MBF & CBS, believed that there was no major difference in access. MBE reiterated that maritime heritage is all around in England, so no there is not difference, only on accessing submerged sites. When asked if he thought that people recognised the heritage all around them he admitted that he probably wasn't the person to ask. This acknowledges a certain bias that participants in these interviews have of seeing the potential for accessing and communicating maritime heritage within the landscape. It is their job to look for these sites.

It is interesting that AB2 commented that many terrestrial sites have to be excavated and presented with context as well in order for the public to be able to engage with them, so it is actually just a difference in ways of accessing sites. On a practical level, AB2 suggests the amount of maritime heritage we have to present less because there is less developer lead archaeology within the maritime context and therefor fewer artefacts. There can never be parity because the amount of maritime content to tell the public about is less.

MBF believes that parity of access hinges on the perspective of the public and if they even acknowledges a difference between maritime and terrestrial heritage in their world. For some people, the heritage they connect with is entirely maritime and for others it is terrestrial.

CBS says that there is no difference, because if she saw a difference it would influence how she designed programming and it would influence her creativity. This follows on from her top down approach to public engagement.

4.5.2 Public Perception

Participants were asked a question relating to perceived effect of public fascination with 'treasure hunting' on the perception of maritime archaeology. Many of the participants chose to talk about the contextual use of the word *treasure* within public engagement and the affect this has on their work. The lack of knowledge capital relating to maritime heritage means that the associations people have with the term treasure are based on childhood perspectives and what they hear in the media (CBS). Maritime archaeologists often fear using the term treasure because of the negative connotations it brings in methodological differences (SF), which is in turn based on the media construct of the term. Several participants (SF, JOE, PK & MBE) advocated that the field must reclaim the term and the public interest in it. The reclamation is needed not only so that that the term can be used correctly, but also so that the perception of archaeologists and treasure hunters becomes separate in the public eye with the acknowledgement of the methodological differences and ultimate aims of projects (MBE, JOE, PK). This requires confronting not only the treasure hunters, but also the media who are largely unconcerned with the ethics of projects. Interestingly, the filmmaker participants DB is adamant that the public is less interested in treasure but instead in the concept of revelation and the act of discovery. This is likely related to his committed use of narrative storytelling within documentaries as well as the ethics of the larger project he worked on.

The term needs to be recontextualised and the public perception changed so that the treasure evoked more than a financial reward (AB1 &PK) and instead related to the knowledge we gain (JNS, PK & CBS). The term was mentioned as a hook or starting point of several participants in public engagement (SF, JNS, CBS &PK), with the overarching goal of the public leaving with a new perception on what artefacts can tell us about the past beyond monetary value.

Two participants, LT & AB2, felt there had been a positive shift in the public perception of maritime heritage. LT felt that because of the increased media attention on climate change the public had moved away from the buzzword of treasure and into submerged environments. AB2 believes that the professionalization of archaeology has led to people seeing archaeologists as more than either Indiana Jones or academics.

There is a clear view that the word treasure must be reclaimed and re-used so that the public perception of maritime heritage can move away from sensational narratives and non-ethical uses.

The most common way the participants felt the public perception of maritime heritage could be changed was through increased general awareness (LT, EW, MBE, MBF, CBS). The general knowledge capital of the area is so low that if a person leaves with an awareness that maritime heritage exists this is an improvement. The best way of communicating these ideas is in person, so that the messages can be tailored to the preconceptions and current knowledge capital of the audience (RM, JNS, JOE, AB1). Three participants (CA, AB1 & PK) believed strongly that engagement had to have a hands-on aspect, allowing people to either hold an artefact or participate in a project, in order for them to form a meaningful connection and change their perception. DB, AB1 and LT believed that the focus needs to include using technology to make maritime heritage more accessible. DB and AB1 mention the need to use VR and AR to make submerged sites both accessible and appealing to audiences, and LT suggests that engagement opportunities like the MOOC online are useful.

Changing the public perception so that it includes maritime heritage is vital in terms of securing funding for the future (RM) and ensuring that people appreciate that while the tax money which goes to culture could be spent elsewhere, culture is a vital aspect of what makes us human and something that adds value (MBE).

Chapter 5 Messages

Public engagement work in heritage is, in many ways, exactly like any other form of archaeological research. For a project to be successful, clearly defined aims and objectives and people with the right knowledge and skills, need to be employed to work on the identified initiatives. There are many stakeholders involved in heritage, and each of those will have specific aims and objectives for public engagement initiatives. Recent work by John Holden on the value of culture, of which heritage is a part of, is useful for understanding these relationships. Stakeholders will fall into one of three categories: people who work in heritage as Professionals (archaeologists, heritage managers, etc), people who fund and write policies on heritage (developers, philanthropists, government and non-government organizations) as Politicians and Policy-makers, and members of the public (Holden 2006:21)(Figure 5).

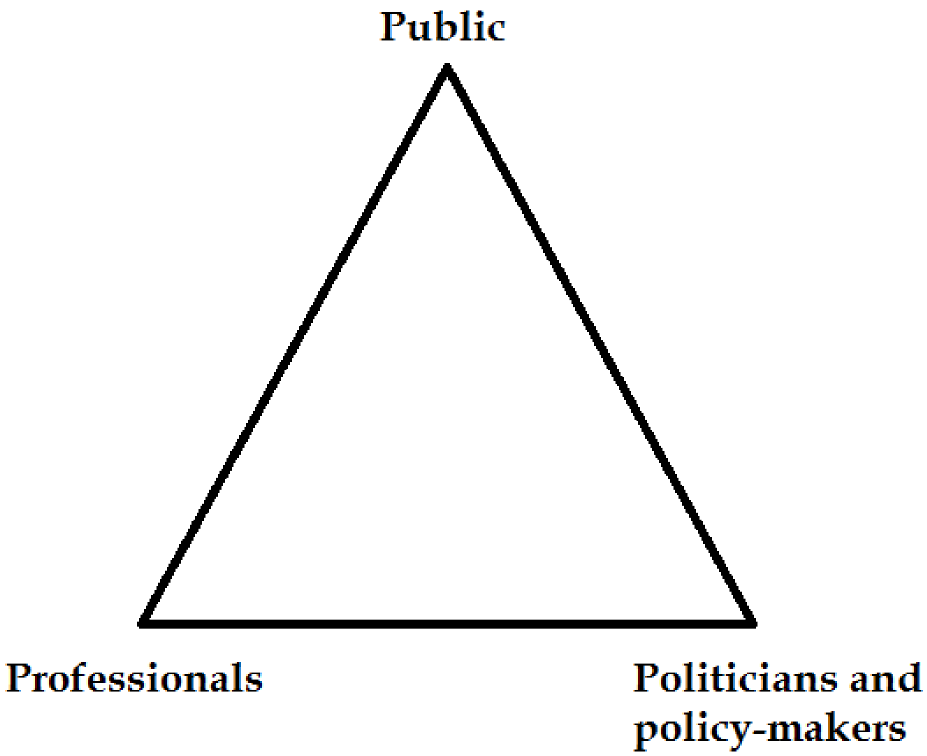

Figure 7 Stakeholders in culture (after Holden 2006:21)

Unpicking how the aims of the various stakeholder groups work together and in competition with each other is essential for understanding how heritage engagement initiatives are designed and what the aims of each organization are. The aims are directly tied into what each stakeholder group believes the value of heritage should be. While the impact of value on public engagement is discussed more fully in Chapter 7, it is useful here to understand the basic categories Holden suggests for how these stakeholder groups value culture (Figure 6).

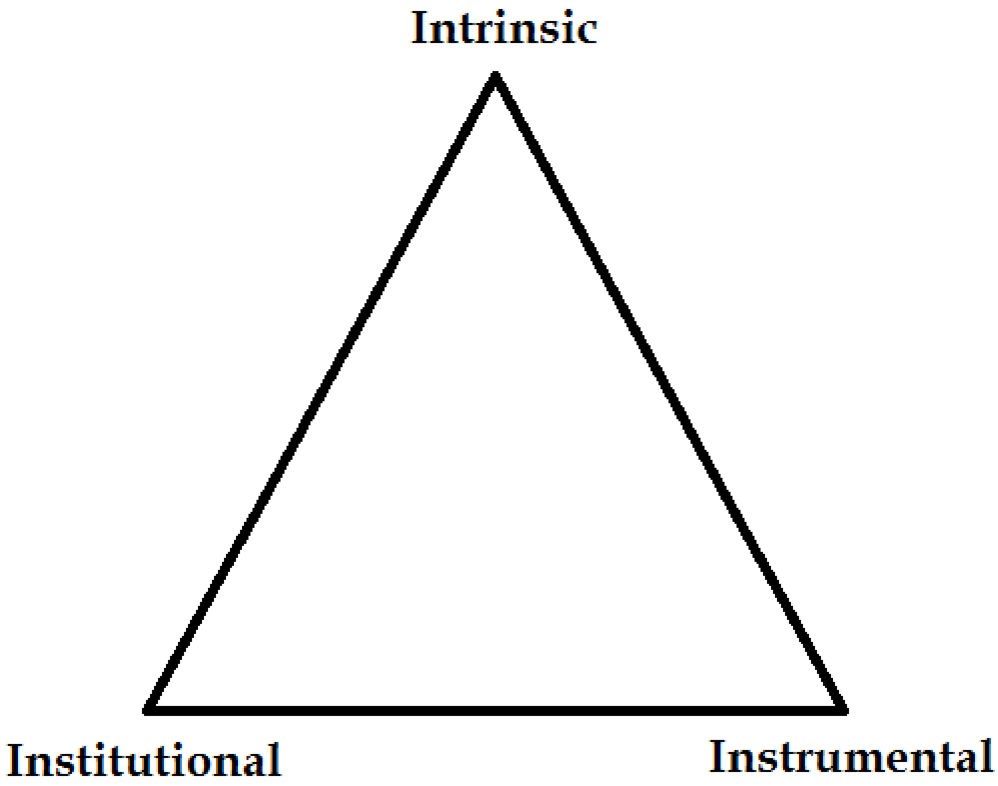

Figure 8 General ways of valuing culture (after Holden 2006:22)

Intrinsic values are the subjective experiences of individuals relating to how they experience culture in intellectual, emotional and spiritual ways and should be seen as the capacity and potential for something to affect an individual (Holden 2006:15). Fundamentally, every stakeholder group in heritage benefits from the intrinsic value of it (see 7.2). Instrumental values relate to outputs and impacts that are usually expressed in quantitative form (Holden 2006:16). Finally, “institutional values relate to the processes and techniques that organization adopt in how they work to create value for the public.

Institutional value is created (or destroyed) by how these organisations engage with their public; it flows from their working practices and attitudes and is rooted in the ethos of public service" (Holden 2006:17).

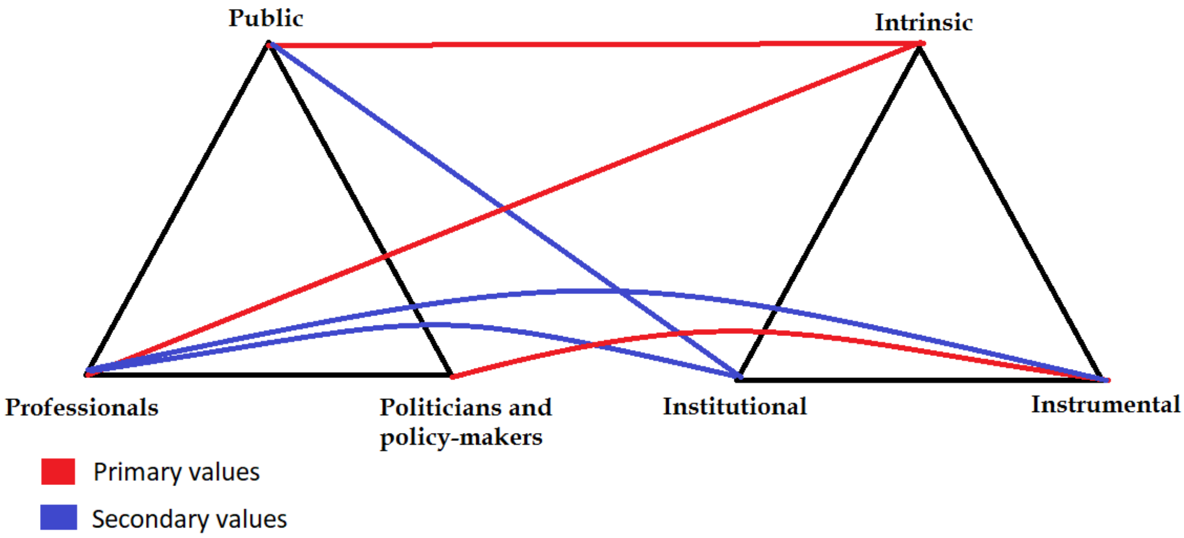

Figure 9 The primary and secondary values of stakeholder groups

Holden goes on to suggests that the major issues many stakeholders face in communicating with each other stems from the fact they are situated within groups who value culture in different ways (see Figure 7). The public cares about intrinsic, and to a lesser extent institutional, value (Holden 2006:22–24)(Chapter 7). The professionals are primarily motivated by the intrinsic value of their work and of lesser importance are the instrumental aspects, "but it is difficult to achieve their instrumental ends in the absence of intrinsic value and, in order to achieve their instrumental aims, all professionals will seek to achieve the highest intrinsic quality in their work" (Holden 2006:26). Professionals are also interested in the institutional value of as this helps in creating value for other stakeholder groups. Finally, politicians form the third group of stakeholders which Holden identifies as having a majority interest in the instrumental value of culture, namely the ways in which culture can be used as part of the social/political agenda (Figure 8) (Holden 2006:29). As both Elmer and Holden point out, this raises serious issues in terms of collaborative partnerships between the different stakeholder groups, as well as difficulties in managing and interacting with heritage sites (Elmer 2015:50). "It is therefore not surprising that much misunderstanding has arisen in the bilateral relationship between these three groups; each conversation is marked either by its absence or its dysfunctionality" (Holden 2006:32).

Based on Holden's work it appears likely there is a major disconnect in the aims of various stakeholder groups associated with heritage. For the purposes of this research, these groups have been divided into archaeologists, representing all heritage professionals, policy makers, politicians and funders, and the public. The following sections will deal explicitly with the stated aims intrinsic, institutional and instrumental aims of these stakeholder groups, based on government and NGO reports and statements. It will also look at the results of research on public perception and examine how the relationship the public has with heritage is shaped by their aims.

5.1 Aims of Professionals

Archaeologists have three general aims in engaging with the public. Most archaeologists and others working in heritage management believe that the work being done is for the benefit of all of humanity. The aim "…is to discover the fabric of everyday life in the past and to apply this knowledge in seeking a greater understanding of the broader historical development of societies. We use archaeology to sharpen our focus on the past and to help explain how we have arrived at the present, and even to project into the future" (Jameson Jr. 2007:9). This is not a new development, as discussed in 2.1, but largely a change brought about by fundamental shifts in the understanding of the social importance of access and value of heritage. The second aim is to ensure the cultural value to the economy and society of work done by archaeologists is noted by politicians and policymakers in order to secure funding.

The third general aim of public engagement is for archaeologists to have some control over the public perception of heritage. McManamon states:

> "Providing a tangible, accessible return through interpretation products and programmes in order to maintain or build on public support is often given as the justification for public education and outreach in archaeology. Yet other important reasons exist for these efforts. Fundamentally, we must realise that the interpretation of the archaeological record for general audiences, as well as it's protection, is simply too important to leave to others. The interests of some others, e.g. looters and treasure

> hunters, after all, involve the commercial exploitation of the archaeological record or it's wonton destruction by other means" (McManamon 2000:6).

These are indeed very important aspects of public engagement with heritage due to an increase in the amount of media and information available publicly. Public support and interest in ethical heritage management is essential to keeping it on the national agenda. The recent events surrounding the discovery of HMS *Victory* 1744, where for a length of time The Maritime Heritage Foundation/Odyssey Marine Exploration were granted rights to excavate the wreck, was of great concern to maritime archaeologists due to ethnical concerns over previous excavations by Odyssey. It was only through pressure by the Joint Nautical Archaeology Policy Committee [JNAPC], a committee made up of independent experts and the representatives of organisations active in UK maritime archaeology, and other archaeologists as well as media attention, that the gifting of the shipwreck was overturned (Brockman 2018).

Archaeologists and other Professionals are, most importantly, members of the public who place a high enough value on archaeology to make working within it a career. It is anecdotally acknowledged that people do not strive to go into archaeology or accept a job in heritage for the money; we do it because we think it is important. Our appreciation of all the ways in which heritage can be valued means that we place protecting it high on our agenda (Pyburn 2009:167). This means that a constant balance must be struck to look after the interests of heritage and those of other stakeholders. Although archaeologists may support and encourage the public to become involved in heritage, they generally act as the voice for it in heritage development discussions. The aims that we have for public engagement will ultimately be tinged with the responsibilities that we have to preserving and interpreting heritage.

5.1.1 Chartered Institute for Archaeologists

The Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA) is the main professional body representing archaeologists in the UK. As well as representing archaeology and archaeologists in industry and government, the CIfA works to create a set of standards and guidelines for archaeologists working in the UK to attempt to self-regulate the profession and provides professional development. Membership is voluntary, but offers professional accreditation (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2019c). Within the general code of conduct the following statement addresses the requirements for public engagement:

> "4.6 A member shall accept the responsibility of informing the public of the purpose and results of his/her work and shall accede to reasonable requests for access to sites (within limitations set laid down by the funding agency or by the owners or the tenants of the site, or by considerations of safety or the well-being of the site) and for information for dispersal to the general public."(Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2019c)

As well as the Code of Conduct, the CIfA has also published standards and guidance for stewardship for the historic environment. As the name suggests, the report outlines both the outcomes and gives guidance on how the CIfA expects members to show stewardship on projects. Stewardship is defined broadly as protecting and enhancing heritage so that it has value both today and in the future. Stewardship "…requires conservation practitioners with special skills in understanding, listening, investigating, managing, facilitating, renewing, enhancing, communicating and sharing the legacy of the past" (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2014:4) acknowledging that this is a skill set which is not normal in practitioners. The acknowledgement is critical as many reports and guidance assume that those using it will have these innate skills. By saying the skills are special, it recognises that they are something that needs to be learned, developed and maintained.

The guidance suggests three categories of questions for archaeologists to ask in terms of good stewardship: Understanding- what are we conserving?; Benefiting- why are we conserving?; and Managing- how do we conserve (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2014:2). Within these categories there are many specific sections relating to public engagement and access (see Appendix S), which broadly recommend that archaeologists consider both the historic and current views and values of individuals and communities (Appendix S 1.6.3 & 1.6.4) as well as be adaptable to any future changes (Appendix S 1.6.5). It also suggests that archaeologists respect the intangible and oral histories surrounding heritage, while helping audiences understand the different between fact and fiction (Appendix S2.1.8). Results should be presented and published in "…ways that can reach and engage various types and levels of audiences; avoid talking down or blinding with science; explain contexts clearly; introduce the unknown by relating it where possible with the known" (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2014:11). The various uses of archaeology should also be considered, as well as the social and community benefits to heritage (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2014:12). Perhaps most importantly, archaeologists are expected to consider the arrangements in place for access to sites, and to provide visitor focused interpretation (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2014:13).

It is clear from this document that the CIfA is encouraging its members to consider best practice in working with the public on heritage projects. The value of heritage and the work being done on a site is expressly underpinned by the statement that the views of the public on what is important must be acknowledged. As a practical guide for archaeologists wondering what their broad role is in heritage and how to consider their responsibilities to the public, this document offers specific information relating to all aspects of heritage work, from inception to implementation.

The CIfA also runs two special interest groups of note, the Marine Archaeology SIG (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2019d) and the Voluntary and Community Archaeology SIG (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists 2019e) (see 6.1).

5.1.2 Council for British Archaeology

The Council for British Archaeology (CBA) is an educational charity working across the UK to involve people in archaeology and to promote the appreciation and care of the historic environment for the benefit of present and future generations. It operates under the general mission statement *Archaeology for All* and aims to deliver four key objectives: participation, discovery, advocacy and sustainability (Council for British Archaeology 2016).

Within its strategic plan for 2016-2019, the CBA describes its objectives and how they relate to public engagement and access. Within *Enhancing the protection and stewardship of the UK's archaeological heritage*, they endorse the facilitation of local engagement to encourage protection of archaeological heritage. *Increasing the range and diversity of public participation in archaeology* speaks to a commitment to support public participation projects, continue with the Young Archaeologist Club and Festival of Archaeology, encourage diversification of public engagement, and increase the number of people with skills to facilitate public involvement. Finally, *Increasing public awareness and knowledge of the UK's archaeological heritage,* supports the development of digital solutions, resources and publications aimed at a non-academic audience. It also supports organizations who are working with finders of portable antiquities to act responsibly with finds and generally empowering the public stewardship of heritage based on local understanding (Council for British Archaeology 2016).

5.2 Aims of Policy, Politics and Funders

When attempting to interpret how the aims of policy, politics and funding affect public engagement it is important to look both at the stated aims of these stakeholders and the dominant views of heritage. This dominant thought pattern, of what heritage is, and the accepted way to talk, think, write and engage with it, is considered the 'authorised heritage discourse' (AHD) of the time (Smith 2006). Current critical analysis of the AHD suggests that the values and cultural symbols of the white, middle and upper classes are being privileged in England. This stresses the materiality of heritage, particularly monumentality, and values the authenticity of older objects (Waterton and Smith 2012:155). Local and intangible heritage is side-lined, and parameters are created for what is considered heritage. Although many individuals are working towards challenging the current AHD, the system at large often internalises and shuts down any attempts to change current thinking (Waterton and Smith 2012). Another consequence of this discourse is the creation of the idea that people who are "experts" in handling material heritage are the objective and professional stewards of the past, with the only valid knowledge and skills to do the job (Zimmerman 2000:72), which reduces the ability for multiple narratives to be engaged with.

The authority granted by the AHD is widespread, and it often frames heritage laws and policy within government. Historically, the AHD has been a comfortable system for governments to work in, because it represents the white, middle- and upper-class values that many members of parliament have. It also represents the good and grand of the national identity of England, making history aesthetically pleasing and unproblematic (Waterton and Smith 2012). The AHD can therefore be seen as an enduring and recursive loop in which heritage is communicated and which is both shaping and shaped by the heritage management process (Waterton and Smith 2012).

Interestingly, Merriman notes that this can easily lead to tension between the state and people as support on a higher level does not reflect the diversity of both the views and interests of the general public. The result is that the public is not satisfied with the archaeology on offer and thus seeks out different ways to engage with the past (Merriman 2004:2).

The question remains how much influence does the AHD have on the stated aims of the various governmental bodies who authorise and fund heritage initiatives. While these are not the specific aims of organizations who run public engagement programming, they are the organizations who manifest the AHD in this country.

5.2.1 Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport

Within England policy is set by the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and has been outlined in the Heritage Statement 2017. The UK government provides tax relief and incentives, as well as funding from the sale of National Lottery tickets, the UK City of Culture programme, and the promotion of UK heritage in general (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:6). In the foreword to the document, John Glen, the then Minister for Arts, Heritage and Tourism, iterates that heritage not only provides economic gains, but also ones for society through improving the lives and wellbeing of individuals (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:4). The drive of the document is to highlight how the government intends to draw the most out of these resources and to improve the offer of access to the public. One of the major themes of this report are concepts of place making and place shaping (see 7.2). It recognizes that heritage places are unique and the importance and atmosphere they generate is often connected to the people who live near them. It also acknowledges that heritage is best protected and the community benefits at their highest when local stakeholders are engaged with and encouraged to understand, appreciate and discover what is on their doorstep (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:16). The Great Place Scheme, funded by the HLF, and Heritage Action Zones, funded by EH, both aim to help local authorities integrate heritage into local planning as either an established or untapped resource that could be used in the future (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:12). The report re-iterates support for the important role that specialist advisors play in local planning authorities in helping to respond to the needs of communities and help establish the connections between local stakeholders (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:14). A priority is listed as the digitisation of heritage and historic environment records on both local and national levels to enable informed decision making for planning purposes and research for all (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:16). Another area of development includes the diversification both people visiting and those employed/volunteering on heritage sites. A wide range of programming is targeting young people, aged 16-24, those from minority, special needs, and underprivileged groups (identified as children receiving school meals) (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:19). Through programmes such as the Department for Education funded Heritage Schools and the HLF’s Young Roots, Kick in the Dust & Skills for the Future, more young people are being encouraged to connect with and see heritage more broadly as part of their lives (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:19-21). The report acknowledges that further work has to be done to improve access for disabled people and diversify the heritage workforce but notes that both HE and HLF have launched programming aimed to change this (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:22). Finally, the report suggests that heritage must be sustainable and look at ways to better measure the impact it has. It recommends the industry “draw on funding from a range of public and private sources and to collaborate across organisations to share skills and expertise and build capacity.” (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:29) as well as invest in digital technology. The Culture and Sport Evidence programme (CASE) is a partnership between the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, Arts Council England, Historic England and Sport England currently looking at Economic Valuation based assessments that will be robust enough for government to employ in valuation. The report accepts that the demand for funding far outstrips what is available, but encourages the sector to look beyond the usual sources and to consider the cross-disciplinary and general cultural funds available (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:29)

5.2.2 Historic England/English Heritage

In April 2015, Historic England and English Heritage formally became separate entities (See History). English Heritage, the charity arm responsible for managing the various historic assets, has set forward four priorities moving forward- Inspiration, Conservation, Involvement and Financial Sustainably (English Heritage 2019b). As EH is one of the largest charities involved in historic assets in the UK, it is useful to look at their aims regarding public engagement to get an idea of the tone being set on a national level. Two aspects of the listed aims, Inspiration and Involvement, are of interest to this research. Under inspiration, the aims are to:

1. Capture the nation's imagination with a handful of high profile, memorable new visitor experiences and conservation stories
2. Significantly improve our offer (i.e. access) across the board, through consistently excellent presentation, interpretation and visitor facilities
3. Draw on deep customer insight to build those experiences, which will give us strong local and national appeal
4. Develop our digital offer, making the most of new technologies to tell the story of England in vivid new ways and engage a wider public
5. Provide outstanding learning opportunities for all, whether they're visiting our sites, browsing online or reading our publications (English Heritage 2019b).

