Landscape and memory: everyday experience in the heritage landscapes of North-East England

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Abstract

In the context of the Derwent Valley, North-East England, and in collaboration with the *Land of Oak & Iron* Landscape Partnership, this thesis explores the ways in which memory shapes the understanding of heritage landscapes. I depict the interaction of 'heritage from below' (HFB) (Robertson, 2012) and the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD) (Smith, 2006) through the concept of 'enmeshed heritage'. This term encompasses culture, identity, and place to capture a sense of heritage which is messy, connected, and defies easy categorisation. It is rooted in the ordinary, exposing how the heritage of place is used in everyday life to locate value, create meaning, and find continuity. These everyday experiences operate outside the parameters of official heritage projects, but interact and intersect with official senses of heritage, shaping feelings and attitudes to place. Understanding landscape in this way recognises that landscape and people are intrinsically connected and mutually constructing, and that the ways people use and move through the landscape are influenced by past practice, habit, feeling, and affect.

I developed a methodology that remained sensitive to the subtleties of place-based interactions whilst foregrounding the voices and world views of participants. Immersive walking interviews enhanced my observations and engagement and granted access to a rich and 'thick' sense of place. It is shown that the AHD not only limits the senses of heritage available to individuals and communities, but also to professionals working in the sector. In the North-East, where 'industrial structures of feeling' (Byrne, 2002) remain important, marginalising everyday and enmeshed relationships to heritage can sever a sense of continuity, which in turn impacts on attitudes towards place and local identities. The thesis demonstrates the importance of paying attention to memory and the ordinary in understanding how people experience heritage, place, and landscape.

(293 words)

Dedication

To Mae.

With all my love, always.

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List of Abbreviations

AHD   Authorised Heritage Discourse

CHS   Cultural Heritage Studies

DCMS   Department for Culture, Media and Sport (as it was known until 2017 when it became Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport)

DEFRA   Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

ELC   European Landscape Convention

EH   English Heritage

GT   Grounded Theory

HE   Historic England

HLF   Heritage Lottery Fund

LCAP   Landscape Conservation Action Plan

LOI   Land of Oak & Iron

LP   Landscape Partnership

NHMF   National Heritage Memorial Fund

NLHF   National Lottery Heritage Fund

PM   Project Manager

Chapter 1: Introduction: Heritage from below in the Derwent Valley

Chopwell Woods. I love it. Don't we? It's just absolutely gorgeous, I used to, when J was a baby we'd go in every day for a walk and I'm a runner, I go running in there, in the Derwent Valley - along the Derwent Walk? Yeah, just the whole area it's absolutely beautiful and it's just, I just think it's fantastic, I love it. The woods especially [...] *It feels like it's my woods you know? It's just lovely, to have it on your doorstep it's absolutely gorgeous, so that's really special, really special.* (Julie, 59, Chopwell)

I mean [I was] *born and bred over the* [colliery] *streets but when I go over there it just upsets us, it upsets us 'cos I look and I think I have nothing but great memories from living over there and I just look at it* [...], *it does, it upsets us, I just think it's, it's quite sad, 'cos this was the core of the village y'know* [...] *this village was built, BUILT, purely for work. It was built around a pit, people came here to work in the worst of circumstances, to work and scratch a living and make a life and you've got people now and it's, it's not just Chopwell it's a generation, who, they'll have no idea it's an ex-mining village, they'll not be remotely interested in the fact it's an ex-mining village and they wouldn't have work given to them and it's just like, it's like two worlds colliding, it's just weird, I hate it.* (Kate, 58, Chopwell)

This thesis is concerned with how communities interact with and experience their local landscapes as heritage. In Julie and Kate's words can be found some of the key themes of the research. Julie's love of Chopwell Wood is formed through shared experiences which span generations. The wood brings her a sense of belonging and is part of her identity: this place is central to who Julie is and how she understands her place in her world. Kate also talks about place as part of her identity, but for her, this is shaped by dislocation and lack of understanding across generations. For both women, place is valuable both in itself and as an expression of values that reflect long term, evolving relationships with place.

I met and interviewed Julie and Kate through a collaborative partnership with the *Land of Oak & Iron* (LOI) Landscape Partnership project. Before embarking on the PhD project, I worked in the heritage sector in the UK for a decade and had observed (and, as an employee of the Heritage Lottery Fund, participated in) the processes and procedures that govern projects like the LOI. I experienced first-hand the benefits and positive outcomes of large-scale heritage projects. But simultaneously I saw the multiple ways in which informal understandings of heritage are marginalised and minimised by the formal structures of heritage through designations and funding processes. In my PhD I sought to explore the different senses of heritage which operate both within and outside the processes of 'official' heritage projects, shaped and perpetuated by everyday experiences of place and landscape.

The thesis uses a variety of methods including walking interviews, which despite being popular in the disciplines of sociology and creative practice are underused in the context of heritage studies, to explore the ways that people experience place in the context of the everyday. The idea that heritage is a process of putting the past to use in the present has become well developed in recent decades (Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2012; Waterton, Watson and Silverman, 2017), but the material collected as part of this study demonstrates that focusing on how people experience and use place on a day-to-day basis can bring new and different insights. Rather than focusing on self-conscious expressions of value, it shows us more considered, embodied experiences and brings a greater awareness of the continuities between past and present both for the researcher and for participants. This process can have positive impacts. A focus on continuity, as opposed to an emphasis on change and the differences between 'now' and 'then' (an emphasis which is often indirectly encouraged by official heritage projects), enables individuals and communities to feel empowered to effect change. This contrasts with narratives which place individuals as part of an inevitable process of change which they are largely powerless to shape, something which can often leave people with the kind of feelings of alienation expressed by Kate.

The thesis takes Iain Robertson's concept of heritage from below (HFB) (2012) as a starting point for understanding the manifestations of heritage which exist outside the constraints of what Laurajane Smith terms the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) (2006). It demonstrates the inability of large-scale top-down projects to accommodate the types of heritage felt and expressed by the people who live within designated landscapes. I will argue that it is not simply that the AHD as a structure works to suppress these senses of heritage but that the professionals working within the structures of the AHD are themselves held captive by them. This function of the AHD means that traditional heritage projects are not best placed to support the latent power of heritage from below or harness its potential. For Robertson, official recognition and support for HFB is "fleeting at best and oppositional at worst" (2012: 19). HFB, Robertson writes, constitutes a less visible form of heritage, one which lurks beneath the surface, obscured from view. It is an expression of "a current way of life made more meaningful by a sense of inheritance from the past…[it]...does not seek to attract an audience… [and it is] underscored by embodied practice" (ibid: 2). Through this lens, the ways in which people and communities go about negotiating (dis)continuity can be seen, with the "meaning full" (ibid.) landscape becoming an active agent in the processes of heritage. The landscape is a place of potential, in which people are an active element.

There is a specifically class-based and regionalised dimension to this process in North-East England (as can be seen in Kate's words above) and the interview material gathered during the research process demonstrates the ways in which class and region-based senses of heritage are marginalised by the AHD. In terms of class, the majority of those interviewed expressed a working-class identity regardless of their socio-economic situation. Though class is a complex and changing concept, this identification with a traditional working-class identity can, in part, be explained by what Byrne (after Williams, 1977) terms "industrial structures of feeling" (Byrne, 2002). Byrne uses this phrase to describe how "the sentiments which inform and construct 'ways of life', ways of doing things, sense not just of personal but of collective identity, understanding of possibilities—survives beyond industrialism and remains, at least for the moment, a common linking factor in the North East" (2002: 287). This sense that the ripples of a working-class way of seeing the world are felt

in the present is also expressed by Sherry Lee Linkon's concept of the "half-life" of deindustrialisation (2018) and the two ideas present a lens through which to understand the specific contexts of these places.

The thesis explores a sense of heritage characterised as 'enmeshed', a term used to capture the deeply connected relationships reflected in the heritages of place and landscape and the fact that these heritages draw on and interact with both the AHD and heritage from below. I argue that by paying attention to the subtleties and nuances of how people actually use and spend time in place as part of their everyday lives, a clearer picture of why they value place and how it shapes identities and perspectives can be gained. By using walking interviews to experience the landscape with participants, a gentler, more thoughtful approach to how we experience place can be taken, a way of approaching heritage from below which has been neglected in the literature.

The opening quotes demonstrate that landscape and place play a significant role in identity formation and this process goes beyond heritage signifiers like monuments and designations, seeping into the everyday experience of place. Drawing on heritage studies and cultural geography, this focus on everyday interactions with place enables a more intimate, closely observed way of understanding the ways in which people find meaning and value in heritage landscapes; and it is these interactions which the thesis explores.

1.1 Research questions

The research questions were developed with the intention of focusing on how everyday experience is remembered and shared 'in place'. Although my overarching concern is with memory (and therefore the past) the sub-questions consider more specifically how the past is put to use in the present and attempt to register the agency of participants in shaping and articulating their experience of place. The sub-questions also attempt to enable an exploration of the active use of place (as opposed to what people think about place or what it symbolises) both in the present and the past. They point to the interactions between different types and understandings of heritage. Overall, the research questions are intended to leave

scope for the direction of the research to be shaped by participants and to create space for thinking about the relationship between concepts of heritage and their influence on identity formation in the present.

How do memories across generations shape understanding of the Derwent Valley as a heritage landscape and as a local landscape?

      a) How do people's everyday experiences of place shape how they feel about where they live and what they value about the past?

      b) What is the role of doing and sharing in the landscape in this process (both in terms of memories shared and habits or rituals conducted together within the landscape)?

      c) How does this understanding of what is valuable about place relate to more formal understandings of heritage and value?

Throughout the thesis 'value' is used in the broadest sense to signify what is considered to be important or significant by an individual or group. In this context it is not intended to be interpreted as a policy term relating to quantifiable economic or social value and it is recognised that senses of value can be contradictory and may change. Value is understood to be something expressed by participants rather than an absolute imposed externally.

1.2 The collaborative partner

The PhD is undertaken in collaboration with the *Land of Oak & Iron* (LOI) Landscape Partnership project. The project, led by Groundwork North East & Cumbria, ran from 2016-2020 with the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) as a major grant funder. The project was described as

> Working with local communities to celebrate, conserve and enhance our natural, industrial and cultural heritage [...] Together the partners will deliver a legacy of job creation, tourism, regeneration and economic benefits. (*Land of Oak & Iron*, undated: 7)

The project area covers 177km2, focusing on the Derwent Valley, North-East England. It includes parts of three Local Authority areas (Gateshead, County Durham and Northumberland) and is predominantly rural. Further details of the LOI project can be found in Chapter Two.