Under Involvement, English Heritage again has four aims:

1. Engage more supporters in shaping our offer
2. Create and publicise a greater range of volunteering opportunities
3. Involve more diverse staff and volunteers
4. Boost member engagement, particularly through visits to our sites
5. Build mutually-rewarding relationships with new and current partner organisations (English Heritage 2019b).

Both of these suggest that English Heritage aims to create a dialogue with the public to improve the current offer of access. The first aim of the Inspiration theme ties into the AHD, by suggesting that EH will continue to fund high profile monumental archaeology in order to captivate the public. Access will cover both physical access to sites, both as visitors and volunteers, but also intellectual access through online and digital activities. The idea is that EH will modernize facilities and use new technologies to engage. There is also a commitment to diversify the work and volunteer force.

The Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, commonly known as Historic England (HE), is the DCMS funded commission that essentially provides the policy and guidance on heritage sites in England. It aims to:

1. secure the preservation of ancient monuments and historic buildings
2. promote the preservation and enhancement of the character and appearance of Conservation Areas.
3. promote the public's enjoyment of, and advance their knowledge of, ancient monuments and historic buildings.(Historic England 2018:3)

As with EH, HE is challenging the authorised heritage discourse by engaging with more diverse audiences in order to better understand how local communities value their heritage. It is important to note that this engagement is tempered with a statement re-affirming HE's standards of protection and planning advice (Historic England 2018:4). The priority is still to protect, maintain, and develop the heritage of England for the benefit of current and future generations. The implication of these statements is that HE is factoring in the opinions and values of local communities.

In order to achieve these aims, HE has developed a Public Value Framework so that this remains at the centre of their work (Historic England 2018:30) and allows them to monitor the impact of current programmes (Historic England 2018:10).

5.2.3 The National Lottery Heritage Fund

The National Lottery Heritage Fund (HLF) is the largest dedicated source of heritage funding in England/UK. It distributes funds on behalf of its parent body, the National Heritage Memorial Fund, and is a non-departmental public body accountable to Parliament via DCMS. Importantly, decisions made by the HLF are independent of the government (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019b). The HLF operates across England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It currently has six key performance indicators which have been laid out in the *Strategic Funding Framework 2019-2024*. These are:

1. continue to bring heritage into better condition
2. inspire people to value heritage more
3. ensure that heritage is inclusive
4. support the organisations we fund to be more robust, enterprising and forward looking

5. demonstrate how heritage helps people and places to thrive
6. grow the contribution that heritage makes to the UK economy. (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019:14)

Several HLF policies affect public engagement. Smaller grants between £3000-£10,000 have been specifically designed to be accessible to community groups, who are actively encouraged to apply with projects of a local significance (National Heritage Lottery Fund 2019:27). Achieving a new inclusivity outcome of a wider range of people being involved in heritage is now required. As with HE, these are again identified as disabled people, young people, people from minority ethnic and LGBTQ+ communities and people from lower socio-economic backgrounds. The expectations of organizations receiving the larger grants are high and expects "….projects will offer credible and ambitious plans to reach audiences they know to be missing. Projects will be supported to exceed minimum standards for physical and intellectual accessibility." (National Heritage Lottery Fund 2019:28). There is also a requirement for funded organizations to state how they will involve the local community in development of initiatives (National Heritage Lottery Fund 2019:45).

As well as the key performance indicators listed above, the HLF has identified five UK wide "heritage campaigns" to focus on: Capacity building and organisational resilience, Digital capabilities, Wellbeing, Collections, and Place (National Heritage Lottery Fund 2019:34).

5.3 Aims of the Public

In many ways this is the proverbial million-pound question within public engagement: what does the public want? The crux of the issue is that the public is made up of individuals, all of whom will have different objectives and agency in terms of heritage and what they want from it. The only way in which the aims of the public can be assessed is by looking at them in meaningful groups, though caution muse be taken in how the public is grouped. In his seminal 1980 work, *The Nature of Social Worlds,* David Unruh coined the term "social world" to encapsulate the meaningful interactions of actors, events and practices within social groups for participants and form an "important unit of social organization for participants" (Unruh 1980:271–272). These groups are often united social actors by practices, procedure and perspectives to create a specific world view (Unruh 1980:272). He suggests that participants in the social world can have four different types of involvement based on their social proximity and knowledge of on-going functioning of a social world: strangers, tourists, regulars, and insiders. Strangers are individuals with little on-going commitment and a superficial involvement in a specific social world, but potentially a larger involvement in a related one. A prime example of this in maritime heritage would be a diver who is not interested in diving on heritage sites, but still through diving has a passing knowledge of wreck sites. Tourists are participants who are curious "they are committed to that world only insofar as it remains entertaining, profitable, or diversionary" (Unruh 1980:281). Examples of these would be people who participate in passive public engagement (see Chapter 2). Regulars are habitual participants who are significantly committed to a social world, in good times and in bad. These people would be participants in Active public engagement. Insiders are people whose involvement "encompasses the near total life-round, insider focus on creating and sustaining activities for other participants, recruiting new actors, and intimate knowledge of social world activities" (Unruh 1980:282). Understanding these different types of involvements is useful when looking at public engagement because it allows for a degree of differentiation. If you look at a maritime museum as a social world, the regular visitor to the science museum who comes in for an afternoon because the maritime museum is next door would be the stranger; Tourists would be a family visiting for a day; Regulars would be people with a membership; and Insiders would be volunteers. All these people are connected by the social world of the maritime museum, and yet what they expect from a visit and what they take away is markedly different.

Unruh finishes his paper by discussing how "All too often, people (indeed, classes and entire cohorts of people) are viewed as totally alienated and lonely because they lack involvement in formal organizations, rigidly defined voluntary organizations…and the like. A social world perspective is intended to counter this approach with an orientation on interactional quality and meaning at a number of levels" (Unruh 1980:291). Sometimes, the aims people have of engaging with heritage is purely to have fun. It is important to recognise the different levels of engagement within a social world and appreciate the different aims of the social actors.

The aims people have when they engage with heritage can be based on their social world within heritage or how they value it as an individual. Work in 2006 by English Heritage and the HLF on the public view of heritage value identified that the participants understood the intrinsic value of heritage, particularly in relation to knowledge and identity. They also understood the importance of protecting heritage and saw it as important to the identity, diversity and prosperity of a place (Historic England 2014:6). 74% of adults, an estimated 33 million, purposefully visited a heritage site in 2016/17 (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:11) and a great deal more benefited from the intrinsic social values of heritage as the historic environment is ubiquitous in the country (Historic England 2014:5).

5.4 Public Engagement Pedagogy and Design

The theories of how people engage with heritage relate to how people make connections with heritage and how archaeologists, as facilitators, allow that relationship to develop. In the 21st century, archaeologists are increasingly aware of the need to provide the public with access, both physical and intellectual, to their heritage. Archaeology has evolved into not only an interdisciplinary field, but also one that takes a more holistic approach to interpretation and acknowledgement of the value of different forms of heritage (John H Jameson Jr. and Scott-Ireton 2007:1). This is part of a broader global shift towards a knowledge-based economy that is reliant on interdisciplinary collaboration on complex and connected issues across many fields (Jameson Jr. 2014:6). It is also increasingly seen as the moral responsibility of archaeologists to disseminate the results of their work in ways that are suitable for non-academics to understand. Multiple groups and individuals are now seen as stakeholders in heritage, recognising the multifaceted historical, cultural, traditional and indigenous importance of heritage to different people (Jameson Jr. and Scott-Ireton 2007:8).

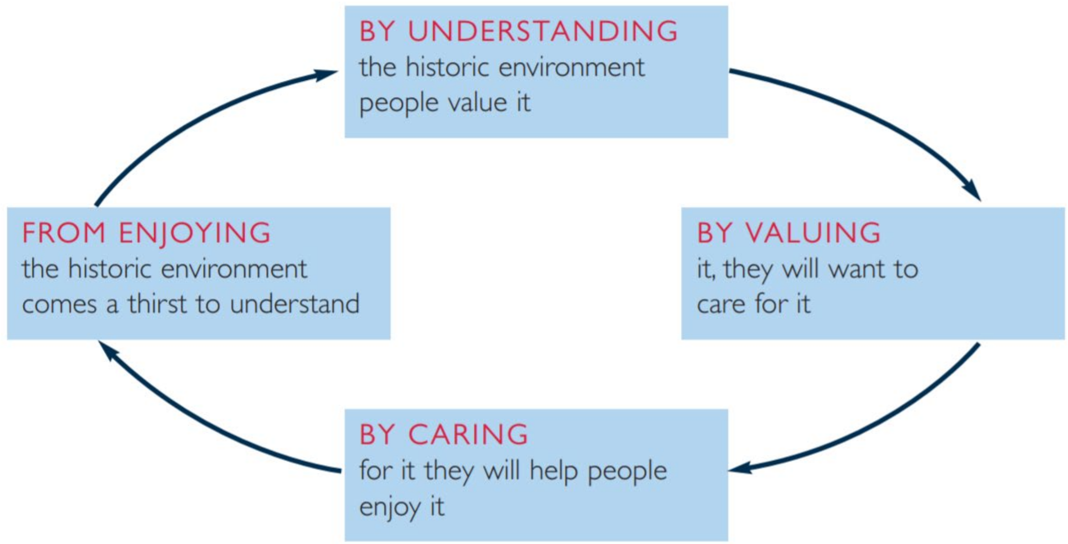

Figure 10 The Heritage Cycle © Thurley, S 2005

In 2005 English Heritage launched the *Making the Past Part of our Future* strategy, resulting in the creation of the heritage cycle (Figure 9). While nearly 15 years old, the heritage cycle still illustrates why heritage engagement is important in a multidimensional way and aptly shows the connections between understanding, valuing, enjoying and understanding heritage. It recognises that stakeholders can enter the cycle at any point and crucially does not raise one aspect above another. This cycle now greatly underpins public engagement programming. This missing aspect of the heritage cycle, which needs to sit in the middle of the circle, is awareness of heritage. Without this knowledge it is impossible for stakeholders to enter the cycle. This ties into the issues raised in 4.5.1 regarding the need for capacity building and limited knowledge capital within non-professional stakeholders.

Two models which relate to the purpose of engaging with the public are the deficit model and the multiple perspective model. The former came out of the 1982 Royal Society report, The Public Understanding of Science, and suggested that the there was a lack up uptake in science by the public in the UK. It was up to the scientists to make engagement more accessible (Merriman 2004:6). In terms of archaeology, this model has been interpreted as meaning that more education is needed so that the public recognises the importance of managing archaeological heritage and can differentiate between well researched and non-factual interpretations (McManamon 2000:6). This theory has been challenged, most notably by Cornelius Holtorf, who argued that what is the accepted interpretation can frequently change based on new information and that new opinions on narratives should by both professional and avocational archaeologists be welcomed and encouraged (Holtorf 2000:215). Merriman himself agrees that engaging with this concept is essential, and his multiple perspective model is based on the knowledge that people have agency, and despite the efforts of archaeologists the public will re-interpret, re-negotiate and re-appropriate heritage too fit their own agendas (Merriman 2004:7). This has led to the development of participatory/community archaeology, a term used to describe to process by which traditional archaeology and its included techniques are combined with different stakeholder knowledge with regards to the past and the current role that heritage plays (Jameson Jr. 2014:6).

Archaeology, it can be argued, is storytelling based on interpretations of material objects. The current trend in interpretation of archaeology reflects a desire to create a narrative which tells a story that enables better access, understanding and communication, which in turn allows the process of interpretation to be one that is both sharing and imparting of information (Jameson Jr. 2007). The writing of this narrative of archaeology begins long before pen is put to paper, beginning in the field, the lab and the museum (Joyce 2002:2) as heritage is interpreted by various people. Even the element involved in the process of archaeology are not really the beginning of the narrative of heritage as heritage has often remained relevant and been interpreted by the local community, of course, begin even further back with the relevance they play within the local community. Community archaeology is based on the concept that better archaeology happens when the diversity of local voices help interpret the past (Tully 2007:158). This is not to suggest that archaeological methods and scientific inquiry are to be pushed to the side, but rather to accept the importance of integrating research into society as a whole (Pardoe 1990:139). An outcome of this is a challenge to how the material and site may have been traditionally interpreted by professional stakeholders, both in terms of social and political situations and also to refute the authorised heritage discourse of the site. It is true that community archaeology is a difficult process, largely because of the persistent need for archaeologists to group people into communities based on current political or economic boundaries, as opposed to examining the social, historical and cultural systems (Pyburn 2009:166). Indeed, the community itself may not agree on the same narrative of the site, as communities are multifaceted, and dissenting voices are an essential inclusion in the process of interpretation (Tully 2007:158–59).

This is not to say that all interpretations of archaeology should be treated the same. Nick Merriman notes that a problem with this approach is “that it can overbalance into an uncritical celebration of all public engagement with archaeology, no matter what its content or political orientation may be” (Merriman 2004:7). It remains important to critically evaluate and examine the agency behind interpretations of all stakeholders, public, archaeologists and heritage managers alike.

David Nutley suggests that archaeologists aiming to facilitate other stakeholders working with heritage engage in a three-step process. The first is to identify the other stakeholders in the project and their aims, objectives and current projects. The second is to look at what the archaeologist can offer to support and compliment the stakeholders needs. The third is to pass on these resources in an appropriate way (Nutley 2007). While this way of looking at the facilitation process may initially seem slightly condescending, it involves the archaeologists looking for groups who are already stakeholders in heritage and offering support. If the aims and objectives of an already existing community project can be augmented by support from a heritage engagement initiative, then to not engage with the project and to instead create a similar one is akin to reinventing the wheel and potentially divides resources between the initiatives.

Design of public engagement programming is tied directly to these aims, coupled with various evaluation criteria to be discussed in 7.3. Most initiatives will have a target audience and a pedagogical aim, even if that audience is simply whomever shows up and the aim is project awareness. Often more specific targets and aims will be mandated by funding bodies. In general, there are some basic concepts initiatives consider when designing public engagement. In many cases, it should have a local focus to act as a hook for audiences. The project must be interesting to people who might not have an archaeological background. It should also make general points about the value and care of archaeological resources, talk about how they are a non-renewable resource and illustrate the differences between archaeological practices and treasure hunting. In general, projects should aim to incorporate a few basic messages (McManamon 2000: 12-13). Altamira Press (Allen 1995) suggests ten rules for how to communicate with a non-specialised audience.

1. Find a hook
2. Tell a story
3. Include yourself
4. Avoid jargon
5. Talk to a single reader
6. Names are important
7. Determine the data you need
8. Present the data visually
9. Emphasise theory and methods
10. Always think audience (Allen 1995)

From personal experience in designing the BSMAP roadshow, following these ten rules allow for a solid public engagement initiative to be created. The nature of the hook can be either an aspect of the heritage or the interpretation that you have. For BSMAP, the hook was a combination of hands on activities targeted at younger children and technology in the form of 3D prints & VR shipwreck experiences for older children and adults. By staffing the exhibit with archaeologists who had worked on the project, the stories and personal connections of the archaeologists became one of the highlights of the exhibit.

People develop connections to maritime heritage in a wide variety of ways. These can include engagement with one of the many forms of active or passive initiatives offered by the heritage community (see Chapter 2) or in a more social form (see Chapter 4 & Chapter 7).

Broadly speaking, people form connections with heritage in three ways: emotionally, physically or personally. There may be aspects of all three forms, which create a stronger connection. These play into the work by Smith and Campbell on 'registers of engagement', where they observe a wide range of responses to heritage and intensity of those responses (Smith and Campbell 2015:3).

An emotional connection is often brought about by seeing a piece of heritage related to a highly evocative event. Examples of this would be seeing a piece of one of the 9-11 towers or the Berlin Wall or the site of Auschwitz-Birkenau (McDowell 2008:43). These types of emotional connections are very social in nature, in that they often represent the general ideological thought on a particular aspect of heritage/ historical event (McDowell 2008). A person reacts to the above artefacts and sites because they are socially conditioned to have a certain reaction to them. Emotional connections are also contextual, with reactions sometimes immediate, sometimes delayed, and represent "…a complex interaction of place/exhibition, personal agency and social and cultural context."(Smith and Campbell 2015:4).

A physical connection is formed through visiting a site or handling an object. Many engagement initiatives have recognised this and create a handling collection for the public to interact with and place an emphasis on providing access to a site (Chapter 2). Objects are a physical, solid presence that takes up space near a person and through this immediacy they help to make connections between ideas being presented and the objects themselves (Wood and Latham 2016:174). Physical connections are aided by the senses, sight, touch, smell, taste and sound which combine to give objects a stronger resonance to people (Wood and Latham 2016:176). Site visits allow people to engage all five senses.

A personal connection is always unique as it is influenced by the sum total experiences and knowledge of personal heritage that an individual has, their individual biography and sense of identity (Crick 2009:77). Examples of a personal connection to heritage would be seeing a regimental logo of a relation who fought in a war, immigrants or diasporas returning to homeland (Timothy 2011:407) and seeing a childhood toy in a museum. Sometimes people interact with heritage specifically because they know or anticipate they have a personal connection to it, but the beauty of this form of connection is that it has a serendipitous ability to appear in unanticipated places. A great deal of these connections relies on knowledge of self and personal history, which can be formed through more formal personal inquiries such a genealogical research or passive knowledge such as memory or oral history.

How people make these connections with heritage is also informed by the scope of their engagement. Firth suggests three different modes of engagement: Participants; visitors; and inhabitants. Participants are highly and persistently engaged, visitors have occasional but deep engagement, and inhabitants experience heritage through living or working in the environment (Firth 2015:21). These categories are useful for understanding the context in which people engage and connect with heritage. It is also useful to recognise that people cannot and will not connect with heritage in the same way, as they are interacting with it on different levels.

5.5 Summary and Theme Discussion

Broadly speaking, the stakeholders within heritage can be divided into three groups (Public, Professional and Politician-policy maker) who in turn can have different ways of valuing culture (Intrinsic, Instrumental & Institutional). Unsurprisingly, these differences have the potential to cause a disconnect in the aims of these groups.

The professionals, in this case represented by archaeologists, have three aims: to interpret the past for the benefit of all, to ensure these benefits are recognised by policymakers/politicians, and to influence the public's perception of heritage. They must strike a balance between preserving heritage, facilitating public access & encouraging multiple interpretations based authentic on local knowledge. Public engagement and access is highly supported by both the CBA and CiFA.

Traditionally the AHD has dictated that upper class white narratives be prominent in heritage initiatives. This attitude is changing as DCMS, HLF & HE/EH have all put forward policy targeting disenfranchised audiences, youth, and local perspectives on heritage. They also all recommend increased access to heritage, improved dialogue with the public and are focusing on the social value of heritage (see 7.4).

The public aims of engaging with heritage are very much dependant on the public themselves. Firth suggests that how the public engages with heritage depends on their connection to sites. The public can be either a Visitor, a Participant or an Inhabitant. The heritage cycle (Figure 10) illustrates the cyclical nature of how by valuing, caring for, enjoying and understanding heritage people will feel a greater connection and value to it. Whereas historically Professionals assumed that the public has a deficit of knowledge and simply had to be told what heritage was, the multiple perspective model suggests that the public knowledge of heritage and how we value it is ever changing. People have agency and it will be used to re-interpret what is presented to fit their needs.

Current trends in public engagement focus on creating narratives which allow the public to access and interpret ideas. Engaging with established stakeholder groups through community archaeology and allows for narratives to be based on stakeholder knowledge. Critically, while Professionals must encourage and facilitate these connections they must also critically examine and evaluate the agency behind these interpretations.

Design of public engagement is largely based on three concepts: know your audience, know your messages, and encourage connections. Connections can be formed on either an emotional, personal or physical level.

5.6 Interview Summaries

These summaries have primarily been drawn from participants answers to the following questions:

1. How do you design engagement initiatives?
2. How are the practicalities (national interest, targeting audiences, funding & staffing) affecting aims & delivery of public programming?
3. How do you think engagement programming has changed since you became involved in it?
4. How do you think the messages being delivered by public access initiatives are being perceived/received?
5. Do you feel that the public is willing and interested in engaging with maritime heritage?

The interview themes aim to understand how public engagement tries to meet the aims of the public, archaeology and policy makers as stakeholders and how the participants believe messages in programmes created are being received. Questions relating to the aims and relationship to heritage of the participants will be covered in Chapter 6, with the links between the two chapters discussed in Chapter 8. The first two questions seek answers to the more practical side of public engagement, the design of initiatives and how the aims and external pressures of other stakeholders impact this design. The third question invites participants to reflect of the changes that have observed in public engagement programming since they began in the field. I am particularly interested in knowing if the participants believe that things have improved & the impact of technology on engagement. The final two questions connect with the perception of the impact of engagement on the public and the willingness of the public to engage.

A full transcript of each interview is available as Appendix F-R, with quotes referenced as the appendix number and question number. The following is a summary of the key points from each interview.

5.6.1 Black Sea MAP

CA believes that it is important to connect with and use partners in public engagement. A project must be soundly planned to ensure that it's realistic to achieve the aims of everyone involved. "I think people sometimes underestimate the amount of energy and effort required in connecting with an audience." (Appendix F Q9), which sometimes leave organizations unable to achieve their aims because the audience they want isn't waiting for them. Time is needed to develop links with the audience to understand their needs and what will impact them the most. It's also important to make sure you have the right staff so that they can really understand the needs of the audience. Funding is a limiting factor and controls the scope of engagement.

Heritage engagement has changed from a deficit model to one of working in partnership with people. Engagement is now a two-way system between scientists and the public, and the aim to create a dialogue and allow the public to become involved and develop new skills.

The aims of the BSMAP project was to use maritime archaeology to get the young people involved to think "… about their life choices and their thoughts about continuing on in higher education or in their careers" (Appendix F Q3). Evaluation on the project suggested that scholars found the experience life changing.

RM designs projects with logic models, such as theory of change, to think about the outcomes you want and work backwards from that. There is a need to know what inputs are needed to create the outputs to achieve the aims of everyone involved. It is important to be flexible and keep everyone relevant involved in the process. Money has a huge impact on public engagement, because not only does money fund the activities but it also funds the people to facilitate and design them.

She believes that messages will have different impacts and evoke different responses in individuals. Because of that, it is important to try and understand what changes have happened in a quantifiable way. Some people may be very enthusiastic but only have a minor change, others may be quiet but have a major change. By evaluating it's possible to better understand if you are engaging with hard to reach audiences.

DB believes that building the relationship between the archaeologists and the filmmakers at the beginning of the filming process is essential to the type of engagement through film you get at the end. "Now I'm working really hard the find the narrative, to do what storytellers really want to do which is to put people through highs and lows and build to a fantastic conclusion…. That's our story: it's a quest and bingo they've got it" (Appendix H Q4). It was essential to create an environment where the scientists could trust the filmmakers to not make a soap opera, but instead focus on the pressures, joy, and achievement in the process. The fact that the project was funded for four years meant that the documentary could have depth to it "and the deeper you go into a story, the deeper you understand it and the deeper you understand the human characters and qualities of those people. The greater the sense of trust that is developed and the greatest sense of collaboration and teamwork." (Appendix H Q8).

5.6.2 Maritime Archaeology Trust

SF tries to start project development with a clean slate and uses the subject matter as a starting point. He occasionally has come into a project when he can tell the design has been recycled and is not keen on that approach as he feels each new project represents an opportunity to try new ideas. Both JNS and JOE workshop and collaboratively brainstorm the activities they do. JNS believes that trying to create things in isolation can be difficult, but SF believes that it gives you the opportunity to be more creative.

Funding has a massive impact on everything. SF says that MAT was at the time undertaking a WW1 project because a pot of money had been created for the centenary of the war and the public interest was at an all-time high. JNS agrees that the funding filters down to every aspect of a project, from what material can be offered to how many staff can be sent for delivery. As Joe states "The kind of organisation that we are working in, the practicalities affect everything. We work on every detail of this, national interest which affects the funding which filters down to staffing and everything. It changes how we deliver everything."

JNS believes that it is not so much that heritage engagement has changed but how the individuals working in heritage engagement have changed. SF expanded on that by saying that each aspect of a public engagement project is heavily influenced by the characteristics of the person working on it. Both agree that the impact of digital technologies has been huge on engagement, with things like Facebook and 3D modelling now being standard outputs.

Both JNS and SF believe that the public doesn't realise they are interested in maritime archaeology, but once they are engaged with the subject they are fascinated. In terms of ways of engagement, SF believes that formal engagement creates more change but JNS argues that this is because the audience he deals with is adults and so want more formal engagement. Because she deals with children she believes in stealth engagement, where the participants don't always know they are acquiring knowledge. Both agree that the scale of the message and method of engagement needs to be different for each audience, as evidenced by the good-natured argument between them on the benefits of the maritime bus vs. more formal engagement. JOE interjects that he believes they are both talking about different stages of the same process, with people starting out visiting the bus with zero knowledge and then progressing upwards to wanting to attend more formal sessions. "So I think that we can't say one activity is deeper than another one but this is a process and it's a process that begins depending on the public." (Appendix I Q6).