Figure 1: *Location of Gateshead Local Authority Area (image: Google, 2022).*

Figure 2: *Land of Oak & Iron project boundary (Land of Oak & Iron, 2021a).*

The area covered by the LOI project reflects a specific geographical and cultural perspective. The development of the Derwent Valley was shaped by the iron and steel industries which were fuelled by its natural resources (timber and coal). Industry acted as a catalyst for the emergence of a culture based in working-class heritages which is distinctly non-urban. Yet, whilst the towns and villages in question are semi-rural in character, in the past they were far from the sleepy agricultural villages of cliché, and they continue to defy easy categorisation. These were places of action: where the physicality of heavy industry met with frenetic energy of busy social and street life. While these places have been significantly changed by deindustrialisation, there are traces of something left behind, something ineffable, but which gives a shape to social and cultural life. This combination of a classed experience within a semi-rural landscape represents an undervalued and under examined way of understanding the world.

1.3 The structure of the thesis

Following this short introduction, Chapter Two provides the background and context to the LOI project. It explains the management structure and timeline for the project, as well as the Heritage Lottery Fund assessment and management process. The idea of heritage landscape management is introduced from a policy perspective and the heritage of the LOI area is described. This contextual information underpins the analysis in Chapter Three.

In Chapter Three the concepts of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith, 2006) and heritage from below (HFB) (Robertson, 2012) are introduced and their relationship with heritage management and funding policy in England is interrogated. The LOI was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) and the chapter sets out a key contradiction which is central to how the organisation operates. It simultaneously seeks to be a people centred organisation which embraces the broadest definition of heritage possible, yet it is limited and constrained by the policy objectives and wider governmental structures of which it is part. Thus, the power of the AHD is able to contain heritage from below, preventing it from exerting power over the processes of heritage despite the intentions of organisations and individuals in the sector. The development of the Heritage Lottery Fund (now known as National Lottery Heritage Fund) is traced from 1994 using its strategic documents. This process shows the development of the progressive, people-centred aims of the fund and outlines the context which has served to limit the impact of these aims. Ultimately, whilst individuals operating in the heritage sector may have no knowledge of the concept of the AHD it determines both what heritage is and what it can do at a practical level.

Chapter Four outlines the theoretical framework for the thesis. Having introduced the concept of the AHD and its impact in the specific context of the LOI in Chapter Three, this chapter considers the AHD in relation to heritage from below (HFB). HFB is a key concept for the thesis, and the definition of HFB put forward by Robertson (2012) has strongly influenced the development of the PhD project. It is used to tease out some of the nuances of the type of heritage explored here, and the potentially oppositional roles of AHD and HFB are highlighted. In an attempt to side-step this dualistic relationship and better delineate the specific features of the

heritage explored, the concept of 'enmeshed heritage' is introduced to describe the senses of heritage investigated in the thesis. It is intended to capture a sense of heritage in which culture, identity and place combine and which defies easy categorisation under either the AHD or HFB labels. The chapter goes on to outline the theoretical framework for this definition of enmeshed heritage, locating it in the literature and elaborating on its qualities.

Chapter Five describes the methodology and methods for the project, providing an overview of the key decision points and the development of the project from a methodological perspective. The relationship with the LOI and my own position as researcher are considered alongside the process of familiarisation with the Derwent Valley and the decision to take a case study approach. The chapter describes the development of a set of methods which foreground both the experience of participants and the experience of being in and using the landscape. This strongly influenced how I approached the analysis of the research material and led to the inclusion of walking interviews as a method.

Sitting between the context chapters and the findings chapters, Chapter Six is intended to provide a point at which to refocus and adjust perspective. This short chapter sets the scene for the research and prepares the reader to become immersed in the people and places studied. The two case study villages of Chopwell and Winlaton are described, and historic maps are used to illustrate their development and character. A short introduction to each of the participants is provided, situating them in place and within their community.

The order of the findings chapters reflects the research journey as well as the chronological journey taken with participants through the interviews. Interviews generally began with people talking about their childhood and early life, and they often spoke at length and in detail about the places and communities in which they grew up. Chapter Seven focuses on the formative and highly sensory nature of memories of childhood and early life. It explores the ways that the places remembered by participants shape their understanding of their world, and the impact that scale has on this process. The contained world of shops and the street is

contrasted with memories of unsupervised experiences in nature, and it is demonstrated that these early interactions with place influence the way we see the world, and our own identities within it, in important ways. The significance of the loss of a communal way of living due in part to the decline of informal 'places of encounter' in the landscape is highlighted and this is further explored in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Eight explores the ways in which memory is shared, how people 'remember together' and what this means in an informal, 'unofficial' setting away from heritage monuments and formal commemorations. The concept of generations, and the strong impact that feeling part of a specific generation can have on how we feel about place, is explored. In both Chapters Seven and Eight the memories shared show the potential for a future-oriented understanding of nostalgic feeling and demonstrate how industrial structures of feeling (Byrne, 2002 after Williams, 1977) can be seen to be expressions of heritage from below. Whilst these feelings may be latent there is, in the possibility of their expression through activism or other cultural activity, potential for the productive use of the past in the present.

Whilst most of the stories and memories shared in Chapters Seven and Eight came from static conversations around kitchen tables and in front rooms, Chapter Nine draws on the conversations that happened when participants took control and shared familiar places as they see and experience them. This brought new depth to senses of place and showed the importance of being *in* place in articulating why it is of value as part of a continuous interaction with landscape. The process of walking in the landscape with participants made the subjective experience of being in place much more apparent. A focus on the sensory also highlighted the gap in experience caused by deindustrialisation. Work and leisure have become much more spatially distinct and labour much less physical than in the past, and this is shown to have changed relationships with the landscape. In this process a distinctly gendered understanding of place is also exposed. 'Doing', particularly repetitive doing and physical engagement with the natural environment (including childhood play), is shown to be a form of incorporating memory (Connerton, 1989) which is part of a process of

constantly building and rebuilding the meaning and purpose of place and the landscape.