JOE believes that the messages are being delivered but it is important to remember that the public doesn't live in a bubble and they are receiving many other messages. JNS agrees that while they have the public, they are receptive to what Professionals are saying, but the lasting impact is difficult to gauge unless there are repeat visits like to a school. Many of the interactions with the public are fleeting. Despite this, all three participants don't believe we are wasting our time. Any time spent talking to a maritime archaeologist will change the perception the public has of the field. SF states that even if the public doesn't remember a single fact, the attitudes they have will be changed.

AB1 says that the process of designing public engagement programming begins with finding a funding stream that is compatible with a message MAT wants to deliver and then working within their framework. The design is often collaborative, with the combined knowledge of what worked and what did not work on previous projects helping steer the design. Smaller projects can be done by individuals, but larger projects will involve many members of the team.

Again, the root of everything is funding. Funding is generally on a project by project basis, and often linked to the aims and target audiences of the funders as well what the current national interest is. Because of the short-term nature of funding, between six months and four years, it is difficult to retain staff because they are often looking for work as a project is ending and before funding has been found for the next project. She believes that there are now fewer funding streams and more people competing for the same money, meaning some activities aren't funded and some experienced staff people have left. Certain demographics are willing and interesting in engaging with maritime heritage, but many hard to reach audiences exist.

5.6.3 CITiZAN & Thames Discovery Programme

LT says that funding is tricky, because the amount of reporting involved means that you are not able to spend all of your time delivering programming. The reporting is essential to ensuring that the money is being well spent to deliver the aims. Target audiences are stressful because the group is often hard to reach. For CITiZAN the target was to engage with under 25s, but also to create long term monitoring groups. The issue is that under 25s are not usually geographically stable and so long term monitoring isn't viable. It would be easier to work with retired people, however that is already a highly engaged group. It is important not to have too many target groups because that can restrict your engagement, but you have to look out for ways to engage with young people.

AB2 believes that having a younger target audience is a nice opportunity to engage with a group, particularly young people from deprived backgrounds who live near the sea but don't engage with it.

EW states that the practicalities of public engagement have a massive effect on what can be delivered. When TDP started it was HLF funded and had four fulltime staff, but now he feels they are just firefighting. MOLA underwrites the current, smaller version of the project. There is more demand then what can be delivered, with more people wanting to do the training course then can be accommodated. But there is no funding to run more courses. Public engagement has changed because now of the ability to use technology to disseminate data. He wonders if digital is the way forward, because it is better then nothing. Projects like TDP create a way for ordinary people to become involved, and that is another shift in public engagement. Public engagement now looks at alternative audiences which are hard to engage with, such a TDP's guided tours of the foreshore for blind people.

EW does not believe that enough messages are getting out to the public, "…but I think we are doing out damnedest." (Appendix M Q7). TDP are increasingly using social media and the internet to get messages out, and it is working because of the waiting list to train people. But as mentioned above, there is no capacity to do so.

5.6.4 Nautical Archaeology Society

MBE acknowledges that money is very tight at NAS because the training programme has to pay for itself and the membership has to pay for NAS. This means that the number of staff is reliant on numbers of participants on both projects. There is rarely a surplus to be able to offer outreach activities for free and so the costs associated with designing and delivering public engagement must be made up somehow. Even if the activity is delivered by a volunteer there is still overhead costs associated with it. It is very difficult to break even or make a small surplus every year. Public engagement is seen by some as a necessary evil to get funding, and if you want the funding you have to meet the aims of the funding bodies and produce something that shows them in a good light. It is impossible to get funding for something that must remain secret. He believes that NAS is lucky because it has things like the IJNA and training programme which can keep it afloat and are not related to grants. NAS is aiming to be almost entirely off grants because that "…gives you a bit of freedom, it's a weight off your shoulder, you are not then struggling to get that next grant to pay that persons salary, that pays their mortgage because they are relying on you to keep them employed." (Appendix K Q12). Public engagement has never been easy to do in his career, with many mitigating issues despite grant programmes require it as part of the funding package. Historically, archaeologists would do formal lectures, and informal ones down at the pub, and materials would go into museums. He doesn't believe that some of the older members of NAS even know what the term outreach means because it was something you just did. He rather suspects that most archaeologists would rather just do research and public engagement has become a necessary evil to get the funding. Ultimately, no one will fund a project where things must be kept secret because it will not generate any social benefits.

The NAS training programme is run on core modules, which PK tries to schedule at different times and geographic locations so that more people can attend. There are also speciality courses that are dependent on what the public interest is at the time, what NAS has grants for and sites that have been recommended to them. She also designs programming for different engagement levels, from the public to university students. NAS tries to be flexible and reactive to what it offers, so it can deal with requests from dive clubs and other organizations. Again, funding has a huge impact on what can be offered. Although the courses are funded by participants, a course can lose money if there aren't enough participants. Archaeological interests as opposed to national interests tend to affect what is offered, for instance photogrammetry is popular now. The target audience right now is both the general public and professionals/students who would be looking for either general awareness or training. Staffing is always an issue, with NAS volunteers and contractors filling in gaps.

She believes that for messages to be effective they must be clear, which isn't always the case. She talks about working with PADI to develop the Wreck Detective course, but then to be confronted by someone from another country who felt the word detective with synonymous with treasure hunter. This serves as an example of how the use of language can be so important and how careful you have to be with messages. The public is willing and interested in being engaged, but there are barriers such as finances and geography. This interest is largely because there is an overwhelming fascination with the unknown aspects of submerged sites. That can be advantageous to use, but also makes it difficult for people to see and understand what maritime archaeologists do in this context.

5.6.5 Royal Museum Greenwich

For JL, both the messages to be delivered and the practicalities of public engagement centre around the *Cutty Sark.* The focus on messages are that the ship was not a warship or a pirate ship and it is not a replica. These messages are essential to helping represent the ship and increase ticket sales, which in turn help with ongoing conservation of the vessel. The practicalities are primarily related to the museum being a grade 1 listed building and a ship, which is first a foremost the concern of the staff. This dictates how people can have access to the ship itself. Parts of the museum are open air and so weather affects visitor numbers. Again, it is important that finances are robust enough to maintain the ship. The vast majority of the public engagement is done by freelance staff, though employees do the school-based courses. Volunteers are also essential for delivery. The public engagement is entirely dependent on the funds available. In the ten years she has worked for *Cutty Sark* public engagement has changed a great deal. When she began it was people dressing up as old sea hands, and while that still happens the people who do it now have more training and capabilities. A new school programme has developed, more space is now available under the ship & social media is expanding the reach of the museum.

There are both benefits and drawbacks to being a ship-based museum. There is no space to have a museum alongside the ship and so the environmental factors impact what can be displayed. Because of that the staff have to be flexible about what is onboard and really use the tactile nature of the ship to facilitate engagement. Visitors are encouraged to touch the ship and learn skills through immersive activities while onboard.

KC begins designing programmes by looking at the themes that are developing across all the galleries that would be good for families to explore. Key objects are then selected, and workshop activities are designed to encourage families to go out and see the key objects and explore the rest of the museum. This has evolved into creating visitor trails with additional activities linked to the workshops. Festivals and pop-up workshops tend to be linked to special themes, for instance wellbeing because of funding available from the borough of Greenwich.

Practicalities have a huge impact on what public engagement is offered. The previous year plastic use had been in the news and so the museum did something for World Oceans day to try and attract a different audience and start a new dialogue. Funding comes with success and so it is important to target the right audience for activities. Staffing is a major issue because as big events get full to capacity they should be spread over two days, but that would double the costs of running them because of staff costs. Although working to overcome these issues generates more creative solutions, at a certain point a limit is reached. The key is to try and work with partnership to spread the load a little. There has been an increase in recent years on learning as a family as opposed to children and adults separately, essentially on intergenerational learning. There has also been an increase in valuing outsider community stakeholders time, an example of which is volunteers getting reimbursed for travel costs, which has led to a stronger relationship between the museum and these groups.

At a basic level she believes there is an interest from the public in maritime heritage because people do visit the museum, but the NMMG is an imposing building with a grand title. There is a need for more local people to know what the scope of museum is and help people identify with it on a local level. She thinks we have arrived at this point through a lot of trial and error, with people working a lot harder to identify what groups are not visiting the museum and trying to engage with them. Having different types of programming encourages different audiences and different conversations about the interests the public has.

MBF explains that the learning and interpretation strategy at NMM is a living document that is constantly being commented on by staff. “As a department we are all encouraged to use it as a criteria for how we work. Are we including multiple perspectives? Does it include collaboration? Is it inclusive? All the different points that are in our learning and interpretation strategy, that's how we really do our work” (Appendix P Q9). The department is also using Generic Learning Outcomes because they are easy to use and very much encapsulate what the museum is trying to do. It is important not to stretch yourself too thin and try to do all the categories and all the types of engagement on one project. The aims and objectives of a programme must be decided and then a programme created that allows people to engage and learn in different ways. This allows people to both dip in and out of programmes but also to progress through them different offers to develop a more holistic understanding.

The HLF and other funding bodies have a huge sway over the practicalities of public engagement, but they also have a huge amount of research to back what they are saying. She views them as critical friends who “…have supported a lot of our innovations, but they also have been very critical if they thought that we had pushed things too far or needed to be more radical in our approach.” (Appendix P Q10). Having the HLF onboard with major projects and funding has allowed for the learning and interpretation department to advocate for audience to be at the centre for the gallery development.

MBF recognises that historically, the NMMG sent out a message celebrating white admiralty heroes and the upper class. Only certain people found that interesting and many people found it very offensive. The museum recognised this and used the development of four new galleries to engage with new audiences, change how maritime heritage was being presented, and redefine the message of what maritime heritage was. This has radically changed the public perception of the museum.

She believes there has been a massive shift in the mentality of museums away from the thinking of if you build it they will come. The messages, engagement programming and collection practices were all homogenous largely because the people who worked in museums all came from the same socio-economic background. This led to a huge number of people and communities not being represented in the museum. Thankfully this has now changed in the last 20-30 years and the museum has become much more proactive at including other narratives. The focus is now on building a collaborative relationship with communities which "…brings in new perspectives and that brings new audiences" (Appendix P Q6).

5.6.6 Dockhouse 4

CBS begins designing public engagement by looking at her environment and the messages the project wants to deliver. Her main tactic is "…to employ learning by stealth, which is someone having a good time and doing something and through their actions they are learning." (Appendix R Q9) It is always best to tie public engagement into something that is popular in the media at the time.

She feels that sometimes programming can be targeted at the wrong project. The current Boathouse 4 apprenticeship scheme is designed for young people from a deprived background, aged 16-25, with an emphasis on recovering addicts. But the problem, she says, is that many of the recovering addicts spent that age bracket being addicts. It's only now in their 30's and 40's that they want a trade. There are lots of programmes targeting the younger audience and they have more options.

There has been a huge change in public engagement because of the HLF and the aims it has. It is a huge pot of money and most of the public engagement currently happening wouldn't be if it didn't exist, because HLF deliverables are so community and public focused. This has forced the heritage industry to be more proactive in engaging with the public to survive. Public engagement has become a lot more technology driven since she began, particularly using AV and visuals to engage. She worries that the industry has become too reliant on it and struggles to keep pace with the expectations of a younger audience who is tapped into the digital market. Some people do not want to learn through a touch screen, they want to learn by tying a rope.

She believes people don’t know they want to engage with maritime heritage because they can’t really see most of. It’s usually possible to visit a castle, but not a submerged site. There are many ways maritime heritage can be interpreted, often depending on the resources that an initiative has. Some initiatives will do practical hands on activities and others will do AV and media based, which means there is a way for everyone to have access to the message being delivered. The issue is that maybe people aren’t able to see all the different ways of engagement and interact with the one that works for them. Simple messages are the most memorable ones, with dates and figures often becoming lost information to people.

5.7 Theme Analysis

It is abundantly clear from the answer to these questions that participants are aware of the impact that stakeholder groups have within public engagement. When asked how they designed engagement initiatives the most common statement was that before design begins there is a need to identify the aims of stakeholders (CA, RM, DB, AB1, MBF). Following on from that there was a recognised need to work with stakeholder partners in both the professional and public spheres (CA, DB, KC, MBF). Beyond understanding the aims of the stakeholder groups, identifying the messages that are going to be delivered (KC & CBS) before beginning is hugely important. This becomes particularly relevant for evaluation purposes (see Chapter 7).

Several participants cited the use of logic models (RM, MBF) as essential for designing heritage engagement (See Chapter 6). Many participants design public engagement collaboratively (JOE, JNS, AB1, MBF), though SF believes it is easier to be creative if you work independently at key points in the process. It is important that the public has different ways of engaging with a project so that more audiences and learning preferences can be targeted (JL, AB1, JOE, CBS). Participants expressed preferences for a wide range of engagement, from formal lectures (SF) to more education by stealth (JNS, CBS & KC). The use of stories (RM, AB1, JL, PK, MBF & DB) and creating connections to heritage (KC, PK & JNS) are mentioned as ways of engaging the public and hooking them in.

Funding is having a massive effect on the aims and delivery of public engagement, controlling virtually every aspect of initiatives (JNS, SF, JOE, RM, AB1, EW, MBE). The most common aspect that funding is cited as controlling is the scope of the activities, including the themes and target audiences (CA, RM, JNS, AB1, EW, MBE, JL, MBF, CBS). Funding also quite obviously controls the number of staff (RM, JNS, AB1, EW, MBE, PK, JL, KC), which in turn effects the amount of engagement that can be offered. The control by funding bodies is not necessarily negative, as MBF speaks warmly of the HLF and of how their backing gave her department more clout to put audience first is a major redevelopment.

Working with target audiences selected by other stakeholder can cause difficulties (CA, LT, KC, CBS). Many of these target audiences are ones who have been identified as having limited natural knowledge capital and engagement with maritime heritage, sometimes through genuine disenfranchisement but also through lack of opportunities. However, participants noted that sometime the target audiences requested by other stakeholders are not appropriate for the wider aims of the project.

This ties into understanding the interests of the public as a stakeholder group. There is no point in doing a project if no one will attend (PK & CBS) and so both the national and popular interests control what is funded and what is offered (SF, PK, KC). National interests include broader social aspects such as wellbeing initiatives but also specific events such as WW1 commemoration. Popular subjects range from specific developments in aspects of maritime archaeology such as photogrammetry or more broad social issues such as plastic waste.

As MBE notes, public engagement has never been easy but has always been around in one form or another. The formalization of the process has pushed archaeologists to engage with audiences, but also dictates that the projects funded have to include audiences. Some of the archaeology found on the philanthropist funded BSMAP project benefited from being able to be kept confidential. As PK says in a later answer, archaeology is a non-renewable resource and sometimes needs to be prioritised. This is certainly true in the case of the conservation needs of the *Cutty Sark*, which form a unique set of practicalities for LJ. The requirements of a heritage ship outweigh practically everything and dictate all aspects of public engagement. In this case, the staff must walk a fine line between allowing the paying public access to a ship in a way that is engaging but also protecting a valuable cultural asset.

The biggest noted change in engagement programming was the increased use of technology as a tool for dissemination (DB, JNS, SF, EW, JL, CBS). This is not hugely surprising given the rise of technology and social media in heritage management and society in general in the past ten years. There has also been a change in how professionals are relating to the public, with several participants (CA, MBF, CBS) discussing a change from a deficit model of learning to a partnership that emphasises a dialogue between the public and archaeologists (RM & JOE). KC & LT have noted an increase in intergenerational learning, with more families fully engaging with projects.

Only one participant, AB1, believes that the situation has gotten worse. She cites less funding and more people working on public engagement projects as making it more difficult for MAT.

Most participants believe that a major stumbling block is the lack of public knowledge capital on maritime heritage, which means that that public doesn’t even know they are interested in the subject (SF, JNS, AB1, KC, CBS). One participant, EW, believed that not enough messages are getting out to the public. Because of this the priority now is to engage with alternative audiences (EW, AB2, LT, KC, MBF) while not alienating the current audience. This is done by ensuring that a clear message is being delivered (PK, JL, CBS) and the right engagement is being targeted at the audience in question (JNS, SF, KC, CBS). Public engagement is viewed by some as a process, with the public able to dip in and out at various levels of engagement (JOE, JL, KC).

In order to understand if the messages being delivered are being perceived and received it is imperative to evaluate public engagement programming to understand impact (CA, JNS) (see Chapter 7). It is important to recognise that increasing the knowledge capital of maritime heritage might not be the aim of some programming and that the subject can be a vehicle to change people’s cultural capital (CA,RM & MBF).

Chapter 6 Messengers

The role of the messenger, the person or institution who facilitates and communicates the aims of heritage to a wider audience, is held by a wide array of stakeholders. While "…we need effective messages delivered effectively by dedicated messengers" (McManamon 2000:26), the historic perception that interpretation should be initiated and controlled by formally trained heritage managers is an idea of the past (Nutley 2007:33).

Indeed, the people who are interviewed as part of this research encompass educators, archaeologists, and film-makers. The benefits to archaeologists working in tandem with other educational stakeholders are the same as when archaeologists work with the public in interpreting heritage resources, a richer interpretation that provides more access points to interested parties. "Archaeologists knowledge about the kinds of archaeological subjects that are of most interest to the public, how well the public understands archaeological interpretations and most other aspects of the public's understanding of archaeology, is practically non-existent" (McManamon 2000:11), as while archaeologists have made it their business to explore and understand the past their perspectives are unavoidably personal.

In 2017 the CIfA Voluntary and Community Archaeology Group undertook a survey of 138 respondents to better understand who was working within community archaeology, create a profile of the profession, better understand the needs of the profession in terms of training and support and ultimately determine how the group could better support and promote best practice in community archaeology across the UK (Brown et al. 2018:3–4). The highest number of respondents worked in a professional capacity with community/volunteer groups (49%), but second to them were people who worked in a voluntary capacity (18.7%) or were a member of a community/voluntary group (19.4%). This is not a big surprise to anyone who works in community archaeology or with avocational groups and it "…reinforces the perception that community archaeology, and the role of individual community archaeologists, is varied and can be difficult to define" (Brown et al. 2018:6). This section will look at four key messengers in public engagement with heritage, archaeologists, museums, volunteers and media, to better understand what role they play in communicating the aims of heritage.

6.1 Role of the Professional/Archaeologist

The roles of the archaeologist in the process of heritage management is ever evolving. Whereas it was once acceptable to simply allow the wider public to view artefacts, this is no longer ideologically acceptable as archaeologist embrace the wider value of their work (See Chapter 7). Broadly speaking, the role of the archaeologist remains the same. The aim "…is to discover the fabric of everyday life in the past and to apply this knowledge in seeking a greater understanding of the broader historical development of societies. We use archaeology to sharpen our focus on the past and to help explain how we have arrived at the present, and even to project into the future" (Jameson Jr. 2007:9). But how archaeologists fit themselves into the modern framework of heritage has required a change of mind set and for the newer generations of archaeologists to come down from the proverbial ivory tower and become one of many stakeholders within heritage. While not all archaeologists or archaeological projects can engage with the public to the level of community archaeology, it remains important for projects to acknowledge that in the majority the work is for the benefit of the public.

As examined in Chapter 5, how we have engaged with the public is closely related to governmental policy, developments in technology, and the ideological changes within the field itself. Archaeologists have increasingly moved beyond the role of gatekeeper and recognised that other stakeholders must be provided access in order to accomplish broader preservation and interpretation goals (McManamon 2000:5). How archaeologists fit themselves into the modern framework of heritage has required a change of mind set and for the newer generations of archaeologists to understand the importance of considering multiple and local interpretations of heritage. McManamon argues that for too long archaeologists have been both arrogant and myopic in their inattention to the importance of public engagement and that more professional energy should be directed towards it (McManamon 2000:5-6).

It is important to bear in mind that archaeologists themselves are stakeholders in the process of heritage management, allied “to the integrity of the archaeological deposits” (Pyburn 2009:167). Archaeologists are a community, and for many years work was geared towards accomplishing the heritage goals that the community has set in terms of excavation and understanding of the past (Agbe-Davies 2010:374). The collective interest of archaeologists is understanding and preserving archaeological data. This education and training means that archaeologists have collective interests and biases towards heritage, just as every other stakeholder does, and it is important that this is acknowledged when thinking of the role we play (Pyburn 2009:167–68). Likewise, we must acknowledge that heritage management is strongly biased towards a western philosophical system. World Heritage Site, National Park, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) are all products of this system, and many people in charge of heritage sites are Western or Western trained (Jameson Jr. 2007:10). The challenge, Jameson Jr. stresses, is for archaeologists to accept that we are functioning in a climate which requires navigation of political, philosophical, economic forces in a time of dwindling financial support and to arm themselves with the required knowledge, skills and abilities to deal with these issues (Jameson Jr. 2007:10).

Why archaeologists chose to involve the public is down to the individual person, and it is important to recognise that, like in every field, not all archaeologists are well suited to work in public engagement. That’s ok. Many archaeologists do public engagement without realising they are doing it, as how we engage with the public has expanded massively to include a range of activities beyond the stereotypical. It is often possible for people involved in projects to find someone else within the initiative to lead the engagement aspect thereby relegating their actual involvement to a supportive role. The key is for all archaeologists to value and understand the importance of public engagement work, even if they are not involved themselves.

Waterton and Smith note that, in general, most heritage professionals and policymakers do so because it makes them feel good about the work they do and because the social and political rhetoric suggests that it is the right thing to do (Waterton and Smith 2010:8). For some archaeologists this engagement is still limited to telling the public about the finds and perhaps arranging a few site tours. However, I would argue that the potential role for the archaeologist is much more interesting than simply interpreting material. If archaeologists move beyond often colonial attitudes to the public, i.e. beyond the desire to "teach" or "help" people, then the archaeologist becomes both a facilitator and ethnographer. The likelihood of the former being viewed as condescending is high, whereas the latter evokes more of a notion of shared heritage (Pyburn 2009:165). The latter involves accepting multiple narratives, community archaeology, ethnographic methodologies and participatory action research skills as a part of the tool-kit used when engaging with the public. By adopting both roles in working with other stakeholders on a project, archaeologists stand to learn a great deal more about the context of the heritage they are working with and improve how it is represented within the broader narrative of history.

6.2 Role of Museums

Traditionally, museums have had a very traditional and mono-dimensional way of looking at learning. Learning was acquiring facts and information in a remarkably unquestioning way (Hooper-Greenhill 2004:156), primarily through viewing artefacts. There was an explicit imbalance of power in the relationship between curators and the public, with the interpretations of the public ignored.

The curation aspect of museum displays allows for those presenting artefacts to put across the messages they believe are important. Maritime museums are primarily concerned with the definition of identity, both through showing prevailing political ideologies and the development of individual identity through the concept of "life as a journey" (Hicks 2001:160). Historically, maritime museums have been criticized for having both elitist and narrow views of the past, focusing on naval histories and sea-borne conflict (Day and Lunn 2003:290–291). It should be noted that this criticism has not been limited to maritime museums, with Merriman stating that the problem went beyond the heritage that was represented and into the educated, upper class employees of museums who's views influenced museum practices from collecting to engagement initiatives (Merriman 2000:5). Within the maritime museum context this is largely because many maritime museums were founded to preserve ships, particularly after wars (Hicks 2001:162). This representation has been challenged in the last twenty years with the recognition that maritime heritage needs to be presented as part of the social history of the world and has a huge advantage over many other history museums as it is connected with a huge range of activities, including smaller pre-industrial vessels (Hicks 2001:161–162). It now looks not only at the lives of captains and military battles, but at how people have historically interacted with the sea (Day and Lunn 2003:290). The stories that are being told are still curated, but they are now more accessible to the public because it is easier for them to connect with the social stories being told. Maritime museums often target the nostalgic feelings that people have about the sea but "…enable visitors to interact with a personal part tinged with nostalgia in a contextualised academic environment" (Beneki et al. 2012:347). These changes can be viewed as part of the general change in museology and how museums view their role within heritage management. Whereas historically museums focused strictly on collecting artefacts for display, museums have become part of the wider public engagement movement of providing access to information and collections which represent social history and diverse viewpoints (Hicks 2001:159; Beneki et al. 2012:348).

The roles that museums play in engaging the public's interest in heritage are many-fold. Unpicking which aspects of their work are passive and which are active is complicated, as at their best they represent the combined efforts of both styles of engagement. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) states that museums should be "A non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment" (International Council for Museums 2019) which clearly gives museums the mandate to engage with the public and contribute to society. Through museums, archaeologists can empower the public to both understand and appreciate heritage as well as critically evaluate interpretations presented to them so they can become knowledgeable consumers of the past (Chan 2011:170). Because of their permanence, their physical presence in society and accessibility, they are a hopefully stable way in which people can engage with heritage repeatedly. A person can be reasonably certain they can engage with museums throughout their lives; however the impermanence of funding for many other forms of engagement, such as short term HLF funded projects, mean that they are unable to offer that legacy. Because of these factors, museums have become a major way that the public engages with heritage and heritage sites.