Chapter Ten returns to the research questions in light of the findings. The central issue of power, and the power dynamic between AHD and HFB heritages (which was raised in Chapter Two), is revisited with examples taken from the fieldwork used to demonstrate the power of the AHD to both enable and constrain HFB. This is followed by a summary of the key issues raised by the research and some recommendations as to what official heritage organisations might do to become more accommodating of wider senses of enmeshed heritage. The original contribution of the thesis to the field is outlined and finally, the case is made for the value of enmeshed senses of heritage and their importance for individuals and communities.

Chapter 2: *Land of Oak & Iron*: Landscape Partnerships and the Heritage Lottery Fund

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the development of the *Land of Oak & Iron* project and gives a brief overview of the heritage it aimed to explore and celebrate. It describes the context in which the LOI operated and in which the PhD research was completed. The role of the National Lottery Heritage Fund as the major project funder is described, and the importance of the project as a multi-agency undertaking is introduced. These factors set the boundaries for the 'official' heritage with which the LOI engaged, which in turn influences the way the project operates on and interacts with other senses of heritage such as heritage from below. This background information underpins the argument set out in Chapter Three and explains the context for the fieldwork.

2.2 The *Land of Oak & Iron:* project development and background
2.2.1 Land of Oak & Iron Landscape Partnership: project development

The *Land of Oak & Iron* (LOI) Landscape Partnership project ran from 2016-2020. Led by Groundwork North East & Cumbria, it brought together a range of partners including three Local Authorities (Gateshead, County Durham and Northumberland), Durham Wildlife Trust, Environment Agency, Forestry Commission, North East Cultural Partnership and representatives from several smaller organisations. The major funder was the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) and the project was awarded a delivery grant of £2.2m towards the total project costs of £3.4m in December 2015 (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2015b.). A complementary but separate grant of just under £700,000 was awarded by HLF towards the creation of the *Land of Oak & Iron* Heritage Centre which opened in Winlaton Mill in autumn 2018 (Sharratt, 2018). This centre became the main hub for the project, connecting with two existing centres at Blackhill and Consett Park in Consett and Tyne Riverside Country Park in Prudhoe. Whilst the LOI project officially ended in 2020 and the staff team was disbanded, Groundwork North East & Cumbria continue to employ a Centre Manager and Interpretation Officer and there is a continued and expanding focus on heritage activity at the centre. A legacy group, the Land of Oak & Iron Trust also works on a

voluntary basis to continue and build on the work of the LOI, particularly around education and dissemination of heritage information.
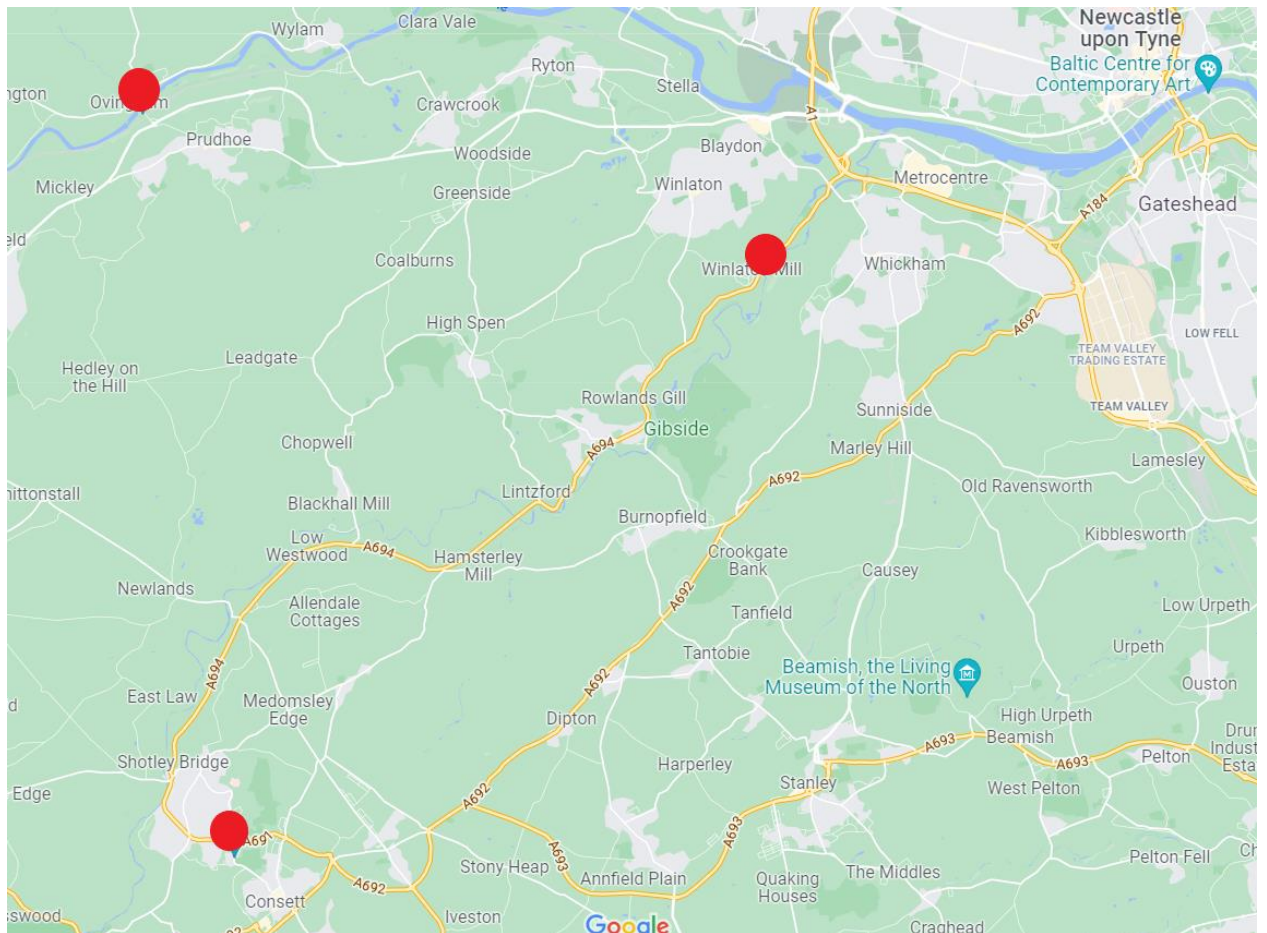
Figure 3: *Location of the three Land of Oak & Iron Heritage Centres (image: Google, 2021)*