6.3 Role of Volunteers

Volunteering and volunteer management is an important part of many public engagement initiatives. As previously discussed in 2.5.5, volunteering is an active form of engagement and represents the pinnacle of public involvement in heritage. Research into volunteering has generally suggested that how volunteers are managed can be split into two categories: the economic model and the leisure model. Under the economic model, volunteers are essentially treated as un-waged employees and their contributions are considered based on the financial value they generate (Holmes 2003:343). The leisure model considers that volunteers are volunteering because they want to do something enjoyable (Holmes 2003:344). Organizations working with volunteers have increasingly been pressured into formalizing the volunteer process, which means setting up recruitment, orientations, training and other more professionalised approaches in line with the economic models of volunteering. The problem with this is that the vast majority of volunteers' motives are leisure based (Holmes 2003:344), yet the vast majority of UK based museums operate within the economic model (Holmes 2003:354).

The 2011 Assessment of the social impact of volunteering in HLF-funded projects surveyed 134 volunteers on a wide range of HLF funded projects to try and understand if there was something special about volunteering on an HLF project and to understand the impact of volunteer demographics on positive outcomes of volunteering (Rosemberg et al. 2011:1). The result was that the majority of volunteers are involved with gathering, recording, and analysis of data (49%) with an additional 43% involved in research with existing collections. Volunteering allows individuals to gain access to collections and 'behind the scenes' aspects of museums and heritage sites they might otherwise not be able to see (Orr 2006:197). The data suggests that volunteers will get involved in a wide range of activities, depending on the needs of the project (Rosemberg et all 2011:36). In museums, the recent trend has been to use volunteers for more front of house activities (Orr 2006:198).

HLF volunteers tended to be white, live in affluent areas of England, be very well educated, and have worked in or retired from, a highly skilled profession (with 45% retired, 12% seeking employment and 10% students) (Rosemberg et al 2011: 28-29). The gender balance is 45% men to 55% women, with a notable exception being in maritime based projects which attracted 38% women and 62% men. HLF volunteers tended to be older, with 43% aged between 45-64 and 48% aged 60+ (Rosemberg et al 2011:25). The majority of people volunteered because they had an existing interest in the subject (72%), wanted to look after heritage (54%) or wanted to learn about or become more involved in the community (36%) and only 17% because they thought it would help them get a job (Rosemberg et al, 2011:33-34). These statistics are important because they can help us understand why initiatives who are working with volunteers using the economic model struggle with meeting the goals of the volunteers. Most volunteers are not doing so for professional development but for personal development.

By examining Hood's six characteristics of an enjoyable leisure experience (Holmes 2003:352), Holmes suggests that while volunteers do have many of the same aims as visitors, they form a unique part of a museums' audience thanks to a strong attachment to a particular place. Hood's six characteristics of leisure are:

- Challenge of new experiences
- Doing something worthwhile
- Feeling comfortable in one's surroundings
- Opportunity to learn
- Participating actively
- Social interaction (Holmes 2003:352)

Whereas most visitors are only superficially interested, volunteers see themselves as part of the organization and "form a bridge between visitors and paid staff, thus taking on a dual role as both part of the museum and part of the audience" (Holmes 2003:352). "Paradoxically," Holmes goes on to say, "in the case of front-of-house volunteers, they may be both visitor and yet form part of the visitor experience for other visitors. The implication of this dual role demands further investigation" (Holmes 2003:355). This dual role is further emphasised by Orr (2006) who argues that volunteering can be serious leisure, a term coined by Stebbins in 1982 to describe a form of leisure which "… is the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of its specific skills and knowledge" (Stebbins in Orr 2006:199). Volunteering becomes a 'moral career' in which the participant acquires most of the responsibilities, complications and rewards found in a career without the financial reward (Orr 2006:199). The differences between serious leisure and casual leisure are akin to Active and Passive engagement, with casual leisure being defined as “ immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activities requiring little or no special training to enjoy [them]” (Orr 2006:199). If we think of volunteering as part of how people are involved in the social world of heritage, serious leisure would be on the level of Regulars or Insiders, depending on the nature of the initiative they are involved in. Casual leisure volunteers would border on Tourists/Regulars as they are more interested in the enjoyable aspects of volunteering but still have a degree of commitment to an initiative.

The role of the volunteer very much depends on the needs of the stakeholders involved in an initiative. It appears that it is very important for both initiatives and volunteers to be honest about expectations and limits of the relationship they will have. Initiatives need to be aware of the various reasons that people volunteer and tailor how they work with them to improve retention. The right volunteer in the right initiative is a powerful advocate for communicating and changing the public perception and managing this enthusiasm productively should be at the forefront of volunteer managers minds.

6.4 The Role of the Media

This research has only touched on the role of the media in communicating messages to the public (see 2.3). Media is very much a double-edged sword, but the power of the media and its ability to offer a wide-reaching platform for engagement means that archaeologists and heritage managers continue to use it. Increasingly, with the lowering price of digital film cameras, archaeologists are not simply having films made about them but are making films themselves (Morgan and Eve 2012). Television and film in particular are significant as a great equaliser in terms of access, by allowing both divers and non-divers equal access to a site (Watts and Knoerl 2007:224).

On the surface, one of the most obvious divisions in media is between fictional depictions of the past and archaeology and factual documentaries (see 4.2). It would be difficult to confuse an *Indiana Jones* film with an episode of the long running BBC show *Chronicle* because of the tone and style of both. Problematically, the desire to create a commercially successful outcome can create a construct of the past that blurs the lines between fiction and reality (West 2004:118). The difficulties in the relationships between popular culture, documentary making and maritime archaeologists have been previously noted, with Sperry describing the relationship as “fractured” (Sperry 2009:335). Scientists in general despair at how distorted, limited and flawed the depictions of their fields have been within the media (Hargreaves and Ferguson 2000:7–8). *Time Team*, one of the most prolific archaeology shows on British television, has been criticized for its characterisation of archaeologists, ethical issues of digging on scheduled monuments, lack of publications and “the way it portrays archaeology as a treasure hunt against the clock” (West 2004: 120). Within popular documentaries it is common that “archaeologists have very little control over the production and final editing” and are used as on-location experts by media companies (Schablitsky and Hetherington 2012:149).

This is not to say that all documentary productions are inherently out to challenge the historical narrative archaeologists are creating. Just as there is no one public, or one group of people who excavate maritime heritage, there is not one single media (Hargreaves and Ferguson 2000:2). The relationship between science, media and the public is complex and full of many different interactions (Hargreaves and Ferguson 2000:9) much like the relationship between archaeologists and the public.

6.5 Summary and Developing Themes

Archaeologists are a varied group, comprising both of Professional and Avocational archaeologists. The role of the professional has changed from a gatekeeper to facilitator, and archaeologists have recognised the benefits of engaging with local stakeholders to re-contextualise sites. While not all archaeologists will be proficient at all forms of public engagement, they must all try to engage with audiences and make their work accessible.

The role of museums has also changed dramatically. Historically, museums forced the public to engage with one narrative and followed a strict collection mandate. This mandate was usually based on navy, conflict and the empire. The role of museums has now expanded to become a public social hub, curating exhibits for a wide range of audiences and providing a stable way for people to access heritage.

Volunteers play a complex role in all aspect’s heritage initiatives. It is important to understand the aims of volunteers and the manage their needs in order to realise the aims of both the volunteer and the initiative. Volunteers occupy a special place between Public and Professionals, and where they sit on that spectrum influences their aims. There are two general volunteer models: economic (to gain skills for employment) and leisure (to have to fun). The majority of volunteers are white, well educated, and retired volunteers who consider volunteering serious leisure. As such, initiatives must move away from a more traditional economic model to satisfy their needs. The media plays an important and powerful role as a messenger. It can provide carefully curated access to inaccessible sites and allow for connections with heritage to be made. However, the media becomes problematic when Professionals do not have control of the narrative. This can lead to unethical and poor presentations of heritage and greatly influence the public's perception.

The role of the messenger is clearly a vast one that is taken on by a variety of different actors within heritage. One of the primary aims of this research is to better understand the role that the people who deliver public engagement play in maritime heritage, and to do so it is important to understand who these people are.

6.6 Interview Summaries

These summaries have primarily been drawn from participants answers to the following questions:

1. How do you believe your background has helped prepare you to deliver engagement programming?
2. What do you believe your role is in heritage management?
3. Do you consider yourself an archaeologist or an educator?
4. Do you believe you work is for the benefit of archaeology or the public?
5. Why do you believe we are engaging with the public?
6. If you could design a public access initiative with no concern over any mitigating issues, what would you design?

The first question explicitly asks the participants in the interview process to talk about their unique path that has led them to this role in heritage management. What background do they have, both formal and informal, and what do they feel has prepared them for this role? The second, third and fourth questions aim to better understand how the participants broadly place themselves within heritage management, and then specifically what do they feel their role is, an educator or an archaeologist? And who do they work for, the public or heritage? Understanding these questions is essential to understanding the how these individuals fit into heritage management and their relationship to various stakeholder groups.

Finally, I challenged participants to design a maritime heritage initiative free from any mitigating issues and independent of any constraints. What is the potential of the field? Will people design initiatives similar to the projects they are working on or something completely different?

A full transcript of each interview is available as Appendixes F-R with quotes referenced as the appendix number and question number. The following is a summary of participants answers to relevant questions.

6.6.1 Black Sea MAP

CA's educational background was first as a chemist and then an MA in Science Communication. She believes this allows her to understand what scientists want to communicate, even if she doesn't have the specialist knowledge of the subject. Her background is a mix of theory, from her formal education, and practice from working with different schools and projects.

She feels she is both a scientist and an educator, though primarily now the latter. She also feels she now works both for science and the public. As a scientist, it is important to engage with the public to learn new ideas from them related to research and generate interest and knowledge of the field. She "…think it's important to think about the benefits that everyone involved will have" (Appendix F Q15), from the public learning new and interesting things to early career researchers learning new skills.

The project she would design is very similar to the BSMAP education project. Reflecting on the project, she wishes more legacy work and broader engagement had been developed while the project was happening. It was retrospectively difficult to design this programming. In particular, she would have loved to have live feeds from the research ship and a bigger social media presence while the project was ongoing.

RM’s formal education was in neuroscience, including a module on public engagement. Since leaving university she has worked exclusively in science engagement and credits her enthusiasm and interest in a wide variety of subjects for her ability to be knowledgeable about what she is teaching.

She believes she is an educator and that her work is for the benefit of both science and the public. Because of her interest in working with young people, she works to help them understand that science isn’t scary so that they might become the scientists for the future. The future of science and the future of the young people are intertwined.

We are engaging with the public because we see the value in doing it, largely because “..we see an outcome that is a society who isn't afraid of whatever the subject is.” (Appendix G Q17). If we communicate our research to the public then we create a situation where they are informed and can make their own opinions.

As with CA, she would design something similar to BSMAP, but find a way to involve more young people.

DB has worked extensively as a documentary filmmaker, including fifteen years at the BBC. He believes that he works for the public and would not take a job if he felt otherwise as he feels it is a principle ideal of his field. He thinks documentaries are made because we love telling stories, “…we want to find out a bit more about ourselves and how we feel about something and why we feel that way” (Appendix H Q10).

If he could make any type of maritime archaeology documentary, he would make one focusing on raising a shipwreck. This is because it combines two of the aspects that make telling maritime archaeology stories great, the desire for a quest and the desire to uncover a mystery.

6.6.2 Maritime Archaeology Trust

SF’s degree was in psychology, and he believes his lack of formal education in heritage has helped him because he is able to explain things more simply to the public. He has previously taught in Japan and worked as a National Trust volunteer, which has rounded out his credentials. Academics, he believes, often make assumptions about the knowledge of the public. He sees his role in heritage management as an informer for the public “…to make people understand why something is taking place and why management is necessary” (Appendix I Q24). He believes that because all archaeology is for the benefit of the public, his work is for the benefit of the public. While historically many archaeologists felt differently, now he believes that public engagement is at the core of most projects and “…it is history that is being researched for the benefit of sharing” (Appendix I Q26).

If he could design anything, he would design something that makes submerged heritage accessible to everyone. One idea would be a underwater walkway that would bring people to a shipwreck, allowing people to stay dry but the wreck to be presented in situ. While museums such as the *Mary Rose* are wonderful “ I think that by showing people stuff that is on the seabed and has not been destroyed or lost, it is still there, the only way we can do that is to show people that it is actually still on the sea.” (Appendix I Q28).

JNS has a formal background in archaeology but was also a volunteer at MAT before starting to work there under a training scheme. She believes this combination of formal and information training in heritage engagement has been very useful to her. Her role at MAT is quite varied, including digital engagement and visual layout of posters and exhibits. In terms of outreach, she says that “…Inspire isn’t the right word but to get people to connect with it on a level that isn't just academic” (Appendix I Q24). She believes that her work is primarily for the benefit of the public, but also can’t help but benefit archaeology because it brings new people and interest to the field.

Her blue sky thinking maritime heritage engagement would involve a VR and AR room to create a bespoke experience for people visiting a site. People would be able to explore every aspect of the site and go down the rabbit hole of what interested them.

Before joining MAT, JOE worked as a secondary school teacher and in summer camps. This has helped him understand the needs of the audience, particularly with informal learning. He is also a diver and “..that helps a lot because you can explain to them the feelings of actually being underwater and you can add this kind of personal experience” (Appendix I Q22). JOE agrees with JNS that to inspire is exactly the right word to use to describe his role in heritage management and that the work is primarily for the public but benefits maritime heritage. He also agrees with SF that an increased focus on public dissemination has opened up a whole new world for archaeology, and while some archaeologists aren't confident in this area "…the new generation of archaeologists are used to the idea that the final publication of a scientific report is not the end it's just the beginning of the dissemination." (Appendix I Q26).

JOE would also design a project that brought people to submerged sites, possibly using mini submarines. He would have archaeologists working on the site at the time so that the public could see the process of excavation. It might be possible to fund the entire project through paid tours of the site.

All three participants believe that they are both archaeologists and educators, depending on the day and project.

AB1 has a formal background in maritime archaeology, has trained sports divers in maritime heritage and non-maritime heritage courses and has worked in a wide range of public engagement spheres. She thinks that having a wide background in different sectors helps understand the needs of different audiences and create links between academic and non-academic audiences. She believes her role in heritage management is to help people of all ages learning and engage with maritime heritage. Maritime archaeologists have a duty to disseminate what we learn because "…if we don't do this, we have to question why we are doing the research at all." (Appendix J Q16). Engagement is important because it is the way in which the public can understand the benefits heritage brings to their lives and in turn influences them to help protect it for the future. Her work is for the benefit of both heritage and the public. She also considers herself both an educator and an archaeologist.

Her blue-sky public engagement would be similar to JOE's. She would have glass submarines to visit submerged sites, with archaeologists working on the site. The submarines would also function as laboratories for the project so people could see the entire process. This would be the ideal way because it would allow the public to visit a site in situ and the process of maritime archaeology explained in context.

6.6.3 CITiZAN and Thames Discovery Programme

LT learned a lot about public engagement by observing her former colleagues at MAT, where she worked primarily in research and fundraising. Her work as a diver on many projects has also helped because now she feels she can talk from experience when she is training the public. She has also worked extensively the South West area and so knows the stakeholders in the area well, which is a huge benefit in this role. Her specific role in heritage management at this time was to raise awareness of the coastline and let people know that it's changing, as well as encouraging them to adapt and learn about maritime heritage. LT considers herself both an archaeologist and a teacher and says that one of the goals of this project is to enable more avocational archaeologists to recognise they are teachers as well. By working for archaeology, she is working for the public.

Her ideal public engagement project would be something similar to the Viking Ship Museum at Roskilde, where people can both see the original ships and sail the replicas. This would allow people to not only see and understand the archaeological remains, but also understand how people in the past would have used the technology by physically connecting with it. She also likes the idea of a glass submarine so people can see sites contextually.

AB2 is a fluvial geoarchaeologist by training and has done commercial archaeology work, including managing the Historic Environmental Record (HER), and agrees with LT the knowing the area and the stakeholders has been a great advantage. She jokingly says that her dream title would be Protector of Heritage, because that's what she feels her role is. She enjoys using the knowledge she has to protect heritage and help people dig and use it responsibly. She would consider herself both an archaeologist and an educator, because although she is an archaeologist, she has the responsibilities of a teacher. Following on from LT's comments on avocational archaeologists, she says the dream is for academics, commercial and avocational archaeologists to work together and move away from territorial aspects. She would design a global CITiZAN project as her ideal engagement, though admits as a non-diver she can see the appeal of training anyone who wants to dive to do so.

They both agree that essentially, all archaeologists are teachers. Archaeologists have a responsibility to make their findings public and most archaeologists have explained what they are doing on site to the public at some point.

EW worked in commercial archaeology for many years before doing a part time Maritime Archaeology MA. He began helping at TDP after his course and started working on the project shortly after. He feels in many ways his role on the project is to reassure the members working on site that they are doing the job well and answer the interesting questions they ask. “It’s the great thing about working with them is that they ask some very pertinent questions and it’s a very nice symbiotic sort of relationship.” (Appendix M Q12). At the beginning to TDP the archaeologists would say what needed to be done on a site, but now the volunteer teams are so experienced that he asks what they would like to do and facilitates it. He sees archaeologists as “ the guardians of the stuff down there” (Appendix M Q16) and feels that he works for both the public and archaeology. His ideal public engagement project would not be much different from TDP.

6.6.4 Nautical Archaeology Society

MBE believes that he stopped being a maritime archaeologist years ago and is now primarily a CEO. He would like to think that archaeologists are engaging with the public for virtuous reasons but suspects that most archaeologists would rather purely do research. However, “Archaeology is the sum of human knowledge and therefore if we don't tell other human beings about it and what was the point? We may as well not have bothered.” (Appendix K Q14).

His ideal public engagement project would be an expanded version of a NAS project called Wreck Map Britain, which would crowdsource information from divers about dive sites in Britain. The idea is to work with local divers to create an online resource about each site for visiting divers. It would allow the local divers a sense of pride about the knowledge they have of a site and new divers a way of safely visiting a site.

As an undergrad, PK worked as an education officer in a classics museum and had to give variations of the same information to kindergarten through undergrads. After graduating she worked in museums, learning exhibition design and interpretation. Even when she had jobs that did not involve public engagement, by the time she left them they did. She believes there should always be an attempt by projects to remember that archaeology is for the public and there should be an attempt to show them what the heritage is, what we are doing with it, and show we are looking after it for everyone. She doesn’t believe she works in heritage management, but for heritage management as she sees that term as development and government oriented. Having said that, NAS is a licensee on several wreck sites and works to develop dive trails so does do some heritage management work.

She believes she is both an archaeologist and an educator, because although she has two degrees in the former and none in the latter, she does both jobs depending on the day. She views herself more as a facilitator then educator as she facilitates people experiencing archaeology. She believes her work is primarily for the benefit of archaeology, because it is a non-renewable resource. Where possible the public should have access to a site, but if the site is fragile then it must be protected. It is very much context based, but ultimately, she thinks her work benefits both. We are engaging with the public "…Because it's their heritage so it would be disrespectful to both the archaeology and the public to not. So that's why we do it." (Appendix L 18).

Her blue-sky thinking engagement plan involves working with a near shore submerged site in good visibility water. There would be an onshore permanent infrastructure site, with a small museum, café & gift shop to keep the project going. This would also serve as the place for divers and non-divers to get information. Both sites would be as accessible as possible, for deaf people, blind people, people in wheelchairs etc. There would be VR and 3D printed models of the submerged site, and QR codes for people to get information to go. There would be engagement with both the local community and tourists. The diving would be assisted, with information provided prior and during the dive possibly using QR codes and waterproof tablets. Onshore activities would tie into NAS programmes and local activities. A project like this would engage everyone, from locals to visitors, divers to non-divers. There would be problems with legislation and a need to connect with the local community for them to feel they are a part of the project.

6.6.5 Royal Museums Greenwich

JL began at Cutty Sark in 2003 working for the collections department. She sees conserving the ship as a priority but believes that is directly linked to the public benefiting from it. Her time is divided between making sure the needs of both are accommodated. Engaging with the public in a pre-requisite and people working in heritage cannot be complacent anymore in how they offer information "…. and I think we have a duty to make our offer as accessible to as many people as possible and reducing those barriers as much as possible." (Appendix Q Q16).

KC believes the single biggest thing to help her in her role was her involvement with the Girl Guides. Having to think of a new way to engage 9-11 year old girls with a possibly mundane topic, linking it to broad aspects like citizenship, really challenged her to think creatively. Her first paid role was at a National Trust site, where because people had to pay to get in she really had to focus on generating value in what she did so people would engage. She doesn't believe she is a heritage manager in any way but sees herself as a heritage encourager. Her role is to give people, in particular parents, confidence that they don't have to have all the answers to bring their kids to the museum and visit galleries. Despite her background being in archaeology and history, she now considers herself an educator/facilitator as she wants to encourage people to learn with her from different community sources. She believes her work is for the benefit of both the public and archaeology. Archaeology benefits because young people know the different careers it is possible to have in heritage, and the public benefits "…because we are reminding them that this belongs to them and not us and it's something that they should be in can engage with at whatever level is relevant to them." (Appendix O Q18). For her, engagement is about creating legacy for the museum and collection because "…If no one is engaging with it and they're not going to engage with it in the future then what's the point?" (Appendix O Q19). Museums have the potential to broaden the encounters that people have with cultures and thoughts from around the world in a safe and encouraging space. "That's it basically, get those discussions get that understanding. Develop people sympathizing and empathy through those conversations" (Appendix O Q19).

If she could design any public engagement initiative, she would use the NMM collection but have the activities and engagement visible outside. She would like to be able to take actual pieces of the collection, specifically ones where there are many versions of the same thing and engage with people outside of the building in the grounds. This would make heritage less intimidating and mean that people didn't have to come into the museum. She believes that what has to change in the museum becoming less risk adverse and recognising that both the public and the learning team would respect the objects and know how to recognise wear and tear. "I think we need to get people to understand that in order to keep people engaged we have to take a few risks here and there." (Appendix O Q22).

MBF considers herself an arts educator, with a background in theatre, and a masters in Community Learning. She sees museums as incredible venues for storytelling and to use characters to bring heritage to life, not just historically. Museums are part of a wider community and need to know that community because they are often publicly funded. Museums can play multiple roles in the community, as a safe space, a social space, a space to learn. Museums need to acknowledge the powerful role that they play in the public narrative. “We have the ability to shape the national identity and we have to be really conscious of that power and who we choose to represent through our expressions and our programs. That is a lot of weight and we could very easily actively exclude and isolate and scapegoat people. We could be part of the problem. Or we can use our power to help build a more cohesive society by including those narratives at lots of different levels.” (Appendix P Q12). Many museums strive to be neutral, but there are some instances when staying neutral means effectively siding with one side which will alienate a certain audience. Museums must be aware of the broad social adjustments happening and think of how active they want to be.

The work she does is for the benefit of both heritage and the public. She firmly believes that people need to understand the journey that we have been on globally in order to move forward into the future. In the case of NMMG, because it is a publicly funded museum it is essential to make it accessible to everyone. People who work in heritage are stewards, not gatekeepers who “… hold these collections for the public and that is a duty and it's a public service. There is no higher service than public service” (Appendix P Q15).

If she was going to design an ideal public engagement programme, she would start by bringing the museum closer to the sea. She would build a floating museum of some sort that could do a coastal tour, collecting and sharing intangible heritage like food and music. She would also use the boat to pass on and collect tangible heritage from different museums. “I think that mixture of the tangible and intangible is what really create something very human.” (Appendix P Q16).

6.6.6 Dockhouse 4

CBS’s background is in teaching, both in Japan and the UK. This has helped her develop ways to think fast and work with different audiences. She believes that having an interest in the subject helps, as does being enthusiastic so you can deliver the same lessons repeatedly. She asserts these qualities are essential for public engagement. Another benefit is local knowledge and a connection to the area you are working in. Her background in volunteering within the sector made her realise that this is something she enjoyed doing and because she enjoys her job is makes it much easier to do.

She believes her role is "…to be responsible for a good, sound message." (Appendix R Q18). It is important to get facts right and make sure that the message you are delivering has correct spelling and grammar to ensure the integrity of the engagement. It is very easy to lose the trust of the audience if you aren't sure of your attention to details. CBS considers herself an educator, and the fact that she works on maritime heritage projects to be incidental. Her work is primarily for heritage with an aim to improve the public perception.

Her blue-sky thinking idea would be a diving experience that doesn't get people wet, perhaps something like a giant demonstration tank. People could dive a shipwreck safely and watch a team excavating and people could either dive or watch from beside the tank. The people not diving would be able to participate by drawing or helping with conservation. This would make it a real workspace that people could participate in, which would make it an ideal way for people to see how maritime archaeologists do their job.

6.7 Theme Analysis

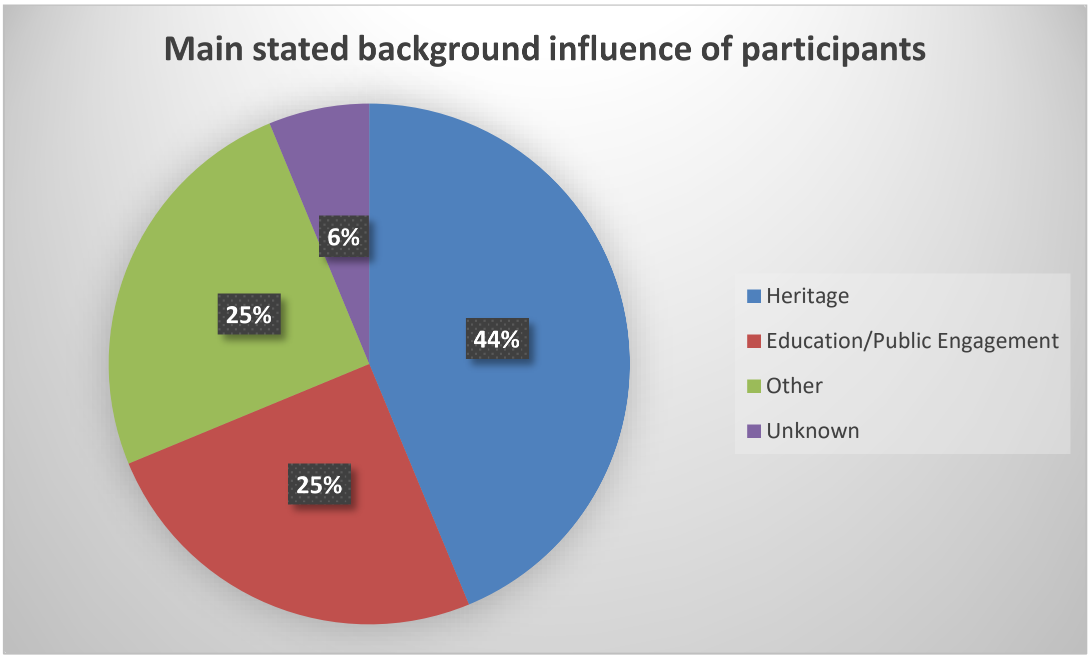

Figure 11 Main stated background influence of participants

Participants came from a wide educational background (Figure 11). Most participants (44%) cited a background in heritage as being a main influence. This was followed by 25% of participants who cited a background in education or public engagement. All participants credited a mixture of formal and informal experiences which have helped them develop the skills to do their jobs. Equally, as noted by RM and discussed more fully in Chapter 8, people who work primarily on public engagement initiatives have certain personal qualities.

There was an almost even split between diver and non-diver participants. This is not surprising when one accounts for the number of shore based and museum initiatives included. The divers were all predominantly associated with NAS and MAT, both of whom have diving based initiatives.

Participants used a wide range of terms to describe their role in heritage management. Several believed they were facilitators (PK & EW) or aimed to inspire (JNS & JOE). SF believed he was an informer, KC an encourager, and CBS a delivered of messages. All of these terms point towards a general aim of helping the public to connect with heritage.

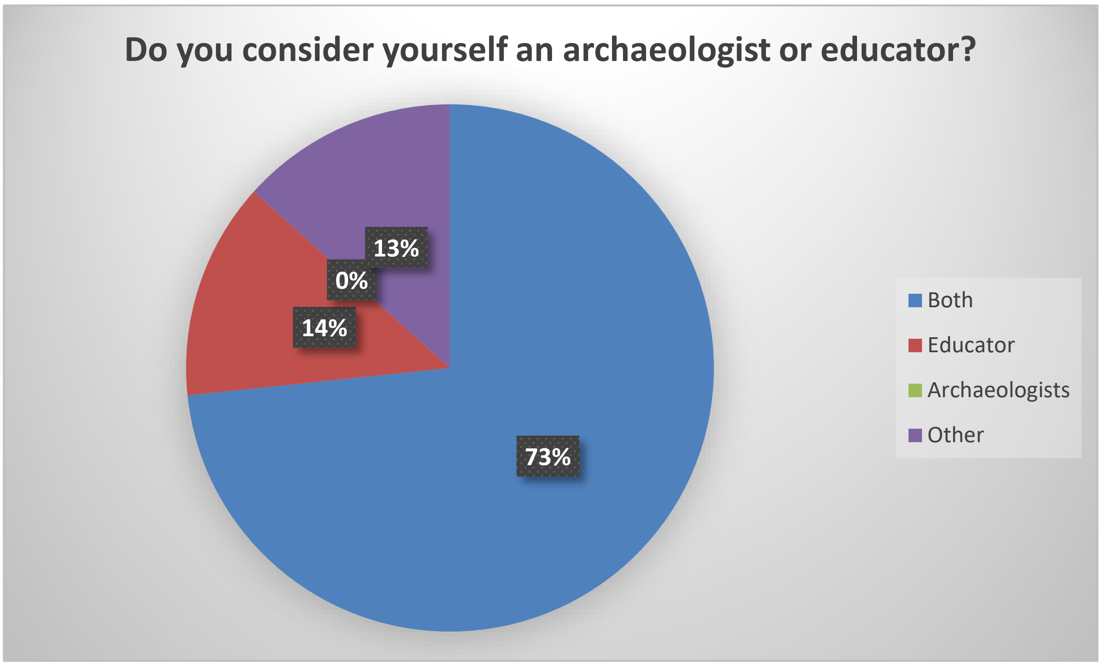

Figure 12 Participant response to question: Do you consider yourself an Archaeologist or Educator

It was very interesting to see that not a single participant considered themselves solely to be an archaeologist (Figure 12). Two participants (MBE & DB) had very different connections to public engagement, MBE as a CEO and DB as a filmmaker. RM & CBS both felt they were now primarily educators, and that the context they worked it did not matter much. The remaining participants all felt that they held both roles, depending on the needs of the project at the time. This result speaks to the dichotomy of the role the people working in public engagement have, needing to balance the needs of both the stakeholders and heritage.

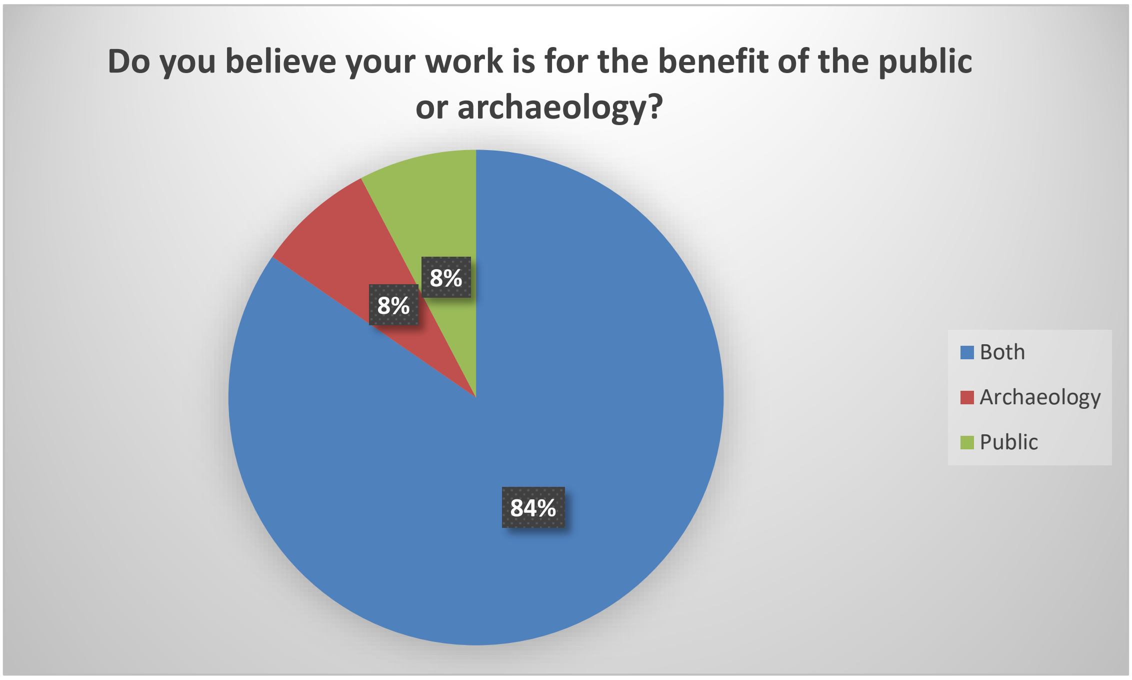

Figure 13 Participant response to question: Do you believe your work is for the benefit of the public or archaeology?

Asking participants if they believed their work was for the benefit of the public or archaeology yielded an even more consistent answer of both (Figure 13). The act of rationalizing their answer prompted four participants (LT, PK, AB2 & LJ) to reconsider their original answer and go for both. This again speaks to the duel nature of the role of people who work in public engagement.

Responses to why participants believed we are engaging with the public fell into three categories. The majority (SF, JNS, AB1, LT, MBE, PK, JL & MBF) believed that we are engaging the public because heritage belongs to everyone and it is the duty of archaeologists to provide access. Six participants (AB1, AB2, EW, PK, JL,&LT) mentioned the need for public engagement to help protect heritage. Four participants cited the need for a more informed public (RM, CA, LT & EW).

Finally, the blue-sky thinking initiatives designed by participants provided some illuminating results. Five participants (CA, RM, AB2, EW, MBE) felt their ideal project was similar to one they had or were currently working on. This was a surprising result as I had anticipated a greater dissatisfaction with the limitations of current projects but does suggest that some ideal public engagement is being funded. Six participants (SF, JOE, AB1, LT, PK & CBS) designed initiatives that allowed the public to come into direct contact with maritime heritage in a submerged context. Given the financial and health and safety barriers to facilitating the public having this connection this is not surprising as it represents the final frontier. Not even the very well-funded Black Sea MAP project was able to allow and train students to join in on diving operations. Four other participants (JNS, DB KC & MBF) also envisioned projects that increased access.

In summary, the people who are working on public engagement initiatives come from a wide variety of backgrounds, but all place a high value on communicating and facilitating public access. While they believe this public access, both intellectual and physical, is a duty they also strongly believe in protecting heritage. The majority believe that they are both educators and archaeologists (or work in heritage/science) who work for the benefit of both archaeology and the public. While some believe that the public engagement initiatives, they are working on are ideal, others wish that the public could physically engage with a submerged site or have better access to collections in general.

Chapter 7 Value and Evaluation

As the heritage cycle (Figure 10, see 5.4) illustrates, there is a cyclical pattern to understanding heritage, valuing heritage, caring for heritage and enjoying heritage. Every component of the cycle is key to the success of public engagement. The area of value and heritage is a large subject that has increasingly been the focus of governmental and NGO reports, as well as academic writing. Through researching the broad aims and various roles of stakeholders within heritage three key themes emerged. There is a need to understand the varying ways in which people value heritage, how that value is created, and how we can measure that value in a way that is useful to stakeholders. Funding bodies, policy makers & professionals want to know the impact of the work done by public engagement projects in order to improve the offer in future to the public. This Chapter will begin by examining heritage as a construct to establish what it is various stakeholders might be valuing, outline specific theoretical research into how value is created, and look more broadly at the social and economic benefits of engagement with heritage. It will also illustrate some of standardised evaluation and pedagogical theories employed by public engagement initiatives and the wider maritime heritage world.

7.1 What is Heritage?

There is a great deal of pressure for all potential stakeholders to understand the concept of heritage and to identify what it is and isn't. Heritage has often been perceived as something that is owned and that needs to be protected, particularly for future generations. This is particularly evident in the terminology used to describe it. Heritage is "a fragile thing" that requires an almost parental approach to keeping it safe (Ransley 2007:226). Despite the terminology, heritage is not a quantifiable thing but rather a social phenomenon created by a context (Ransley 2007; Edson 2004). Globally, heritage has often been interpreted through a Western perspective resulting in all heritage theory being judged on how it fits in with the Western paradigm (Winter 2013:559)(see 6.1). This theory is based on a body of knowledge created during the colonial/exploitive eras, which has led to ideas that other nations are unable to care for their own heritage. The West has in the past been seen as having a superior historical awareness of the cultural past of both itself and other cultures. With the need to globalise both economically and socially, heritage theory has slowly changed so that it is more grounded in empirical reality and not historical western centric myths, in order to remain relevant (Winter 2013:561). One of the ways in which heritage theory has developed is in accepting that heritage can be a tangible object or activity as well as an intangible concept that cannot necessarily be touched or seen. Archaeologists are also embracing the ideas of multiple narratives of heritage (see 5.4).

Academics have struggled with identifying the field of heritage studies because it is a highly personal concept. Harvey quite rightly suggests that rather than try to find a manifesto for what heritage studies is, academics should concern themselves with studying it as a process and recognising the historical scope of engagement with heritage (Harvey 2001:320). Unavoidably, our interpretation of heritage is very much context based, and that context is the here and now. The practices of heritage, i.e. the ideas that shape our interpretation, are just as important as the tangible and intangible “objects” of heritage (Harrison 2010:9). Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the search for the definition of “heritage” comes from the 1980-1981 National Heritage Memorial Fund Annual Report in the UK that wrote that when trying to identify criteria for heritage to be saved that the question of what was heritage “… was unanswerable; we could no more define the national heritage than we could define, day, beautify or art…So we let the national heritage define itself. We awaited requests for assistance from those who believed they had a part of the national heritage worth saving”(NHMF 1981:2). Lowenthal claims that “heritage today all but defies definition” (Lowenthal 1998:94) and that the very lack of definition is what makes it so endearing to the public (Lowenthal 1998:94–95). It’s nebulous, which it needs to be because heritage can mean different things to different people. For some it may be standing monuments and for others it could be the meal they have every Sunday. It is not a thing, but in fact the active act of doing and being that connects and is connecting with the past (Smith 2006:251) and can be interpreted as “…virtually anything by which some kind of link, however tenuous or false, may be forged with the past”(Johnson and Thomas 1995:170). This is a wonderful interpretation that speaks to the bespoke nature of what is important to individuals and to different traditions around the world.

7.1.1 Public Ownership of Heritage

Having defined what heritage is, it is now useful to consider who owns heritage. It should be noted that there is a difference between physical ownership of material heritage and cultural ownership. Physical ownership is a legal matter but looking at cultural ownership and management raises questions of who archaeologists work for and how the management of archaeological sites can be a barrier for public access (Ransley 2007:224). There have been several shifts that have changed the nature of ownership in heritage. Archaeology itself is now more diverse and representative as a field, there is an awareness that with public funding comes public accountability and an increase power for many descendant communities (particularly Canadian First Nations, American Indian Nations, and Aboriginal Australians)(Agbe-Davies 2010:374). Together, these changes have created a public that is more aware of its entitlement to a voice and ownership of heritage and archaeologists who are more cognisant and aware of the rights of stakeholders.

Community archaeology projects help achieve this sense of ownership by bringing together members of the local communities in a socially cohesive way to work on a collective interpretation of the project (Tully 2007:158). However, the term ‘community, is often used as a gross simplification of the various groups of stakeholders within a project. The word is a “discomforting convenience we- and here ‘we’ included professionals, policymakers and scholars- use to make sense of ‘others’” (Waterton and Smith 2010:5). Waterton and Smith go on to argue that communities are social creations and experiences that are not fixed, but continuously in motion. They are based around common interests, collective experiences and shared causes, not necessarily geographic location, social standing, race or religion (Waterton and Smith 2010:8–9). It is important to recognise that individuals make up communities and these individuals can be a part of many communities. When grouping people together, it is very rare that allowances are made for the individuals within the group which can result in people believing they need to conform to the prescribed social identity or risk being considered unrepresentative (Waterton and Smith 2010:10). Equally, archaeologists, academics, people who work in engagement and those who work in heritage management are all part of communities, both professional and social, who are stakeholders in the process. People do not work in heritage unless they believe it is important and so they must be included as part of the community. Ultimately, heritage is actively creating a new community filled with people who are interested in heritage (Carman 2011:497).

Waterton and Smith note the importance of Nancy Fraser's work on social justice and a politically explicit definition of community is particularly relevant towards heritage engagement (Waterton and Smith 2010:10). Within her model, Fraser argues that 'parity of participation', which "requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers' (Fraser 2008:36) is of central importance. There are three obstacles of note to achieving this: maldistribution (economic), misrecognition (cultural) and injustices of representation (political), all of which are connected and reveal who is represented within society (Fraser 2008; Waterton and Smith 2010:10). Ultimately, Waterton and Smith interpret the cultural aspect of Fraser's model as highlighting the lack of parity of participation in heritage matters, particularly when the term community is used to separate 'heritage experts' from other stakeholders in the process (Waterton and Smith 2010:10). They argue that because non-heritage experts do not hold that title, do not have the formal Western education, and have different views or understanding of the value or importance of heritage, the views they have are not seen as having parity in heritage management (Waterton and Smith 2010:10). This does not mean that all heritage community projects which seek to engage with stakeholders and multiple narratives are doomed to failure, but rather that all stakeholders must be aware of biases and assumptions while engaging with initiatives. Archaeologists must still maintain the role of knowledgeable facilitator/stakeholders in engagement process to ensure the authentic representation and interpretation of heritage based on these narratives (see 5.1).

The concept of cognitive ownership of heritage is linked to research which suggests that how a site is valued is directly linked to how the site is treated. As the site is treated with more reverence, a more complex set of social values is placed on it (Carman 2011:495). The "archaeological material achieves this public status not out of some inherent quality in the object itself, but by didn't of coming an object of attention" (Carman 2011:496). Promoting local ownership of heritage, through initiatives such as HE's Licensee programme and community heritage groups, is an incredibly important way of encouraging people to take an active role in heritage. As McManamon points out:

> "Individuals and groups of concerned citizens are among the most effective means of working towards the protection of sites in local development schemes and land use plans. Individuals among the general public can serve as the eyes and ears of local, state or even national officials who are responsible for archaeological preservation" (McManamon: 2000:7).

It is a benefit to all stakeholders in heritage that more people feel ownership of heritage, not only by being the eyes and ears, but also to take a social stance that it is something that is important to the community and deserves protection. If a site is vandalised and there is no response from a community, then that signals that the behaviour around the site is unobjectionable. This is particularly true in dive clubs, where it has taken slow work by organizations such as PADI, BSAC and the NAS to change the intentions of the general membership.

Perhaps the best example of a community claiming ownership of maritime heritage in the UK is the story of the Newport Ship. The 15th century vessel was discovered during the construction of the Riverfront Theatre and Arts Centre in Newport, South Wales, UK in 2002 (The Newport Ship 2019a). While initial time and money was given to record the hull, there were no provisions for the recovery or conservation of the vessel until a highly visible Save our Ship campaign was launched. The appeal appeared to galvanise the local community and prompted the following reflection: "we've lost a lot of our history over the years by buildings being demolished, but it was as if the people of Newport said that we want to preserve this; this is our history" (Davies 2012). Supported by archaeologists and heritage funding bodies, the campaign managed to save the hull and associated artefacts. Save our Ship was transformed into The Friends of the Newport Ship, a non-profit organization dedicated to raising both funds and public awareness of the ship as well as helping with the archaeological and conservation work (The Newport Ship 2019b). What made the public interested in the Newport ship? Underwood suggests that during excavation, large numbers of local people could see the ship being excavated first-hand. This allowed them to connect with the heritage and see the local significance of the vessel (Underwood 2014:35). The Newport ship is a good example of the fact that "..the most significant and meaningful messages are not 'one size fits all'. Instead, they are local. Different communities have different pasts and need to know specific things about those pasts" (Potter 1990:610).

7.2 Value of Heritage

Within the 2017 Heritage Statement, the UK government has expressly noted that heritage has an economic, social and environmental value (Department for Digital Culture Media & Sport 2017:6). There has been a great deal of research in heritage value, both academically and through reports commissioned by various entities including Historic England, the Honor Frost Foundation and National Heritage Lottery Fund, which is included here.

Since 2002 Historic England has produced *Heritage Counts*, an annual audit of England's heritage on behalf of the Historic Environment Forum. The report consists of five documents: An annual research report, Heritage Indicators, Historic Environment Overview, Heritage and the Economy & Heritage and Society (Historic England 2019). The reports gather together information from major surveys, literature reviews, evaluation studies and public option surveys to create a document for anyone who needs data to "..make the case for heritage" (Hayes 2018:3). The reports are presented as a series of small factual and sourced statistics and commentary. As such, they are an invaluable and easily accessible resource for individuals and groups who are seeking funding and support from stakeholders for public engagements initiatives. They are the government approved "proof" of the value of heritage, but not the only way to value heritage. Heritage Counts acknowledges that statistics greatly underestimate total economic value of heritage because they do not consider the cultural, social and environmental value which often outweigh the financial value. This is because these benefits are generally not a part of private markets and so do not have a market value, leading to an underinvestment in heritage by some stakeholders (Leeson 2018:38).

In order to understand the broad value of heritage, it is important to remember that heritage itself is highly conceptualised being perceived as both economic and cultural, as "heritage is capable of being interpreted differently within any one culture at any one time, as well as between cultures and through time" (Graham 2002:1004). As Graham further explains, the meaning of heritage is what gives heritage value, both cultural and financial, to objects, and explains why they have been selected as important at the particular moment in history we are at (Graham 2002:1004). Broadly speaking, by attributing value to heritage it becomes the part of the past that is useful to us now and can be used as a multipurpose resource on a global level. There are very obvious economic benefits of heritage as it can be used to promote tourism development and regeneration. But critically, the socio-political uses of heritage means that that value of heritage is often complex and conflicting (Graham 2002:1006). Despite this, engaging with the socio-political function of heritage is important because it is only by looking at these conditions for the production of heritage that we can understand what makes it unique (Winter 2013:558).

Because of these complexities our interpretation of heritage is very much context based, and that context is the here and now. Archaeology does not exist in a vacuum and is influenced by social and economic systems (Johnson 1999:175). Increasingly, the term value is being used within heritage management to articulate why an aspect of the past is important or significant to a specific person, group or community. Value allows us to quantify the worth of heritage as human vs. material, tangible vs. intangible, moral vs. corrupt, and religious vs. secular (Jameson Jr. and Scott-Ireton 2007). This carries on into broader discussions of the value of heritage in society, politics and the economy, which hinges on understanding that all forms of heritage have value across multiple sectors. These ideas were first put forward by Riegl (Riegl 1903) who suggests that art and monuments could have multiple values and Lipe (Lipe 1984) who suggests that socio-economic values as well as aesthetic values, could be ascribed to sites. Consider a ship, and how when it sinks it is considered a failure that has lost much of its value (except for salvage). And yet when a ship becomes part of the archaeological record, it becomes valuable again for both intellectual, social and economic value (Scott-Ireton 2007). Though archaeological sites are valuable because of their unique socio-cultural (educational, scientific, religious & aesthetic) value, they are often managed in a way that is financially and economically motivated (Pace 2012:287). The strain of accommodating how different stakeholders value a manifestation of heritage can lead to disagreements on management issues, ultimately to the detriment of the heritage itself (see Chapter 5). Archaeologists are very much a part of this value system because

> "…whether we like the idea that archaeologists contribute to the value enhancing stance between the commoditization and singularization of the past or not, this is by definition what we do. Archaeologists, cultural elites who invest significant resources into finding,

identifying, conserving, collecting, classifying and interpreting [heritage]" (Pyburn 2009:167).

One can even see this valuation in how we divide ourselves into smaller groups, as maritime archaeologists, pre-historic archaeologists etc. As a broad group we are interested in archaeology, but as individuals we value certain aspects above others.

7.2.1 Theories of Value

This carries over into the public and other stakeholders, largely because how we value heritage is based on an innumerable number of factors. The areas of life where heritage adds value are so varied, as are the ways that people engage with it, it is challenging to both quantify and qualify the worth of an individual aspect of heritage (Historic England 2014:4). In particular, the long- term value of heritage and the value of intangible heritage are difficult to assess. Various theoretical models for understanding value within culture have been created, including Holden's Value Triangles discussed in Chapter 5.

In looking at what aspects of heritage have value; it is useful to look at what aspects do not and to understand that the difference between heritage and rubbish is based on how society values the item in question. This is further explained in *Rubbish Theory* (Thompson 1979) by Micheal Thompson who outlines the following circular pattern for how value is made and remade.

1. You cannot create value without at the same time creating non-value.
2. We make sense of our world by whittling it down to manageable proportions.
3. This whittling-down cannot be done in an unbiased way.
4. Nor can we ever reach general agreement on how this whittling down should be done.
5. Even when the whittling-down has been done, the chances are it will not stay that way.
6. And so on... ." (Thompson 1979:3)

Although Thompson's theory related primarily to objects, it applies equally to the public consumption of heritage. People must make choices about what they engage with on a day to day basis. If a person engages with maritime heritage, they have made a choice to value it above not only other forms of heritage but also other forms of entertainment and leisure. They are using a certain amount of cognitive ability to value maritime heritage and have, even temporarily, elevated it to a higher status based on their individual biases. It is also interesting because this theory suggests that no way of evaluating heritage will ever be agreed on because we cannot decide on what aspects of it are important. There is a cyclical value for heritage, and this is evidenced by the evolution of the aims of stakeholders (Chapter 5) and the changing emphasis in the drivers for heritage engagement at all levels of involvement.

John Carman has incorporated this work, along with research by Jean Baudrillard (Baudrillard 1981)on how societies have replaced reality with symbols and signs which obstructs our view of what is real, suggests “any object is merely an object, but it becomes what it represents because of the way we treat it and think about it.” (Carman 2011:498). With the addition of work by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) on access to economic and cultural capitol allowing people to convert each into the other (Carman 2011:498), Carman suggests heritage is made through a process of elevating things to a special status with the ultimate aim to help create identity. By eliminating aspects of heritage that we do not value we differentiate ourselves from other people (Carman 2011:499).

7.2.2 Social and Individual Benefits

In 2015, Historic England announced that 99.3% of people in England live within a mile from a listed building or site, annual visits to sites on the National Heritage List for England topped 1 million for the first time and 33% of people have taken action to protect a local site of building (Historic England (2015b). In particular, respondents considered maritime history (48%) and shipyards and factories (30%) to be an important part of their heritage (Historic England (2015b). This poll of over 5000 adults clearly illustrates that English people care not only about heritage in general, but maritime heritage. The question to ask is why?