The rationale for the project is set out in the project Landscape Conservation Action Plan (LCAP) along with the aims and objectives. The LCAP is a substantial document required by HLF as part of the grant assessment and monitoring process. The overarching aim of the project was to "deliver a legacy of job creation, tourism, regeneration and economic benefits" via the delivery of 14 interconnected projects, each related to one of the three project themes:

- Investing in heritage – rediscovering lost landscapes
- Investing in people – forging a stronger future from the past
- Investing in communities – creating a legacy (Land of Oak & Iron, undated)

Investing in heritage	**Community Archaeology**
	To identify and record our innovative waggon ways and world leading industry
	Built Restoration
	Improving the condition of our four remaining industrial relics; Whinfield Coke Ovens, Derwentcote Steel Furnace, Crowey's Dam and Allensford Blast Furnace
	River Restoration
	Improving the condition and management of the River Derwent by installing a fish pass and carrying out restoration activities
	Woodland Restoration
	In the west, central and east of our area to bring them into better management
Investing in people	**Oak & Iron Skills**
	Training for young people and volunteers to ensure the skills needed to maintain heritage are available for the long term
	Educational Activities
	Education about our exciting natural, industrial and cultural heritage for the children of the Land of Oak & Iron
	Geology and Wildlife Surveyors
	Volunteer opportunities to learn about our magnificent natural heritage
Investing in communities	**Access for All**
	Providing better access and signage to our fascinating heritage enhancing the visitor experience
	Creative Interpretation
	On and offsite interpretation of our distinctive natural, industrial and cultural heritage enabling more and a wider range of people to engage
	Go Green
	Reducing environmental impact through promoting sustainable transport
	Community Grants
	Enabling more people to engage through funding for community driven projects

Figure 4: *List of individual LOI projects which are described as "add[ing] value to each other cross cutting individual themes (Land of Oak & Iron, undated: 9).*

The three project categories of heritage, people and communities are shaped by the funding outcomes required by HLF, and the format of the LCAP document was highly prescribed under the requirements of HLF's Landscape Partnership scheme.

2.2.2 Defining landscapes in the context of the Landscape Partnership programme

The Landscape Partnership programme ran from 2002 to 2019 and was designed to encourage applicants to "create an holistic and balanced approach to the management of landscape heritage at a landscape-scale. The programme aligns significantly with the UK's commitment to implementation of the European Landscape Convention" (ELC) (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2017: 3). The Council of Europe Landscape Convention (first drafted in 2000) is described as putting "people at the heart of landscape policy", implementing a process of

identifying and assessing landscapes through field research by professionals working in conjunction with local inhabitants. Each landscape forms a blend of

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components and structures: types of territories, social perceptions and ever-changing natural, social and economic forces. Once this identification work has been completed and the landscape quality objectives set, the landscape can be protected, managed or developed. (Council of Europe, 2021)

In this statement can be seen a process by which local inhabitants are expected to play a role in heritage processes, feeding into and being consulted on the work of experts resulting in 'protection, management or development'. This is therefore an actively managed process in which heritage must be controlled in specific ways based on a range of measures and assessments. Guided by the ELC the guidance HLF produced for Landscape Partnership applicants specified that

Prior to your application you must identify an area of land that has a distinctive landscape character, recognised and valued by local people. This principle echoes the values of the European Landscape Convention. By taking a landscape character approach, you will be able to identify what makes the landscape unique and recognisable, what gives it its sense of place, and describe this in your application. Schemes should take an integrated approach that considers the needs of the built and natural heritage, management practices and the range of cultural heritage associated with the area. (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2017: 5)

The parameters of managing a scheme like this necessitates that a distinct border must be defined, this despite the recognition in the ELC that "landscape has no borders" (Council of Europe, 2021). This clash of these guiding principles with practicality of delivering projects is at the heart of many of the dilemmas in the development of heritage landscape projects. In the same way, whilst much emphasis is placed on the need to consult with local people and consider cultural and social factors in defining landscapes, ultimately the Landscape Partnership Scheme required that "your scheme boundary must be dictated by the landscape character of the area" (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2017: 6). For grant applicants, designations and features such as river catchments provide a much safer, more evidencable way of defining place than nebulous senses of place defined by local culture or customs.