There are a wide range of social and economic benefits to having a society which engages with heritage. These benefits can affect specific individuals, groups, cities and society in general. Some can be measured tangibly, such as the economic benefits, but the majority are considered more intangible benefits which help people connect to themselves, each other, and society. In his book, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* David Lowenthal suggests six categories in which the past benefits people: Familiarity and recognition, reaffirmation and validation; individual and group identify; guidance and enrichment; and escape (Lowenthal 1985:38).

The familiarity of the past makes it easier to understand and make sense of the present by creating patterns that we recognise and share a history with (Lowenthal 2005:24). This fact means that “we are at home in it because it *is* our home- the past is where we come from” (Lowenthal 2005:25). The urge to preserve comes out of the frantic pace of modern life, particularly if something is seen as dying out (Lowenthal 2005:28). The historical precedents of the past reaffirms and offers validation on our current actions and practices. This is done in two ways: by preserving the continuity of practices and recovering aspects of value that may have been lost (Lowenthal 1985:40–41). Identity is shaped by our ability to recall and identify with past, essentially giving our current existence meaning, purpose and value and allowing us to view our identity as the culmination of our lives. Many people maintain this connection through tangible connections to objects or locations (Lowenthal 1985:42–43) but intangible connections through music, food and social customs are prevalent. We are nostalgic about the past, in large part because we can cherry pick the aspects of it to value and use as a comparison to modern life, but also because it is a safety blanket in modern times (Lowenthal 2005: 88).

Linked into this familiarity is the concept that the past will provide guidance to us, exemplified by the often-quoted phrase “those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it” (Santayana 1905:285). In modern times, the guidance that the past provides has moved beyond historical precedents and it into concepts of the temporary nature and the lack of predetermination in life (Lowenthal 1985:46–47). We accept it as faith that there are timeless truths even though times are radically different. In fact, this is the raison d’airte for archaeology: to study the past in order to understand the present. While we may no longer use the far past as an exact model to predict results, it suggests to use what we might do or what might happen based on what has happened before (Lowenthal 2005:90). As humans, we like communing with great figures from the past and applying their words to the present. We seek affirmation, both good and bad, on our actions with the good sanctioning and the bad providing proof of improvement on our route to self-realization and recognize that “The past is integral to our sense of self, ‘I was’ requisite to being sure that ‘I am’” (Lowenthal 2005:94).

Possession or ownership of the past generates tremendous value (see 7.1.1) as it creates self-interest (Lowental 2005:99). Linked into this is the idea of place-making, or the ways in which people attach meaning and value of environments where they have possible feelings like belonging, identity and pride (Hayes 2018:12). The concept of heritage provides a sense of termination of things happening and allows societies to place themselves on a linear timescale (Graham 2002:1008). It underpins the ideas of continuity and "helps create emblematic landscapes which connect the present with the past" (Winter 2012:543). It can help provide an identity for societies through the common interpretation of heritage, providing a definite "otherness" to different interpretations. This separation of us and them allows for social groups to form, from smaller interest groups to nations. The engagement with heritage, with a moment of looking back, allows society to pinpoint to collective moments when decisions were made that affect how we live now. Finally, the escapism of the past can offer some a temporary alternative to what they find unacceptable in the present. This can be both a desire to step away from modern technology and pace of life (Lowenthal 1985:49–50).

What Lowenthal is referring to are intangible effects of engaging with heritage. These intangibles can be considered "encounters, events or occurrences which do not have a physical presence, which we cannot touch and see and which cannot be perceived by the senses." (Scott 2011:2). They begin as benefits to individuals but flow up to being benefits for society as people assimilate and use the knowledge they gain before ultimately, they are better able use the community resources available to them (Scott 2011:2). As people's capacity grows,

> "…then come a wide range of less tangible, but no less important, dimensions of capacity having to do with skills, experience and creativity; social cohesion and social capital; values and motivations; habits and traditions; institutional culture, etc. These intangible dimensions of capacity, often referred to as "capabilities," are crucial because they determine how well society uses the other resources at its disposal... Core capabilities (intangibles) refer to the creativity, resourcefulness and capacity to learn and adapt of individuals and social entities. They are what allows them to realize their human and social potential to the highest possible level" (Lavergne and Saxby 2001:2–3).

The historic environment is seen as essential to doing this by both providing beautiful places to meet and socialise as well as causes for people galvanise around on a local and national level (Hayes 2018:16). Museums play an important role in this by improving social cohesion through the provision of safe, equitable & non-market social spaces (Goulding 2004) as well as a greater understanding of identity. This is particularly true of free, nationally funded museums. The 2013 Museums Association commissioned Britain Thinks report found that regardless of if they attended museums or not, people had a strong, positive emotional attachment to museums and believed in their benefit in shaping the future (Britian Thinks 2013). The value of visiting museums in the equivalent for an income gain of around £3200 per year (Maeer and Killick 2013:17).

These ideas broadly fall into the concept of wellbeing, a topic which has been the focus of social programming since the election of New Labour in the UK in 1997 brought about a change in policy and re-focused on community (Waterton and Smith 2010:6). The 2013 paper, *Values and benefits of heritage: a research review* suggested that there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that public involvement in heritage projects contributes to social capitol, community cohesion, social inclusion & civic society (Maeer and Killick 2013:17). Links between heritage, wellbeing and happiness are documented in a 2013 report on the subject by the London School of Economics. It indicates that people who visit museums are both happier and have better self-reported heath, even after controlling for socio-economic and demographics. This is followed through in the DCMS *Culture White Paper* of 2016 which noted that culture and heritage have an intrinsic value in the form of positive personal wellbeing and make a large contribution to the regeneration, health and wellbeing of society as a whole (DCMS 2016b).

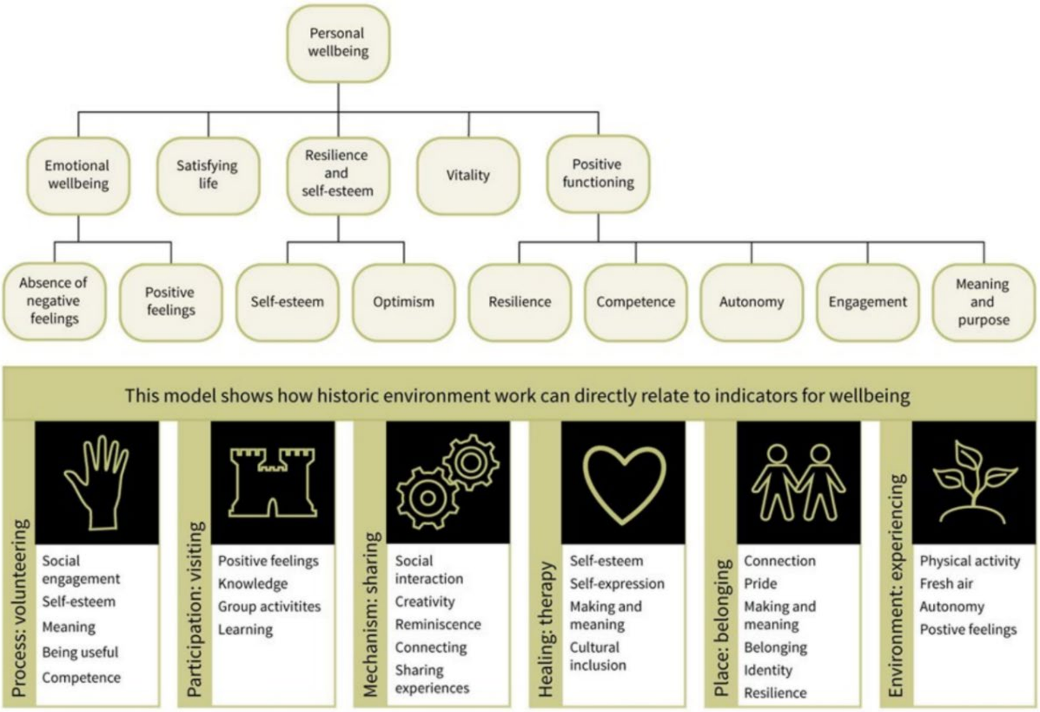

Figure 14 Wellbeing indicators © Historic England 2019

In 2019 Historic England published a new research framework to examine how heritage and wellbeing work together. The framework identified six ways this relationship can work. Specific examples of the social benefits are illustrated in Figure 14, however all tie into capability building. Heritage as process looks at the wellbeing of participating as a volunteer on projects. Heritage as participation examines the benefits of visiting a heritage site. Heritage as a mechanism involves using heritage as a cultural asset to affect change in wellbeing. Heritage as healing encompasses using heritage projects as a form of therapy. Heritage as place looks at the value of reclaiming the relationship to place to combat social isolation and ensuring local voices are empowered to connect with heritage. And finally, heritage as environment stresses the link between nature and wellbeing (Monckton & Reilly 2019).

Excitingly, the statistics say that the public is recognising the benefits of engaging with heritage. Between 2016/17, an estimated 33 million of all adults in England visited a heritage site. This represents over 74% of the adult population, including 70% of adults with a long-standing illness or disability (Hayes 2018:4). A specific study assessing the wellbeing impacts of waterways usage in England and Wales found that all levels of waterway usage were connected to higher life satisfaction (Simetrica 2018:5). Each trip to a waterway was assessed as adding an average value of £6.63 above and beyond the cost of accessing the location (Simetrica 2018:5). The benefits associated with visiting the sites, predominantly higher happiness and lower anxiety, doubled for visits of longer than an hour and increased again if access was with friends or family (Simetrica 2018:5–6).

One direct way of looking at the benefits of heritage involvement is to examine the individual and social results achieved through volunteering. While economists view that we are in a consumer culture, from a social theory point of view we are in a participatory culture, where people act not only as consumers but also contributors or producers (Jameson Jr. 2014:7). According to the 2016/2017 Taking Part survey, an estimated 615,500 individuals volunteered on historic environment initiatives (DCMS 2016a). Based on the minimum wages, the economic value of heritage volunteers is £520m (Leeson 2018:36) In 2011, the HLF conducted a review of the social impact of volunteering on HLF funded projects. The majority of people surveyed volunteered because they were interested in the subject area and tended to have a much higher level of self-worth and a belief that they were playing a useful part in society (Rosemberg et al. 2009:88). The report concluded by stating that volunteering offered a chance of intergenerational collaboration and developed a high level of belief in collective efficiency (the ability to take collective action to change local democratic decisions) (Rosemberg et al. 2009:90). As well as these more altruistic views of the benefits of volunteering, is was noted that while many volunteers were older, white and well educated, there was an increase in people looking to develop skills that would lead to employment (Rosemberg et al.2009:87).

One of the volunteer groups to benefit the most from both tangible and intangible benefits of maritime heritage in England is the thriving diving community which has direct connection to the submerged heritage due to their ability to physically visit many sites. Although the Protection of Wrecks Act 1973 limits access to protected submerged heritage, English Heritage provides access to protected sites through the Licensee programme (see 2.5.7).

7.2.3 Economic Benefits

There is no denying that heritage has an economic benefit. Heritage, both tangible and intangible, is the most important single resource for international tourism in the UK, making heritage tourism planning and management an important part of sustainable economic development plans (Graham 2002:1007). The very language used in heritage management discussions, describing objects and landscapes as being “historic assets” is indicative of the commerce driven system that heritage must exist in (Ransley 2007:226). For all evidence that heritage is a multifaceted concept with value that extends into many areas, money still talks and the economic impact of heritage tourism in the UK is an aspect that appeals to government bodies. Heritage is a seen as a resource and because of that there has been an adoption of economic language to describe it (Carman 2005:121), a process that inevitably leads towards the commodification of heritage.

The 2018 *Heritage and the Economy* report estimates heritage gross value added (GVA) is £29.0 bn, attracts 236.6m domestic and international tourists and employs 459,000 people (Leeson 2018:2). A maritime specific report on the local value of the dive trail on the *Coronation* in Plymouth Sound in Devon estimates that in 2012, £42,557 was added to the local economy with an average of £60.00 per visit (Beattie-Edwards 2013:4). The *Heritage and the Economy* report stresses the economics of uniqueness, highlighting that heritage not only shapes the public perception of a place but generates property demand for businesses creates regeneration value in areas of high economic and social deprivation (Leeson 2018:18). Looking more broadly, it is argued that the redevelopment of ports areas, often marketed using nostalgic connections to the sea, has provided a boost to both the economy and allowed for greater financial investment (Day and Lunn 2003:303).

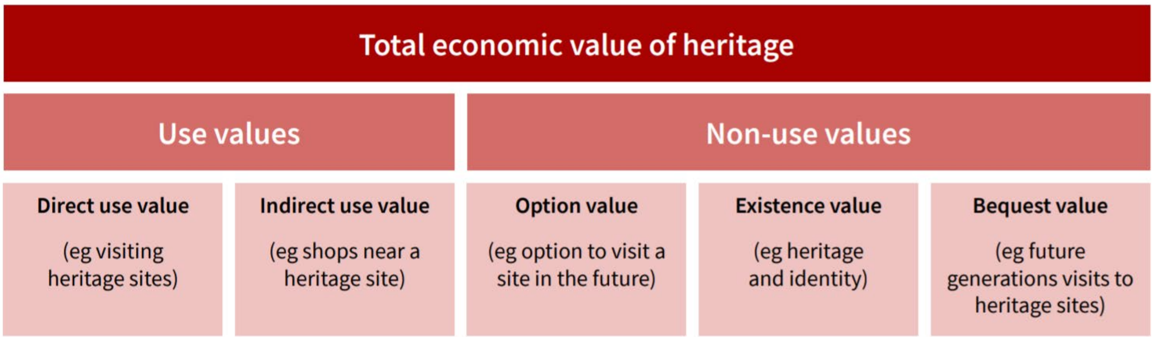

Figure 15 Total economic value of heritage ©Leeson 2018:39

As the total economic value of heritage goes beyond GVA and traditional economic methods of understanding use-value (see Figure 15), Historic England recommends two methods to better understand the non-use value of heritage: Revealed preference techniques (inferring from the behaviour of visitors what they value by observing them) and stated preference techniques (using a questionnaire to find out willingness to pay of a hypothetical choice) (Leeson 2018:39) (Figure 16). Although quantification of the intrinsic value of heritage and the role it plays in wellbeing etc. will never be precise, attempts to translate these aspects into a numerical value which will be understood by political and funding stakeholders is essential.

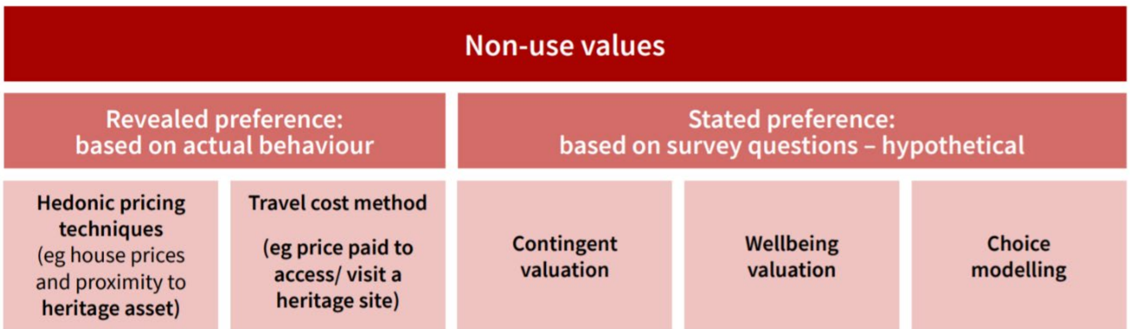

Figure 16 Non-use value of heritage © Leeson 2018:39

7.3 Evaluation

One of the difficulties in understanding the value of heritage is the evaluation of what heritage achieves, essentially trying to combine both the qualitative and quantitative methods of gathering data to move beyond statistical “targets” as means of assessment. Another difficulty in identifying value of heritage comes because of the complex relationships between English Heritage, Historic England, the Department for Culture, Media and Sports, the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs and the National Heritage Lottery Fund, all of whom have a degree of involvement in managing the historic environment in England (Hewison and Holden 2004:7–9) as well as different interpretations of the form that management should take.

The use of pedagogy has become intertwined with the systems designed by funders which are used by heritage to show good practice and enable more standard evaluation of their initiatives. By adopting standard methods of evaluation, it becomes simpler to illustrate the qualitative value of public engagement and as use of the system proliferates the results become more standardised and accepted by funders and policy makers. Looking back at Micheal Thompson's Rubbish Theory (see 7.3), it is significant to apply the basis of this to how we evaluate heritage. By creating a system to evaluate heritage, the creators of the system are putting value on a specific data set that they believe will allow broad outcomes to be measured at the potential expense of other data sets.

Evaluation of heritage engagement can be done on a qualitative or quantitative basis. Heritage engagement can be evaluated by all stakeholders and the form this evaluation takes is often dependant on the degree of insider knowledge that the evaluator has. It would be impossible for a child to evaluate a project the same way a heritage professional is. However, both opinions are essential for truly understanding the impact of an initiative and evolving public engagement to have further research.

7.3.1 Common Evaluation Theories and Methods

Until recently pedagogy, the theory and practice of education, was considered the domain of academics and a considerable gap existed between the theoretical and the practical within heritage management. This was in large part because while the definitions and knowledge around learning have changed many institutions, particularly those who did not see learning beyond simply giving physical access to materials, did not (Hooper-Greenhill 2004:155). This has changed and learning has evolved from the simple providing of facts and information, to a life-long process affected by knowledge an individual already has and how they process new information based on what is important to them (Hooper-Greenhill 2004:157). There are many theories and models within education that are used within science and heritage engagement and many of them focus on measuring outcomes of engagement. They are simultaneously methodology and evaluation for practitioners but are discussed here as they fundamentally shape the way in which engagement is developed. While by no means a complete list, the concepts of Knowledge Capital, Generic Learning Outcomes & Theory of Change are two indicative models which have gained traction in public engagement.

7.3.1.1 Cultural Capital

The concept of capital was first introduced by Bourdieu as part of his theory of social reproduction, particularly within *The Forms of Capital* (1986) where capital defined as "the legitimate, valuable, and exchangeable resources in a society that can generate forms of social advantage within specific fields for those who possess it" (Archer et al. 2015:923). Four generic types of capital are identified: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic. How a person is privileged or disadvantaged within a social context depends to a certain extent on how much capital they have within all of these types. Archer describes it as the different types of skills and resources (Archer 2015:923). It has also been described as the "cards" that a person holds within a particular game, which combined with their knowledge of the "rules" of the game affect their chances of "winning" or "losing" (Archer 2015:924). Within education, this has evolved more broadly into the term Knowledge Capital and is used to identify the knowledge level and bespoke needs of a group or individual. The aim of engagement initiatives is often to raise the knowledge capital so that parity of knowledge is archived, thereby creating a intellectual capital balance in the public.

7.3.1.2 Generic Learning Outcomes

The changes in governmental policies in the last decade have highlighted the need to expand the role of museums and heritage initiatives into aspects of social and educational inclusion (Hooper-Greenhill 2004:152-153). Developed initially in 2008 by the MLA and expanded in 2014 by the Arts Council, *Inspired Learning for All* aims to give museums and other cultural and heritage groups the tools needed to both develop and evaluate the impact of their initiatives (Arts Council 2019a). One of the suggested ways of doing this is to use Generic Learning Outcomes (GLOs), and the related Generic Social Outcomes (GSO's), to help identify the benefits people gain from participating in initiatives. GLO's suggest five categories of improvement, Knowledge and Understanding, Skills, Attitudes and Values, Enjoyment, Inspiration, Creativity, Activity, Behaviour and Progression that practitioner and initiatives can use to develop and evaluate initiative Arts Council (Arts Council 2019b) Together they form a conceptual framework and operate as a check list that can be used to measure the changes in participants and ensure that a wide range of broad outcomes are considered. Because they are now used across the sector and are agreed as significant and useful, they now provide a common structure for all aspects of engagement and learning evaluation? (Hooper-Greenhill 2005:155).

7.3.1.3 Theory of Change

The Theory of Change is a way for practitioners to backwards map the intended results of initiatives in order to understand what changes must happen in order for them to be achieved (Centre for Theory of Change 2019).

1. Identifying long-term goals
2. Creating a “pathway of change” by backwards mapping and connecting the preconditions or requirements necessary to achieve that goal and why these preconditions are necessary and sufficient. These will essentially form the short term and medium-term goals of the project.
3. Identifying your basic assumptions about the context you are working in and pre-existing knowledge of participants, which requires identifying the target audience of your initiative (if not already established). In general, four types of assumptions are common: the connections between long, medium and short term outcomes; that all preconditions for success have been identified; the links between activities and the outcomes they will produce and; the contextual and environmental factors that will support or hinder the outcomes of the project.
4. Identifying the concepts, ideas and activities that your initiative will focus on to create the desired change.
5. Developing indicators to measure your outcomes to assess the performance of your initiative. These would include the amount of change required to signal success, and the timeframe over which such change is expected to occur.
6. Writing a report to explain the logic and thinking of your initiative. (Centre for Theory of Change 2019)

This method is popular as it forces practitioners to map out in detail the aims and outcomes of a project, as well as consider aspects of it in detail. By defining these details in reverse, and often in a visual manner, aspects that would normally be assumed and drawn into focus. The essential component is that the initiative is trying to facilitate a *change* in the people who participate and this is an aspect that is central to public engagement (Centre for Theory of Change 2019). A potential downside to this method is that it is a very clinical and scientific way of designing public engagement.

7.3.2 HLF Expected Outcomes

As a major funder of heritage projects (1.2b from 2019-2024)(National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019:46), the HLF has a series of nine expected outcomes for projects. There is an expectation that because the HLF is funded by the public that the initiatives supported will benefit communities and increase accessibility through a commitment to diversity and inclusion (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019:4). Projects do not need to achieve all these outcomes, however they must achieve a few very well or several to a good degree in order to be successful (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019:33)

1. Heritage will be in better condition.
2. Heritage will be identified and better explained.
3. People will have developed skills.
4. People will have learnt about heritage, leading to change in ideas and actions.
5. People will have greater wellbeing.
6. A wider range of people will be involved in heritage.
7. The funded organisation will be more resilient.
8. The local area will be a better place to live, work or visit.
9. The local economy will be boosted

These nine outcomes will logically form the backbone of all applications for funding with programmes seeking to show relevance in as many areas as possible to increase the chances of success. In general the HLF expects outcomes relate directly to creation both tangible and intangible value from the projects as well as an increase in public perception of the value of heritage (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019:48). Inclusive heritage projects, particularly ones aimed at addressing under-representation of disabled, young, minority, LGBTQ+ and lower socio-economic people, are particularly encouraged (National Lottery Heritage Fund 2019:28).

7.3.3 Wider Evaluation Systems

Heritage does not exist in isolation; it is connected to many other aspects of culture and resource networks. While the previous section of research has focused on how public engagement is evaluated, this section examines two evaluation systems which look more broadly at the value of heritage. Nevertheless, it is beneficial to look at maritime and marine cultural heritage within this system as it highlights the complexity of what is being analysed and connects heritage with the wider maritime world (Firth 2016). As Firth notes, it is essential that maritime heritage develop indicators that can tie into broader heritage and marine established value systems such as Heritage Counts and the Heritage Index (Firth 2016).

7.3.3.1 Ecosystem Services

Ecosystem Services (ES) is a relatively new way of identifying and understanding human dependence on natural systems in order to help weight them appropriately in policy decisions, particularly in terms of development planning (Joint Nature Conservation Committee 2019). At its best, the term ‘services’ is used to encompass the tangible and intangible benefits that people obtain from ecosystems, which are sometimes separated into ‘goods’ and ‘services’ (Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs 2014). This includes the intangible social benefits as well as the tangible financial benefits of heritage. Sadly the application of ES within the maritime cultural context in the UK has many noted issues, namely that is seems to view humans as passive recipients of heritage as opposed to contributors, that is fails to recognise that people value heritage differently and finally, that it is a system designed for ecological issues and not cultural ones (Firth 2016).

7.3.3.2 Heritage Index

Developed in 2016 by the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RCA), the Heritage Index is searchable dataset of heritage resources designed to help quantify heritage within various local authorities in the UK. It is a wide range of quantifiable assets (see Appendix T) on 120 national datasets which have been grouped into general domains of heritage: historic built environment, museums, archives and artefacts, industrial heritage, parks and open spaces, landscape and natural heritage & cultures and memories (RSA 2019a) The indicators for each dataset were then weighted to develop a point system, an example of this was that a Grade 1 listed building was given two points whereas a Grade 2 listed building was given one point (Schifferes 2015:2). Each local authority was then weighted to take into account population and geographic size. The results were then compared to each other, with the top scoring local authority for each sub-domain given the best score and the rest compared to it. The end result is a searchable map which contextually compares and places each local authority (Figure 17)

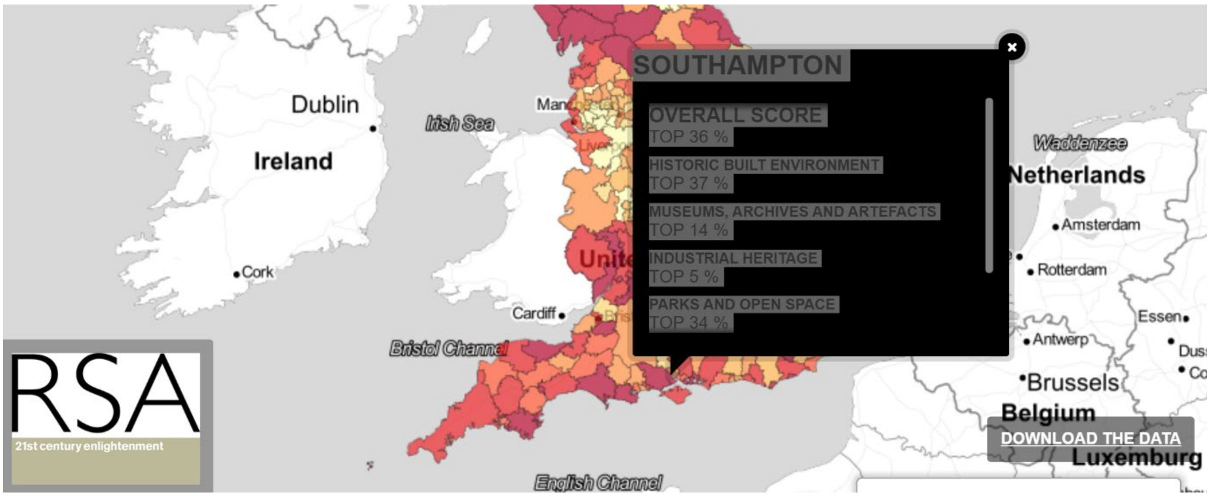

Figure 17 Heritage Index of Southampton, 2018 Screen Capture

Aspects of the Heritage Index are problematic, largely because it puts a numerical value on heritage and ranks local authorities. This is particularly unappealing when it does not consider intangible heritage and cannot consider qualitative aspects. However, looking deeper one of the aims of the Heritage Index was to encourage collaboration between different stakeholders and inform policy makers of the potential for heritage within local areas (RSA 2019a). As a result of the Heritage Index research, the RCA put forward recommendations for more networked heritage. This calls for heritage organizations to be more open and connected, both within organizations, as part of the wider heritage network, and with other sectors, as a response to the devolution of power from central to local governments (RSA 2016). They argue that these connections are essential as "…Groups can otherwise easily feel isolated, unsupported and in competition with each other for the attention of citizens and officials. Smaller organisation can be particularly afflicted, especially as they have often evolved in response to a specific threat to a specific asset."(RSA 2016). Networked heritage strengthens the local voice and helps influence change by representing a larger stakeholder group, particularly in terms of local identity making.

Because of this, when used as a tool to illustrate potential for heritage development, current engagement, and to encourage networked heritage, the Heritage Index becomes a more compelling database to use. Much like the data found in the annual *Heritage Counts* publication, it becomes a resource for the stakeholders to use and a statistical way of communicating with policymakers.

7.4 Summary and Developing Themes

Heritage, as noted in Chapter 1, is a very broad entity and should be defined as anything tangible or intangible with the past. Accepting this definition allows an inclusive view of heritage to flourish, one in which a spirit of public ownership and the right of all stakeholders to engage, is celebrated. Stakeholder groups, particularly those formed by the public, must be engaged with. There is a need to understand that these communities work best when they create themselves and are ever shifting based on the wants of members. Many of these communities will be created to address parity of participation or allow a local community to have a voice. Engagement with these communities will create better protection and understanding of heritage by creating ownership of sites and narratives.

Heritage has an economic, social and environmental value. What is valued changes over time depending on what is prioritised by individuals, groups and governments and helps create identity and a wide range of benefits. Many of these benefits are intangible and linked so building social capabilities. These capabilities often affect change with an individual before moving on to larger social change. One of the most cited benefits is an improvement on wellbeing of individuals, with more active engagement producing the highest results. Heritage also has economic benefits beyond job creation and money from tourism, having been linked better regeneration potential in urban sites.

Evaluation of heritage engagement can be done on a qualitative or quantitative basis. The common evaluation theories predominantly emphasise affecting either social or knowledge-based changes in the public, which tie neatly into the HLF expected outcomes for funded projects as well as development pedagogy (see 5.4). There is a need for maritime heritage to tie into broader systems of evaluation in order for the full potential of the field to be recognised. Much of the evaluation of heritage as a whole is done on a quantifiable basis, which the author suspects are necessary in order for funding and political stakeholder groups to understand its value.

While this research does not expressly aim to understand the many complex issues surrounding heritage and value, this literature review has revealed some themes to discuss relating specifically to heritage engagement. In particular, the application of theoretical models to public engagement and qualitative analysis of public engagement initiatives. Given the practicalities of public engagement (see Chapter 5), there is the potential for the HLF Expected Outcomes to be the guiding force in engagement design leading to successful evaluation. Is this the case? Are the quantitative aspects of evaluation being overlooked? What do the people designing and delivering heritage engagement think makes for success?

7.5 Interview Summaries

These summaries have primarily been drawn from participants answers to the following questions:

1. What do you think of when you hear the term heritage models?
2. How are current theoretical models being applied to the design and delivery of public access initiatives?
3. How do you evaluate your engagement initiatives?
4. What makes engagement successful?

A full transcript of each interview is available as Appendixes F-R, with quotes referenced as the appendix number and question number.

7.5.1 Black Sea MAP

When she hears the term heritage models, CA thinks of different ways of engaging. She references the theory of change and clearly understanding the audience and activities you are doing. It is critical to think about what you are trying to achieve and how best to have your engagement make an impact.

If it is possible, she believes that having an independent evaluation team is helpful because it allows for an impartial perspective on the project. Regardless, she thinks that "…evaluation [is] an ongoing process of improvement rather than something that's done at the end to measure a specific change" (Appendix F Q10). It is important to think about the reach of your project and the quality of activities as well as trying to understand why people are enjoying them. Understanding if they had the impact you were expecting is another important factor. Finally, evaluation should not be a box ticking activity and should be built into the activities and done in both a qualitative and quantitative way. Knowing the 98% of participants enjoyed the event is useful, but just as useful is knowing what people learned.

Each engagement initiative will have its own criteria for success, but generally she aims for people to have had a positive experience that has changed their perceptions. Setting outcome aims from a project that are possible to evaluate make it easier to evaluate. These can be specific to the project or GLOs/GSOs.

RM would like to ask for more information about what the term engagement models means, but imagines it has something to do with engagement of different audiences. Working within public engagement means that she uses logic models like the theory of change which is an example of good practice. In her experience, organizations that do public engagement look at theories and models. There are many ways to evaluate engagement. She advocates talking to people face to face to get immediate feedback, particularly as many people don't like filling in forms. When you get feedback it is important to actually do something with it so you can evolve your project. She agrees with CA that if you can afford independent evaluators it makes it easier to assess.

The success of engagement often depends on the person delivering the initiative. The passion, enthusiasm and relatability of the deliver often trumps even the best graphics. You have to think about the accessibility of what you are delivering and the language that you use so that people can engage regardless of the knowledge capital they have.

7.5.2 Maritime Archaeology Trust

SF does not have a positive association with the term heritage models as they make him think of people who have certain ways of doing engagement and try to fit every project into it. Sometimes this works, but it is impossible for every type of heritage to work in the same way.

Projects at MAT are evaluated both quantitively by looking at things like numbers of volunteers and members of the public engaged, and qualitatively through discussions after the events. He doesn't believe that there is an easy way to qualitatively evaluate engagement but can often tell how a talk has gone based on the audience response during and after it.

JNS thinks that the term heritage model is "…one of those terms that you used to justify things you are doing already." (Appendix I Q15) She thinks there is a place for heritage models, particularly models of learning, but agrees with SF that you have to be flexible on how and when you use them. She is planning on using more mechanisms of learning in designing engagement.

She believes there are two outcomes for successful engagement. One is a future connection, so a repeat booking or new volunteer and the second is the enjoyment of the audience.

JOE believes that heritage models are something he should read more about but has no idea what they are. He doesn't know which ones are used practically and which ones are purely academic, and wishes he had more time to engage with them. It is relatively easy to evaluate a project, but to understand the long-term success of it is more complicated.

AB1 stresses that the primary reason for evaluation is for funders and to help on future projects. The majority of this is to understand the impact of the project on both audiences and heritage. She wishes that her team had more time to reflect on the work they do, but there is rarely time to do so. Engagement is successful when it causes a positive change in an individuals relationship with maritime heritage or creates active engagement through volunteering or some other means.

7.5.3 CITiZAN and Thames Discover Programme

LT thinks that in many ways CITiZAN is developing a heritage model, or at least building on the work by TDP and the Scape Project in Scotland to use the public to monitor coastlines. Even then the training will be tailored to each individual group. When she first hears the term she thinks of management, box ticking and a one-way process. Engagement is successful when it is interactive and when you have something to physically show the public they will find it easier to form a lasting connection with heritage. Much of the engagement designed for kids works well for adults because they want to be entertained as well.

AB2 does not believe you can model for heritage as each site is unique and it is impossible to treat two sites the same. What makes engagement successful is very subjective. It is important to make what you are presenting relevant to the audience and ideally local to them.

EW just laughed hysterically when asked about the term heritage models and said "To be honest, I'd run a mile if I heard someone say those terms. I don't quite know what it means, but I have a horrible suspicion." (Appendix M Q9). He believes that engagement is successful when people have a good time and are happy when you are engaging with them. It has to be a priority, so they come back and engage with both you and the subject matter again.

7.5.4 Nautical Archaeology Society

PK is very proud of how she evaluates heritage engagement. At the end of each course participants fill out a form that asks them not only statistical information but also questions about what worked on a course and what didn't. The previous evaluation from just asked people what they liked, and the answer was already that it was great. Tutors are also encouraged to seek feedback during the course if possible and be receptive towards it. What makes engagement successful is a combination of passionate tutors, an interesting subjects and enthusiastic participants.

7.5.5 Royal Museum Greenwich

JL says that a great deal of research was done on how people would move around and interact with the Cutty Sark, which informed interpretation. These included family consultations and tracking studies in 2013-14. Engagement is successful it provokes a response and conversation. That means that engagement has to offer people the opportunity to talk to people, be they character actors or curators who they can enter a dialogue with.

KC interprets heritage models as the examples of best practice that are around in the field. While she doesn't know much about theory, she does see colleagues learning new ideas and trying them to encourage new audiences to engage. Evaluation happens in a wide variety of ways, including feedback sessions with volunteers and staff. She has not found much success with evaluation forms and so now tries to do an evaluation activity, which can be as simple as just having a space for people to write down comments.

Engagement is successful if a kid leaves knowing just a little snippet more knowledge. She advocates engagement by stealth, where the engagement is fun and the knowledge is just a small fact. In an ideal world a family would participate in a workshop and then go out into the gallery to find the object related to it and have a discussion with the adult in the group.

MBF had no idea what the term heritage model meant but engages with community learning development and the pedagogies surrounding that. She stresses that one of the benefits to working in a large department with people from various backgrounds is that people bring different pedagogies to the table. What makes engagement success depends on the objectives of the project. She reflected on GLO's and the variety of outcomes they can generate, from enjoyment to critical thinking to employability skills. In many ways what makes engagement successful is being consciously aware of the question of what makes heritage successful. "As a learning department if you're not wanting to learn then you're in the wrong business! I think constantly being critical and constantly looking to learn from your audiences by understanding how successful, was is very important." (Appendix P Q11).

7.5.6 Dockhouse 4

CBS immediately switches off when she hears the term heritage model because she interprets it as meaning something is static. It reminds her of visiting a museum and being able to date when the displays were made based on what was in style. Looking at current theoretical models is relevant, but every engagement is unique and you have to be flexible. The practicalities of engagement often mean that you are working in less then ideal situations and the models can't really be applied.

She evaluates engagement first by looking at staff and volunteer input in terms financial, time, effort and enjoyment to see if it sustainable. If it isn't then it can't be run again. That is looked at through observations, feedback, reports and meetings. Participants evaluate the project, sometimes by completing a survey online on an ipad or sometimes by doing something as simple as putting a token in a happy face or sad face jar. The third way a project is evaluated is by looking at the public response and perception it generates. If something was supposed to be popular and isn't, why is that the case? There are lots of things to consider when considering if engagement has been successful. The first is if people attended the event and did the activity. Secondly if people were interested in the content. Hopefully the feedback will tell if someone has walked away with the key message from the project.

7.6 Theme Analysis

When asked what they thought when they heard the term heritage models, many of the participants admitted that they did not really engage with them (JNS, JOE, EW, PK, MBF & CBS). Asking the question usually provoked laughter from the participants (CA, EW, AB2, LT, KC & CBS), reflecting how outside their knowledge comfort zone this question was. This is likely due to the wrong terminology being used in the phrasing of the question. Instead of asking about heritage models the question should have been asked about theories of learning, which provoked a bit more of a response in (JNS, SF & MBF). Indeed, JNS stated that she uses theories of learning. Two participants with particularly negative associations with the term were SF & CBS, both of whom felt that models were static and limited development. Four participants (RM, PK, JOE & MBF) expressed a desire to learn about models. Of the positive responses, four participants used models as ways of thinking about audiences (CA, RM, KC & JL) three associated the term with developing a project model that with proof of success could be used again (RM, LT & AB2).

Unsurprisingly, given the responses above many participants believed it was difficult to apply models to heritage because each site and initiative would be unique (JNS, SF, AB2, CBS & LT). Two participants (CA & MF) cited models as critical to understanding what an initiative is trying to archive and the impact it will have. KC and RM both believed it that involved understanding best practice in the industry. The only three participants to cite specific learning theory. CA & RM used the theory of change and MBF used GLO's.

Initiatives are predominantly evaluated using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods (CA, RM, SF, AB1, PK & KC). Encouragingly, evaluation is often seen as an ongoing process to improve the offer of public engagement (CA, RM, MBF, PK & MBF) and not just a box ticking activity. Other benefits of evaluation were to better understand the impact of an initiative (AB1, CA & MBF), provide evidence of success to secure future funding (RM, AB1) and to better understand the viability of running an activity again (CBS). The most popular evaluation methods was talking face to face with other stakeholders in the activity, including volunteers and the public (RM, SF, PK, KC & CBS) followed closely by feedback forms (PK, CBS, RM & CBS). AB1 noted that there was rarely enough time for qualitative feedback by people working on initiatives due to the pressures of securing more work. Three participants cited the need to build evaluation into activities (CA, KC & CBS) as they perceived a general lack of success with feedback forms for certain audiences. CA & RM advocated using an external evaluation organisation is possible to allow for an impartial view on an initiative.

Participants evaluated the success of engagement in a variety of ways. The public having a positive and enjoyable experience was an important indicator (CA, SF, JNS, AB2, EW, KC, CBS & JL). Participants also felt that fulfilling the aims of the initiative (CA, MBF, JOE & CBS) and affecting change in participants (CA, AB1, MBF, SF) were significant measures of success.

Having the opportunity to interact with the public (LT, EW & JL) and harnessing the enthusiasm of the person doing the engagement (RM & PK) are hugely beneficial to engagement. Participants believe there are benefits to having hands on activities or something to show that is relevant to the audience (LT, AB2 & KC). The engagement should be accessible (RM) and expectations should be that only small messages are taken away (KC & CBS). JL & KC both believe that engagement should start conversations between people and provoke a response. Although it is difficult to measure the long-term success of public engagement (JOE), initiatives should look for future connections and opportunities (AB1, JNS & CBS) that come out projects.

Chapter 8 Discussion

The primary aim of this research was to add the perspective of professionals working on public engagement in three key areas by asking the following questions:

1. In what ways are the public currently offered access to maritime heritage in England and what is affecting this access?
2. Who is delivering maritime heritage engagement initiatives and what are their aims?
3. Is there a substantial connection between public engagement literature and practice?

Chapter 2 set out the many ways that the public has access to maritime heritage in England. Chapters 4-7 of this thesis provided a literature review and analysis of the interviews by the participants in this research. This has proved to be a very rich dataset with the interviews not only informing the aims of this thesis but also my personal approach to public engagement.

This chapter will outline an overview of the findings of this research, first by examining each theme to illustrate the outcomes, connections with literature and provide some discussions of identified issues. The autoethnographic section of this chapter will examine the evolution of my knowledge capital from the beginning to end of the PhD process, primarily through how connecting with the public engagement community and having the opportunity to discuss these issues, affected my own work in the field.

Finally, this chapter will conclude by summarising the contributions this research has made to the field, acknowledge the limitations and lessons learned during the process, suggest areas for future research, and make recommendations of potential changes in the field.

8.1 Uniqueness of the Maritime Context and Public Perception

The uniqueness of the maritime context affects how the public engages with it, both in terms of access and perception (see Chapter 4). As in the literature review, participants clearly noted that the lack of visibility and accessibility seriously affected public access. Rather than the anticipated physical access being the issue, the greatest barrier was the lack of knowledge capital in the public. Participants believed this was because the public is often sea-blind and simply unaware of how physically close they are to maritime sites , resulting in a broad disconnect from the maritime world. As archaeology is no longer on the national curriculum, this has led to a potential massive knowledge gap as including heritage in school learning is now only at the discretion of individual teachers. As noted by AB2, much of the archaeological excavation happening in England is developer lead terrestrial projects, resulting in a terrestrial heritage having a more sustained presence in the media and representing a higher proportion of finds. Therefore, the general knowledge capital of terrestrial heritage is likely higher than it is for maritime heritage because more of it has been found, conserved and displayed. This requires maritime heritage engagement to think outside the box in terms of how access can be both encouraged and provided. While the participants acknowledged the issues of access they were not seen as a barrier, but rather a challenge that could be overcome through using the right tools and engaging with local stakeholders. Physical access to many maritime sites is difficult, but not insurmountable. In line with the field of maritime archaeology in general, technology is increasingly being used to facilitate the public visiting submerged and intertidal sites in a virtual way.

Because of this proliferation in digital engagement, access to maritime heritage is in some ways similar to terrestrial heritage as it hinges on how the public is accessing the heritage itself. Engaging many popular forms of passive engagement (websites, museum exhibits, media, VR & technology) does not require physical access to the submerged or intertidal contexts. However, unless a significant amount of money is invested the aspects of active engagement which involve these contexts they are only accessible to a small proportion of the public. Relating back to the heritage cycle, the relationship between understanding heritage and valuing heritage comes into play when considering many terrestrial sites are more physically accessible. There are "costs" of visiting these harder to access maritime sites: financial, researching how to legally access them, logistical issues of seasons, times, tides and mutability. While these issues are all present on some terrestrial sites, they are less prevalent due to the site context, and many people will pick the easier access option. By raising the public knowledge and therefore the value of maritime heritage, the public has the potential of recognising that it is worth the extra effort to engage with. Thankfully, the literature review and interview analysis broadly suggests that the public is willing and interested in engaging with maritime heritage (see 4.2 and 4.5.2).

Both the literature and the participants believe that the public perception of maritime heritage is being largely dictated by popular culture. There is a common perception that maritime heritage is only accessible by divers, leading to the likelihood that many public stakeholders do not believe maritime sites that are accessible by land (ports, harbours, waterways, lakes, intertidal sites etc.) fall into the maritime context (see 4.5) This perception has been built up over the lifetime of a person, drawn from both factual and fictional representations, and so Professionals must approach these misconceptions delicately so as not to alienate their audience. The interview questions particularly looked at the word 'treasure' as an example of how contextualization of a word becomes important in changing the narrative associated with it. There is a clear view that the word 'treasure' must be reclaimed and re-used so that the public perception of maritime heritage can move away from sensational narratives and non-ethical uses. 'Treasure', like other misappropriated terms, is best used as a hook and part of the unique selling point of maritime heritage. By capitalising on the public's fascination with the unknown, adventure, discovery and methodology used by maritime archaeologists, Professionals can subvert the popular culture narrative.

8.2 Messages

Broadly speaking, the participants believe that the aim of the public appears to be the desire to learn about, contextualise, connect to and appreciate the heritage they see (see 5.3). Some members of the public want ownership of this heritage, either through active involvement in its protection or an acknowledgement of the local/community stakeholder narratives associated with it. Participants recognised that the various groupings of the public, be they Unruh's strangers, tourists, regulars, and insiders (Unruh 1980) or Firth's (Firth 2015:21) participants, visitors, and inhabitant (see 5.3), have different aims which need to be accommodated.

Trying to engage all these different audiences is problematic when looking at aims of major policy-makers and funders in England (5.2). Public engagement for non-target audiences and members of the public who don't fall into a disenfranchised community group is likely more difficult to fund. If heritage is for everyone what happens when more traditional audiences, white, middle-class and middle aged, no longer relate to or have access to programming? While Chapter 2 suggests that programmes that target these audiences is available anecdotally, older museum-based volunteers have expressed concerns that "their" museum is changing, and they are feeling more excluded. This is indicative of a larger issue of retaining the enthusiasm of established stakeholder groups while engaging with a new audience. As the available funding shifts to an even newer audience the onus is on engagement initiatives to help transition current stakeholder groups to new projects through helping them to recognise how they will meet the stakeholder aims. As these groups move through the heritage cycle and become more active in their engagement, these aims will change and become more ambitious. Volunteers and other regular heritage engagement participants (see 6.4) must be encouraged to continue developing their involvement so they can help reclaim public ownership of heritage and become ambassadors for the maritime context.

It is significant to note the similarities in the stated aims of all the policy making organizations discussed in Section 5.2. The mandate has clearly been collectively set by DCMS, HLF & HE/EH, particularly in terms of working with local communities/stakeholders, focusing on digital access, broadening the use of heritage to achieve wellbeing, and improving access for hard to reach audiences. These aims are all clear focus areas for the interview participants within the design and implementation of public engagement. In terms of public engagement this represents an increasingly positive political climate to work in and suggests that the authorised heritage discourse in England is changing to one which values the social and cultural benefits of heritage. Research that does not involve robust public engagement is not likely to be funded, which means that regardless of the views of those developing heritage initiatives they are effectively forced to engage in some way with the public.

There is no argument that the HLF encouraged aims of access, social and enfranchisement in heritage are beneficial but the research participants raised issues relating to funding, staffing and target audiences. How can a fully funded project have funding issues? If there is not enough money and staff for public engagement on a funded project, it is possible that initiatives are underbidding for funding in order to survive in a highly competitive field. Specifically, it is possible initiatives are bidding to engage with a target audience but will be engaging with a much larger group of stakeholders as they continue with the altruistic goal of making heritage valuable to everyone. While there is room for projects of every size to be successful and have impact, the aims of the project must be deliverable by the people employed on it otherwise it will ultimately the engagement will be stretched too thin to be meaningful. Though initiatives are increasingly engaging with public stakeholders at the initial stages of a project to identify how a project can add value to their lives, the Professionals working on a project may not be hired until after it has been funded. Their perspective on how design and achieve a project, as well as knowledge of the various non-target audience stakeholder groups who will be interested, can often be lost. Initiatives need to both ask and respect the input of engagement professionals when writing funding bids, acknowledging their experience in delivering programming. They must remain focused on the altruistic and professional reasons for engaging with the public, namely that heritage belongs to everyone and people have a right to know and access it, as opposed to financial benefits. If public engagement is the primary tool by which maritime heritage must increase social value and change public perception, then heritage initiatives should bid appropriately for contracts to ensure this can be achieved.

While research participants do not use the term deficit model, aspects of this perspective are reflected in the desire to improve the knowledge capital of the public.. However, the participant and literature focus is on messages being created not only by Professionals but also the Public, particularly in terms of collaboration using a multiple perspective model and bottom up approach to engagement. Several initiatives focus on citizen science and collaborations with other public stakeholder groups to create a stronger message. While recognising that the knowledge capital of the public needs to be improved, the participants believe the public should play an active role in how this is accomplished. This can be difficult, particularly if the target stakeholder audience is hard to reach.

Participants stressed the importance of being aware of the knowledge capital, aims and the perception that your target audience has when designing programming. Multiple ways of engagement in initiatives allows for different audiences to be engaged using the same source material. The concepts of storytelling and connection making are explicit throughout the participant interviews, particularly through the idea of using hooks and tapping into popular culture as a gateway to engaging with maritime heritage. Participants are particularly aware of the need for people to see, touch and hold objects which relate to the past, in order to connect with it. The best ways to encourage engagement is face to face to facilitate making these connections both with heritage but also with the Professionals delivering the initiatives. This allows for the offer to be tailored to the needs of the individual, based on their knowledge and perception of the maritime context.

The Blue-Sky thinking results did not produce the variety of answers initially anticipated, but after analysis unsurprisingly pointed to the commonly perceived gap in public engagement in England: the lack of public access to a submerged site in situ for non-divers. While participants noted that the provision of access to maritime heritage may generally be good, ironically the unique selling point of maritime heritage that is the adventure, discovery and methodology of finding a submerged site, is impossible for the majority to access. As noted above, technology has made remote access to submerged sites more feasible, but absolutely nothing can replace the sensation of physically seeing a site. The closest the non-diving public has access to maritime sites is via ship-based museums, such as the *Cutty Sark* and *Mary Rose,* which allow them to experience some of the feelings associated with awe and discovery. Professionals also routinely focus on methodology-based activities, such as MAT’s mock excavation with mini hand dredges and trying on diving equipment, to facilitate a connection with the process of excavation under water. Ultimately, it would take a huge amount of long-term capital for the public to be able to experience a submerged site being excavated in situ. The best compromise may be projects like the *Nanhai 1* where the vessel was raised in a silt block and excavated in a large saltwater tank within a museum (UNESCO 2017b).