Thus, the primacy of the designated landscape is perpetuated even despite the overt effort to focus on the interconnected nature of natural and cultural heritage.

The boundary of the *Land of Oak & Iron* project is broadly, though not rigidly, defined by the catchments of the River Derwent and River Tyne. The LCAP states that

> where full river catchments are not included; the Lower Derwent Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty and parts of the Tyne catchment, this is due to the changing and different landscape characters to those within the Land of Oak & Iron. (Land of Oak & Iron, undated: 15)

This demonstrates that determining the boundary involved a certain amount of judgement and did not rely purely on existing decisions and designations. The decision as to which areas did not fit with the 'landscape character' was made by the Project Board and a range of factors is likely to have influenced the decision, though it is presented as somewhat self-evident, as if the 'character of the Land of Oak & Iron' is clear for all to see. HLF funding is a two round process and between rounds the boundary was increased from 165km2 to 177km2. The LCAP states that the additional areas were added for a combination of natural and cultural properties, demonstrating the complex considerations in defining landscape boundaries. Detailed analysis of the natural character and biodiversity of the area is included in the LCAP and this is presented alongside the industrial heritage of the area, stating that "it is this unique industrial heritage that gives the Land of Oak & Iron a strong sense of place and its inhabitants a sense of belonging" (ibid.: 26). The challenge of defining places in the way necessitated by the Landscape Partnership scheme is underlined by the responses of participants in this study who almost unanimously questioned the inclusion of Prudhoe in the LOI area, rejecting it both in terms of the landscape features (describing it as Tyne Valley rather than Derwent Valley) and as culturally separate.

2.2.3 The heritage of the Land of Oak & Iron
The LCAP sets out the heritage of the project area, which is "formed around its abundance of natural resources of wood, water, coal, lead and iron ore which

created a landscape rich in natural, industrial and cultural heritage" (Land of Oak & Iron, undated: 15). It traces the industrialisation of the area back to the twelfth century from which there is evidence of iron extraction, followed by coal mining from the thirteenth century and metal working in the sixteenth. The development of these industries led to the creation of a network of wagonways for transporting goods. Key developments in the growth of metal working industries were the arrival of sword makers brought from Germany by a company of merchants to Shotley Bridge in the late 1600s; Ambrose Crowley's extensive and very successful network of factories in Winlaton, Winlaton Mill and Swalwell; and more recently Consett Iron Company. The latter dominated the area in the twentieth century and the social legacy of the dominance and decline of the Steel Works at Consett (closed 1980) and Derwenthaugh Coke Works (closed 1986) can still very much be felt in the area (ibid.: 27).

The restoration of four sites were included in the project plan:
- Whinfield Coke Ovens (operational until 1958)
- Crowley's Dam (part of Winlaton Mill Iron Works which closed in 1863)
- Allensford Blast Furnace (in use until the early eighteenth century)
- Derwentcote Steel Cementation Furnace (in use until the 1890s)

It is interesting to note that only one of these sites was operational within living memory (and only just). Given that there are more recent heritage stories to be told, particularly around the closure of Consett Steel Works, the choice of sites and the consideration of what heritage should be restored or remembered is significant. This is particularly the case as the LCAP asserts that "it is this unique industrial heritage that gives the LOI a strong sense of place and its inhabitants a sense of belonging" (ibid.: 28). Whilst the LCAP highlights the importance of sites like Consett Steel Works it largely focuses on the places where there are physical remnants of the industrial past and those which it is felt tell the story of the development of industry in the area. It is notable that the decline of industry, and the accompanying conflicts and controversies, are neglected in the narrative. The challenges of working with heritage in living memory in this kind of project are explored in Chapter Three, but it is important to note the tendency of heritage projects to locate 'heritage' as in the

distant past, particularly when difficult or challenging narratives are involved. This will be explored further in the following chapters.

Figure 5: *Map showing heritage features of the LOI (Land of Oak & Iron, 2021b.).*

The LCAP also details the natural heritage value of the area, whilst regularly reminding the reader that the natural and cultural heritage is intertwined and inseparable. It highlights the habitats and species which the area hosts. National Trust owned Gibside is located within the LOI boundary, and the construction of a fish pass on the River Derwent at Lintzford was one of the key projects for the LOI, enabling salmon and sea trout to migrate up the river (ibid.: 25). There are various designated sites within the project boundary including part of the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty; a National Nature Reserve; eight sites of Special Scientific Interest; 9.5% of the project area designated as Local Wildlife Sites; eight Local Nature Reserves; and 'extensive' Ancient Woodland Inventory sites (ibid.: 46).

The LCAP details the cultural heritage of the area, which it calls the "heritage of the normal everyday life", and which is described as at great risk of loss (ibid.: 41). The cultural heritage is located in performative rituals and traditions such as rapper dancing, music, poetry and the Blaydon Races (ibid.: 53). Cultural heritage is described in terms of specific practices from the past which must be defined and managed in order to raise awareness of their value and save them from loss. The everyday heritages of industrial life beyond these particular cultural markers are not considered in the LCAP. In this context the definition of intangible cultural heritage does not stretch to include the industrial structures of feeling which are evident in the findings of this study (see Section 4.3.4 and Chapter Eight). Despite this, memory is considered important, with oral history collection listed amongst the community projects.