8.3 Messengers

The Professionals interviewed for this research intentionally come from a wide range of backgrounds and projects, illustrating that not everyone who works with engaging the public comes from a maritime or heritage background. It is essential that this is recognised within heritage and that Professionals understand that good and ethical public engagement can come from many sources. This is not to suggest that the field should not be critical in examining the aims of initiatives, particularly the media, but a reminder that we are not the gatekeepers of heritage anymore. Part and parcel of engaging with the public and encouraging community based multiple narratives and interpretations, is that we must accept these messages will become part of the narrative for a site. Filmmakers, scientists, archaeologists, artists and teachers are just some of the Professionals who now help to shape the public perception of maritime heritage and they bring a much-needed diversification within the field. These Professionals see themselves in a unique role of working for the benefit of heritage and public, as both educators and representatives of heritage. Professionals clearly must walk a fine line between all three major stakeholder groups, Public, Professional (in this case, non-public engagement heritage stakeholders) and Policy-makers, to ensure that the needs and aims of all three are met. They also, crucially, have a remit to a fourth stakeholder: Heritage. Heritage is an often-irreplaceable entity and it is vital that as we move forward in facilitating public engagement and increasing social value, we must respect these exceptional assets. It is encouraging to see that the research participants feel that a main aim is to help facilitate all heritage Professionals in achieving one of their main aims: making the past both physically and intellectually accessible and relevant to the public, and in doing so protecting heritage as a whole.

A basic interpretive phenomenological analysis of the interview results indicated that the participants are enthusiastic, confident and passionate about public engagement. While questions regarding the mitigating circumstances, heritage models and public perception resulted in pessimistic reactions, participants viewed these as challenges to worked with. The participants are determined to work with stakeholder groups to improve awareness of maritime heritage in whatever way they can. Anecdotally, the warmth and good humour of the participants shone through during both the interviews and transcription process. The profile created is one akin to a gregarious teacher who is constantly developing the fun way to teach.

8.4 Value & Evaluation

Professionals clearly recognise that stakeholders value maritime heritage in different ways based on the huge variety of engagement currently offered in England (Chapter 2). This diversity is precisely why a model for heritage engagement elicited laughter from the interview participants: a model cannot exist as it could never hope to cover all the permutations and combinations of stakeholders. The approach that needs to be taken is to communicate with the involved stakeholder groups, to facilitate something that works in terms of engagement for all parties. While educational pedagogy and models of learning are clearly beneficial, particularly for equalizing evaluation of initiatives and their outcomes, they are largely imposed by funding bodies. Questions surrounding models and evaluation revealed that the participants themselves generally did not feel they had time to engage with academic literature and indeed some made efforts to separate themselves from the academic context. It is unfortunate that this separation between academia and practice exists as the literature would benefit greatly from more practical inputs and Professionals could formalise much of the innate knowledge they already have.

Heritage initiatives are formally evaluated in both a qualitative and quantitative manner, but participants also placed a great deal of stock in their own personal evaluations of activities. Having delivered public engagement, I know that you always have a gut feeling of how an activity went and that feeling will usually direct you to making improvements. Many of the research participants have worked for years in public engagement and to ignore that experience, particularly in terms of immediate feedback, is to overlook a valuable resource. As several participants said, evaluation should not be done solely at the end of an initiative but should be used to make changes to programming to better achieve the aims. Evaluation should happen frequently and include the perspectives of all stakeholders involved in the process, the Public as well as Professionals.

The success of engagement depends on having the right message, delivered in the right way, to the right audience. Most participants believe that by enjoying themselves at an activity, the public will take away a small but positive message about maritime heritage. This will affect change in the public, particularly in generating an understanding that connecting with heritage increases wellbeing. It is important to remain aware of the aims of all stakeholder groups, heritage included, when judging the success of an initiative. As much as possible, the needs of all groups need to have parity for a project to truly be successful.

8.5 Authoethnography

There is no course that could possibly cover what I have learned over the past six years. The results of these interviews have deeply impacted how I look at public engagement and the need to work with stakeholder groups. At the beginning of this research I was concerned about the potential biases my connections with participants would have on the results. In fact, these connections turned out to be positives and helped create a greater sense of trust, authenticity and confidence in the work for both myself and participants. I was able to be a participant in the process myself, thanks to the flexibility of PAR as a methodology, and record and incorporate observations about the participants using IPA.

There are three aspects of this research that I have found particularly interesting: The wide-reaching impact of value, the understanding of stakeholder aims, and how the participants position themselves within heritage. I was honestly not prepared for the impact that spending six months of my life reading about stakeholders and value would have on my professional life. It is akin to a door opening and the issues I have had with delivering the right message to a target audience being explained. Equally, recognising that many of my peers also find the dichotomy of working for the public and heritage as well as being an educator and archaeologist, a complex situation.

During this research I was fortunate to work on the Black Sea MAP project, as part of both the Education and Science teams. More so then the literature review and my past engagement work, the words of the interview participants guided me. They provided a grounded point of reference in reality throughout and expanded my ways of thinking and engaging with the public. This learning process of researching themes, interviewing participants, and analysing their responses, illustrates the benefit to all Professionals of the widespread dissemination of this research. It will be beneficial to all stakeholders to recognise the overarching issues and aspirations within public engagement, and understand that they are not isolated within their initiatives and are a part of projects of all sizes. I truly believe that with more engagement with each other, Professionals would emerge with a greater confidence in their work and role within heritage.

8.6 Limitations and Lessons learned

This research was limited to Professionals working in England, largely so that all participating initiatives would have access to the same funding and legal framework. It was also limited due to the financial practicalities of visiting initiatives in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Although initial contact was made with many initiatives, the overwhelming majority who replied to the request for interviews were from London and the South. Several initiatives that it was hoped could be included did not reply. This sample was further reduced to a representative size (Chapter 3). Media is only briefly included within this research.

These limitations were essential in order to provide a detailed analysis and literature review within the length of this thesis. There are many more excellent examples of public engagement and Professionals who could be included within this study; indeed another 30,000 words of transcribed interviews have not been included. It is hoped these will provide more data for further research.

There were many lessons learned during this research. As the gathering of qualitative data required the questions to be submitted to the ethics board before beginning it was difficult to identify what would be relevant to ask the participants. While there was an established understanding of what the literature suggested would be pertinent, there was also some doubt as to the connections between theory and practice. Thankfully, by using the questions as a guide and learning from each interview, it became easier to direct the conversations towards the themes that became apparent. Just as the participants learned to trust me, I learned to trust them to direct the research into areas previously not considered. The group interviews were largely successful and aided in reducing the feeling that the process was an interview as well as facilitating discussion. Moving forward, group interviews would have to be done with consideration of the relationships between participants to ensure equality. Interviews done remotely or by email were less useful then those done in person, largely because there was a lack of opportunity to connect with the participants. Just as in engagement the connection between researcher and participants is important, and this was particularly true when doing IPA on the interviews. Without the face to face connection and interview notes it proved impossible.

8.7 Areas for Further Research

This is an area of research which shows great potential to be expanded. Potential further interview participants include other stakeholder groups, such as the Public and Policy Makers, as well as expanding the current Professionals to include more freelancers and volunteers. It would be possible to look at comparative UK and international organizations to better understand the impact of local policy and funding on public engagement.

Additionally, more direct questions could be asked regarding how public engagement helps create value and the role of heritage itself as a stakeholder. This was an aspect of the research that became more relevant during the research process and is likely worthy of a thesis in itself. It would also be interesting to further examine how participants feel legacy of projects is being managed.

The combination of PAR and IPA as a methodology has great potential to facilitate research such as this and allow greater insight into the role of both messages and messengers in public engagement. It would be particularly interesting to video tape subsequent interviews so that body language could be interpreted.

8.8 Recommendations

This research has three recommendations for how to improve public engagement within England.

1) Professionals should continue to pressure the Department of Education to reintroduce archaeology within primary and secondary schools as both a science and humanities subject. This would be the single best way to improve the knowledge capital of the public in the field.
2) Public engagement initiatives would benefit from becoming more networked, particularly in how information is presented to the public. There are many opportunities for the public to engage but if programming is not connected the motivation and interest of an individual can be lost once an initiative has finished. While the author is aware of the highly competitive nature attracting an audience to an initiative in an ideal world, stakeholders would be able to go to one website or source for information on how to engage with maritime heritage. This would be

a sustained, impartial & funded resource for the public listing activities, initiatives, festivals, museums, volunteer opportunities, news etc. Not only would a site like this allow for the public to find the right initiative, it would allow initiatives to find the right stakeholders to meet their needs. This platform would also allow maritime heritage initiatives in England to provide a single source message to challenge the popular culture and treasure hunting influences on public perception.

3) Professionals should be encouraged to start talking to each other about how they engage with the public in a professional capacity. The perspectives within this research clearly illustrate there is a wealth of knowledge that can be shared to the benefit of all involved. The recommendation is that a symposium be developed with a focus on the practicalities of public engagement. Not only would this allow Professionals to showcase their best examples of engagement, but it would also facilitate both formal and informal connections within the industry.

8.9 Conclusions

This research aimed to answer three key questions in relation to public engagement with maritime heritage in England: In what ways are the public currently offered access to maritime heritage in England and what is affecting this access? Who is delivering maritime heritage engagement initiatives and what are their aims? And is there a substantial connection between public engagement literature and practice?

The public has access to a wide range of maritime public engagement initiatives in England (see Chapter 2) and both Professional and Policy stakeholder groups are attempting to engage with disenfranchised groups to increase who is accessing this programming (see Chapter 5). This research has flagged that efforts must be made to continue funding for access for all stakeholder groups to ensure that the momentum and effort of this engagement is not lost in the future. Public engagement with the maritime context specifically will remain problematic until the physical barrier of accessing submerged sites is overcome. With the speed technology is currently advancing it is not out of the realms of possibility that true parity with terrestrial sites can be achieved. There is also a widespread concern about the lack of knowledge on what maritime heritage is, tying into the public perception of the field being based on popular culture.

Even more than physical access this is the issue that public engagement professionals are working to overcome. There is a danger of funded programming only being available for disenfranchised and hard to reach audiences, in line with the desire to generate wider social value within heritage. Problematically, this is not always the appropriate audience for the needs of the heritage itself as illustrated by the intertidal monitoring work being done by CITiZAN which would have benefited more from settled residents and not transient young people (see 5.6.3). In order to engage with non-target audiences, initiatives must find additional sources of funding or stretch what they have to accommodate all interested stakeholders. This leads to initiatives reaching beyond their funding capabilities in order to achieve the altruistic goals of creating value and allowing access for all.

The aims of the Professionals delivering public engagement programming are to facilitate the needs of all the stakeholders in a way that is fun and appealing to the public. They aim to deliver small messages to change the public perception of the field and create a better understanding of how it benefits our lives. These Professionals are a wide range of people from a variety of backgrounds, a strength which allows engagement initiatives to connect to a wider range of stakeholders. Behind every unique activity that is delivered is an individual who thinks about maritime heritage in just the right way to connect with that audience. The diversity in this field should be celebrated and encouraged.

There are definite connections between the theory and practice of public engagement with maritime heritage, specifically aspects relating to pedagogy and evaluation, despite participants stating they rarely have time to read academic literature. Pedagogy knowledge is possibly due to osmosis facilitated by the short-term nature of public engagement contracts, as the participants work with different teams and initiatives and acquire hands on examples of best practice. Knowledge of evaluation theory is required for writing reports and funding applications, though it also plays a role in the terminology and design of engagement initiatives.

Ultimately, public engagement with maritime heritage in England is in safe, determined and knowledgeable hands. There is a large effort to recognise and meet needs of all stakeholder groups and the goal of raising public knowledge capital, changing the perception, and increasing the social value of maritime heritage is at the forefront of initiatives aims. This is being done in a wide range of active and passive ways, allowing interested stakeholders the opportunity to engage with heritage dependant on their unique circumstances and wants. The Professionals delivering this engagement believe that it is the right of everyone to have the opportunity to connect with the maritime world, in whatever way floats their boat.

Appendix A Masters Research Interview Questions

1. How do you define “outreach”?
2. What training have you had that has prepared you for your current role?
3. How many different outreach activities does your program run?
4. How are these programs different?
5. What do you hope to achieve with outreach programs?
6. How are these programs funded?
7. How does this funding effect how the programs are run?
8. How are the programs staffed?
9. How does staffing effect how programs are run?
10. Do you design programs for specific target groups? Why or why not?
11. Do any of the projects include media or internet components?
12. Do you perceive any differences in outreach programs for terrestrial or maritime sites?
13. Should entertainment play a role in designing and implementing outreach activities?
14. How you do you balance the wants vs. needs of an audience?
15. How do you perceive outreach has changed since your involvement in the area began?
16. Why do you think outreach is important?
17. Does heritage have to be meaningful to everyone?

Appendix B Higher Education Maritime Heritage Courses in England

University	Undergraduate module	Masters	Practical component	PhD Research	Research Group	Staff	Research Focus	Contact Person
University of Aberdeen	1	Research	Unknown	Yes	Yes	6	Submerged landscapes, Northern regions, bioarchaeology	Prof. Keith Dobney keith.dobney@abdn.ac.uk
University of Highland and Island	1	Taught	Unknown	No	Yes	4	Prehistory and History of Highlands and Islands, Viking and Norse Archaeology	Dr. Annalisa Christie annalisa.christie@uhi.ac.uk
University of Nottingham	1	Taught	Yes	Yes	Yes	6	Prehistoric submerged settlements	Prof. Jon Henderson jon.henderson@nottingham.ac.uk
University of Oxford	1	Taught	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	Prehistoric to early Mediterranean world, Prehistoric Indian Ocean, South East Asia	Dr. Damian Robinson damian.robinson@arch.ox.ac.uk
University of Reading	1	Taught	Yes	No	No	6	Coastal archaeology, ancient maritime trade and navigation	Prof. Annalisa Marzano a.marzano@reading.ac.uk
University of Southampton	2	Taught	Yes	Yes	Yes	7	Early seafaring, geoarchaeology, medieval shipbuilding, ethnography, submerged landscapes, Indian Ocean, shipwreck research	Dr. Julian Whitewright R.J.WHITEWRIGHT@soton.ac.uk
University of Wales	8	No	Yes	No	No	3	Newport Ship	Prof. Nigel Nayling n.nayling@tsd.uwtsd.ac.uk

Appendix C Interview Questions and Themes

- **Uniqueness of the maritime context**
  - Does the challenge of provision of access (physical, intellectual and cultural) dictate how you design maritime heritage programming?
  - Do you believe access to maritime heritage is being/can be provided at the same level as terrestrial heritage?

- **Effect on public perception of maritime archaeology**
  - What is the perceived effect of public fascination with ‘treasure hunting’ on the perception of maritime archaeology?
  - What do you believe is the most effective way to change public perception through engagement?
  - How do you think the messages being delivered by public access initiatives are being perceived/received?
  -
- **Practicalities of Engagement delivery**
  - What do you think of when you hear the term heritage models?
  - How are current theoretical models being applied to the design and delivery of public access initiatives?
  - How do you design engagement initiatives?
  - How are practicalities (national interest, targeting audiences, funding & staffing) affecting aims & delivery of public programming?
  - How do you evaluate your engagement initiatives?
  - What makes engagement successful?
  - Do you feel that the public is willing and interested in engaging with maritime heritage?

- **Who is delivering these initiatives?**
  - How do you believe your background has helped prepare you to deliver engagement programming?
  - How do you think engagement programming has changed since you became involved in it?
  - What do you believe your role is in heritage management?
  - Do you consider yourself an archaeologist or an educator?
  - Do you believe you work is for the benefit of archaeology or the public?
  - Why do you believe we are engaging with the public?
  - How do you think we have arrived as this point in heritage engagement?

Blue Sky Thinking

- If you could design a public access initiative with no concern over any mitigating issues, what would you design?
- How would you implement this initiative?
- What do you think needs to change in order for an initiative like this to happen
- Why would this be your ideal approach?

Appendix DParticipant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet (Face to Face)

Study Title: A Sea of Change: An Ethnographic Study of Maritime Heritage

Engagement in the UK

Researcher: Danielle Newman **Ethics number**: 13537

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

This is study forms part of the thesis for the PhD in Archaeology at the University of Southampton. I am currently furthering research on public access to maritime archaeology in the UK. This project builds on a pilot study done in 2012 for master's dissertation work, which discovered both high level of knowledge of theoretical models within the fields, but also many practical issues that mitigated their application.

The research aims to:

1. Discuss the differences and similarities in designing initiatives for maritime and terrestrial contexts
2. Understand both how this access is provided on a theoretical and practical level
3. Create a picture of how the people involved in these projects are helping to shape public perception of maritime archaeology.
4. Engage in blue sky thinking of how access might potentially be granted.

The aim of the project is not to judge individual programs, but rather to illustrate how theory and practice are working together. It aims to provide a biography of the field of public engagement (access, outreach and education) within maritime archaeology to better show the role it plays in changing the publics perception of the field.

The research sponsor for this study in the University of Southampton.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you currently work in the area of public access in archaeology.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you take part in this study you will be e-mailed a copy of the themes and questions that will be covered in this study. These questions are intended to prompt discussion and should be understood as the starting points that represent the full spectrum of what the conversation will cover. The interviews are very much a dialogue and you are welcome to suggest other questions at any point.

The study will be conducted at a public place of your choosing, at a mutually convenient time. An audio recording of the interview will be made. It is anticipated that the interview will take no more then one hour.

In the event that a follow on interview is required, the participant will be contacted. There is no obligation to participate in a second interview.

Refreshments will be paid for.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

This represents the first ethnographic study of people currently working in maritime archaeology public access in the UK. It is likely that it represents the first investigation world wide of how the perspectives of individuals such as yourself are helping to shape the public perception of the field. Although the benefit to you as an individual is limited to an opportunity to consider and discuss your work in perspective, the benefit to the field of maritime archaeology and public engagement is high.

Are there any risks involved?

There are no physical risks involved in your participation in the program.

Will my participation be confidential?

Due to the nature of this study (detailed case studies of initiatives and interviews), it will be impossible to protect your anonymity. Audio recordings for the interviews will be kept for transcription purposes, but will not be released at part of the thesis.

You will be provided a transcribed copy of your interview and given a minimum of one month to review it and request any changes or omissions (maximum dependant on submission of thesis). These requests will be granted without question.

Information on initiatives will be kept confidential until publication of the thesis.

All information regarding this project will be kept on a password protected computer.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw at any time up until submission of the thesis. At this point, the information contained will become public knowledge and available for further research.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If you have any concerns or complains during this process, please contact:

Prof Chris Janaway

Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee

Tel: 023 80593424

Email: c.janaway@soton.ac.uk

Where can I get more information?

If you would like further information on this research, please contact myself

(dn1g11@soton.ac.uk) or my primary supervisor, Dr. Lucy Blue (L.Blue@soton.ac.uk)

Appendix E **Consent Form**

CONSENT FORM (FACE TO FACE: Version 1- January 2015

Study title: A Sea of Change: An Ethnographic Study of Maritime Heritage Engagement in the UK

Researcher name: Danielle Newman

Staff/Student number: 22588604

ERGO reference number:

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (V1) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study. ☐

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data ☐

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at ☐

I agree to be interviewed for this study ☐

I agree to have an audio recording made of any interviews as part ☐

I understand that I will not retain anonymity during this project ☐

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Name of participant (print name)…………………………………………………

Signature of participant…………………………………………………………..….

Date……………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix F -R Participant Interviews

Full interviews with research participants (Appendix F-R) are available online at https://doi.org/10.5258/SOTON/D1108

Appendix S CIfA Guidelines for Stewardship

1.6.3 Reconciling values When managing change to historic assets, seek to reconcile sets of values derived from evidence, from past, present and possible future uses, and from how they are recognised by individuals and communities.

1.6.4 Values for stewardship While using evidential values as the basis for stewardship tasks and activities, ensure that other measures of value held by other groups are duly recognised and respected.

1.6.5. Changing significance Re-evaluate the significance of historic assets at appropriate intervals, either regularly or when affected by change or demands for new explanations. Ensure it reflects any altered understanding, from new evidence and new research methodologies, or any new cultural perceptions and associations for individuals and communities.

2.1.7 Presenting results Facilitate the expansion of knowledge by presenting and publishing the results of investigations in ways that can reach and engage various types and levels of audiences; avoid talking down or blinding with science; explain contexts clearly; introduce the unknown by relating it where possible with the known

2.1.8 Traditions and evidence Distinguish between understanding based on evidence-based research and the intangible associations of tradition or legend, while respecting the latter for their particular interest, metaphorical qualities and the cultural esteem in which they may be held.

2.3 Social and community benefit
Contrasts and continuities between past and present societies can invest historic assets and places with a significance that supports awareness of community and a sense of roots.

2.3.1 Community identity and cohesion
Discover how regional and local communities regard their historic assets and the extent to which they reflect distinctive regional or local identities; identify their scope for stimulating historical and cultural awareness and promoting a sense of identifiable place; recognise that local environmental perceptions may embrace both nature and history; recognise that different sections within communities may ascribe different or conflicting values to assets. Engage in dialogue about well-founded community attitudes to historic areas when devising regeneration schemes.

2.3.2 Public value and private interests
When assessing the significance of privately owned historic assets, take account of the wider public interest in them and any public benefits they can bring; respect the rights of private ownership and draw the attention of owners to their public value.

2.3.3 Education and the historic environment
Promote the study of historic assets, for their particular interest and in wider contexts, for understanding past peoples and for appreciating present places; offer the intellectual and

imaginative challenge of analysing and reconstructing past human activity.

2.3.4 Passing it on to future generations
Use formal and informal educational opportunities at all school ages to communicate the interest of historic assets and places.

2.4 Economic benefit
Conserving historic assets can bring economic benefits through revived or alternative uses. By themselves or together with the value of social benefits, these can equal or exceed the financial costs of conservation.

2.4.1 Adding value in regeneration
Ensure area-based regeneration schemes in the urban historic environment are conservationled and based upon an informed and proportionate understanding of historic development. Promote the value of the historic environment in bringing a conservation dividend that can enhance the quality of new development. Retain the continuity of architectural and cultural interest in the historic townscape by re-using locally distinctive buildings and street patterns.

2.4.2 Weighing public value and economic use
When evaluating the economic benefits of historic assets, take account of the public value ascribed to them. In seeking to manage market forces or justify subsidising a 'conservation deficit' (a budgetary deficit arising from conservation requirements), ensure all aspects of public value are appreciated, especially benefits to community identity and cultural tourism.

2.4.3 Materials and sustainability
When considering proposals for altering or replacing historic assets, take into account how far their materials and construction represent valuable embedded environmental capital. Challenge unsupported assertions that old materials and construction are inherently poor in terms of energy conservation and carbon footprint. Seek to ensure new or recycled materials are derived from sustainable sources.

2.5 Leisure and tourism interest
Community benefit is connected with leisure interest, economic benefit with tourism interest. For historic assets to serve them all requires a good understanding of their particular qualities and of public expectations.

2.5.1 Managing visitor attractions
Ensure that historic assets used as visitor attractions have visitor management and audience development plans in addition to a conservation management plan embodying a statement of its significance.

2.5.2 Access and capacity
Audit arrangements for access to historic assets for their robustness and capacity to accept variable levels of visiting. Assess potential environmental impacts, the physical capacity to absorb wear, and the need to protect important intangible qualities such as ambience and tranquillity. Explain necessary protective measures as part of the presentation to visitors.

2.5.3 Transportation and tourism
Minimise the environmental impacts of access arrangements to historic assets by integrating them with sustainable transport policies that manage pressures on local transport networks.

2.5.4 Interpretative infrastructure
Incorporate the design and positioning of signage, interpretation material and local facilities within the management strategy for a visited historic asset or place; aim for minimum environmental and visual impacts, sustainable use of construction materials and maximum reversibility.

2.5.5 Explanation and evidence
Use appropriate research and verified evidence as the basis for explaining and presenting historic assets; be explicit about unavoidable ambiguities and uncertainties on key issues.

2.5.6 Visitor-focused interpretation
Recognise that visitors bring a range of different perceptions and prior knowledge to an historic asset. Design explanation accordingly, seeking professional advice where appropriate so that interpretation engages and stimulates interest, clarifies what is known, facilitates learning and further enquiry, and maximises enjoyment.

2.5.7 Interpretative liaison
Involve Museums and Record Offices as key partners in the public explanation of historic sites and buildings, for their skills in interpretation, communication and display and by signposting their related collections and displays.

2.5.8 Amenity areas
Ensure due regard for the management and interpretation of historic assets located in areas primarily maintained as urban parks, recreational open spaces and areas of nature conservation interest.

Appendix T Quantifiable Assets of Heritage Index

<table>
<tr><th>Domain</th><th>Asset</th><th>Activity</th></tr>
<tr><td>Historic built environment</td><td>▪ listed buildings
▪ monuments
▪ World Heritage Sites</td><td rowspan="5">▪ funding/spending
▪ volunteering
▪ participation
▪ awards
▪ Heritage Open Days</td></tr>
<tr><td>Museums, archives and artefacts</td><td>▪ museums
▪ archives
▪ archaeological finds</td></tr>
<tr><td>Industrial heritage</td><td>▪ railways
▪ canals
▪ continuous trading businesses</td></tr>
<tr><td>Parks and open space</td><td>▪ parks
▪ gardens</td></tr>
<tr><td>Landscpae and natural heritage</td><td>▪ designated protected areas
▪ ancient woodlands
▪ local nature reserves</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cultures and memories</td><td>-</td><td>▪ Blue Plaques
▪ protected food designations
▪ stability of local resident population</td></tr>
<tr><td>General and cross cutting</td><td>-</td><td>▪ tourism
▪ civic societies
▪ jobs in heritage industries</td></tr>
</table>

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