The LCAP was a key requirement as part of the HLF application process for Landscape Partnership funding. A 25-page guidance document outlined what should be included in the LCAP (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013a). This included information about the landscape based around a Landscape Character Assessment (a more generic management document which could be required or used by a variety of funders or stakeholders) as well as much more specific information about how the project would achieve HLF outcomes and details about plans for the management of delivery. As this section has shown, both the document and the terms under which an LP boundary could be determined were highly prescriptive. This impacted on the type of projects developed and funded over the life of the grant programme. How HLF came to be in a position to shape these large-scale projects is outlined in Chapter Three, the next section gives a brief overview of the history of the organisation.

Figure 6: Coal trucks installed in Chopwell Wood (author's own image).

Figure 7: Sword dancers at Chopwell WoodFest, 2017 (author's own image).

Figure 8: Derwentcote Steel Furnace (author's own image).

2.3 Landscape Partnerships in context: How HLF/NLHF is administered and managed

The Heritage Lottery Fund was created in 1994 as a Non-Departmental Public Body to distribute money from the National Lottery to heritage projects across the United Kingdom. Its parent body is the National Heritage Memorial Fund; the parent fund allocates funding to heritage and HLF is the distributor. These powers were granted

through the National Heritage Acts of 1980 and 1997, and through the National Lottery Acts of 1993 and 1998 (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2002: 9). In shaping its policy and distributing funding, NHMF are guided by policy directions issued by the Secretary of State for the relevant government departments of the UK and devolved governments (ibid.). Thus, whilst it is an arm's length, quasi-independent body its strategic direction and practical remit is set by government.

In 2019 HLF became the National Lottery Heritage Fund. The rebrand was in line with other distributors and was described as designed "to place greater emphasis on the contribution of National Lottery players" (Museums Association, 2020). Here HLF/NLHF will be described using the correct term chronologically - i.e., pre-2019 HLF will be used, post-2019 NLHF will be used.

Since 1999 HLF/NLHF has been required to produce regular strategic documents. The five strategic documents are listed below.

SP1	Strategic Plan 1999-2002 (HLF/DEMOS, 2004: 17)
SP2	Broadening the Horizons of Heritage, Strategic Plan 2002-2007
SP3	Valuing our Heritage, Investing in our Future: Our Strategy 2008- 2013
SF4	A lasting difference for heritage and people: Heritage Lottery Fund Strategic Framework 2013–2018
SF5	Inspiring, leading and resourcing the UK's heritage: The National Lottery Heritage Fund Strategic Funding Framework 2019–2024

Table 1: *The five strategic documents produced by HLF/NLHF.*

It is clear from the titles of the documents that the scope and remit of the organisation has broadened massively over the 25 years they cover. The second plan sought to 'broaden the horizons of heritage' - placing the role of the organisation squarely in the present: conserving more heritage and enabling more people to access it. By the time of the third plan the role of heritage and HLF in shaping the future was articulated in the title and this is further developed by the time of SF4, not just to make a difference but that it will be a *lasting* difference, it has a role both in the present and in shaping the future. The title of the current strategic framework

places NLHF as an advocate, a leader, and a funder, going far beyond the remit of the organisation as imagined in 1994. This is at least in part due to the receding of the public sector around it - in many ways NLHF is the only organisation able to take on this role.

HLF/NLHF has never given a definition of what 'heritage' is, and therefore it has never defined what it will fund. This has been key to its development, enabling it to take an inclusive view of heritage. The organisation invites applicants to make a case for support for whatever they feel is most valuable; whatever *they* consider to be 'their heritage'. This creates practical challenges, particularly in a competitive funding environment. However, it does leave scope for a wide range of interpretations of the term which other, more narrowly focused organisations cannot accommodate. Alongside this, over the period of its existence HLF has been on a trajectory of what it has termed an "increasing emphasis on people" (Maeer, 2017: 38). This focus not just on 'heritage' but also on 'people' runs throughout the corporate literature. Crucially, this broad definition of heritage means that the projects HLF funds span a wide range of 'types' of heritage, responsibility for which falls to different interest groups and government departments (largely but not exclusively the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA)). This is problematic for the administration of the fund as well as presenting opportunities for more diverse and inclusive definitions of heritage as it makes it possible to move away from a focus on buildings and artefacts to push the boundaries of what heritage can be.

A further quirk in the way HLF/NLHF was set up comes in that it is a UK-wide body, unlike the other lottery funders which were created as separate organisations in the devolved nations. In the context of this thesis, the focus is on England, and I have not attempted to make comparisons with Scotland, Wales and Northern Irish policy. It is interesting to note, however, that in the most recent strategic document, whilst the NLHF Chair refers to the importance of heritage for "identity" (NLHF, 2019: 4) the only specific references to *national* identity are made in the statements from the Chairs of the Committees for Scotland (ibid.: 19) and Wales (ibid.:21). This reflects

the challenges of working across nations for the organisation and perhaps a nervousness about expressing UK-wide sentiments about identity.

As a side note to the formation of lottery distributors, it is important to note that the purpose of lottery funding is explicitly based on additionality; that funded projects should be undertaken in addition to, not as part of the core work of organisations (Moore, 1997:180). Revenue funding was, and continues to be, only available for the life of a particular project and statutory obligations were/are not eligible for funding (ibid.:182). This has had specific implications as the cultural and economic landscape of the UK changed over the decades since the lottery was founded. Most notably, as core funding from government was gradually removed, particularly after 2010, short term projects became the 'core work' of many organisations which found it increasingly challenging to fund work other than short term project activity. This in turn creates job instability and makes long term strategic planning very challenging.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has set out the process through which the *Land of Oak & Iron* project was developed and how it operated on the ground, providing the context for the collaborative partnership under which the PhD was completed. The major funder for the project, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), was introduced. This context is suggestive of some of the complex issues that are involved in developing landscape heritage projects in the North-East. Understanding the economic and policy context in which the LOI operated points to issues of interpretation, value and voice, all of which are fundamentally shaped by policy and funding decisions. Examining decision-making processes behind what makes a cohesive landscape and what heritage stories should be told exposes the issues of power at play in this type of large-scale project. The next chapter considers these issues in more detail, interrogating UK heritage policy and its impact on the project using the concepts of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006) and heritage from below (Robertson, 2012).

Chapter 3: The *Land of Oak & Iron* in the context of UK Heritage Policy: Negotiating the AHD and Heritage from Below

3.1 Introduction

The relationship between 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage is central to this thesis. It is possible to frame this as a dualistic relationship between two entirely separate entities, the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) and Heritage from Below (HFB). However, I contest this binary approach and show that AHD and HFB overlap and intertwine to make up the lived experience of heritage in the landscape. The fundamental difference between these two ways of framing heritage is power: the AHD has a lot, HFB often has very little. This chapter considers the impact of the AHD on the specific context of heritage funding policy in the UK (with a particular focus on England), as a means to setting the scene for the context in which the LOI operated on the ground.

The Authorised Heritage Discourse, or AHD, outlined by Laurajane Smith in *Uses of Heritage* (2006) has been heavily cited and put to use as a concept to understand the structural frameworks of heritage and the power they exert. Smith asserts that there is "no such thing as heritage…there is rather a hegemonic discourse about heritage, which acts to constitute the way we think, talk, and write about heritage" (ibid.: 11), this is what she calls the AHD. Smith defines and critiques the AHD (or 'eviscerates' it as Robertson describes it (2012: 6)) and its power. The AHD, Smith writes, is a process by which a canon of monuments, buildings, ideas and values are grouped together and unproblematically described as 'heritage'. This is based on a Western elite set of values with its foundations in art history and architecture. It "privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building" (ibid.: 11). Key to the success of the AHD is that it both naturalises and universalises these qualities, removing or stifling opportunities for alternate or subversive ideas of heritage (ibid.).

Heritage from below, by contrast, pays attention to understandings of the past that the AHD struggles to accommodate, it is concerned with "people, collectivity and

individuals" (Robertson, 2012: 1). It exists outside elite structures and the passive tourist gaze; it is based in "past practices that embody a nexus of interconnections between identity, collective memory and sense of place made meaning full by landscape" (ibid.: 2). Heritage from below seeks to accommodate senses of heritage that go beyond the understanding of place which are based on institutional designations or boundaries, to encompass value found in the use of place and landscape based on habit and past practice. This sense of heritage which is not interested in economics or attracting visitors has the potential to give expression to counter-hegemonic viewpoints, but crucially it exists in and of itself. It is not authorised by experts or designations, instead it is an understanding of heritage "underscored by embodied practice" (Robertson, 2012: 2).

This chapter demonstrates that the AHD's inability to accommodate alternate ideas of what heritage is and what it should do creates a situation in which projects like the LOI are involved in a constant push and pull of principles and practicality. The practical demands of managing a large-scale funding scheme which must be seen to meet wider government policy objectives clash with the guiding principle of a people-centred, bottom-up definition of heritage. This creates the context in which projects like the LOI exist. A brief examination of the history and development of the strategic priorities of the Heritage Lottery Fund/National Lottery Heritage Fund is utilised here as a means of illuminating some of the nuances of the relationship between official heritage projects and heritage from below. The role of HLF/NLHF is important to this thesis in that it is the major funder of the LOI, and a consideration of the impact of its policies on projects like the LOI reveals much about the status of heritage from below in the wider context of heritage in England. The chapter uses HLF/NLHFs own strategic documents and interviews with two key heritage professionals linked to the LOI project (the Head of Land and Nature UK Policy for NLHF and the *Land of Oak & Iron* Project Manager) to show the inherent contradictions in the processes of funding heritage in England, and the impact these issues have on heritage from below.

In Chapter Two it was identified that two of the most important principles shaping HLF/NLHF policies over the life of the organisation have been:

- A refusal to provide a definition of heritage, instead inviting applicants to define it based on what is of value to them and their communities.
- A focus on 'people' as the main priority for impact and benefits (as opposed to a focus on the heritage 'asset').

These two principles fundamentally clash with the frameworks of the AHD. The inability of the AHD to accommodate these two key principles has specific consequences which have been exacerbated by the impacts of austerity in the UK and more recently the Covid-19 pandemic.

The power to decide what constitutes heritage is a key issue here. The AHD as defined by Laurajane Smith (2006) holds the power to:
- Legitimise certain forms of expertise and allocate authority to those individuals which hold it (Smith, 2006: 12).
- Perpetuate the idea that tangible heritage is 'real' heritage (which in itself creates a hierarchy which demotes intangible 'community heritage' to a lower status than built heritage, works of art, monuments, etc.) (Smith, 2006: 31).
- Subtly (or not so subtly) enforce the dichotomous split between 'natural' and 'cultural' heritage (Smith, 2006:31).
- Insist that to be worthy of funding, heritage 'assets' need to be productive both socially and economically (and crucially this productivity must serve the current dominant political agenda) (Waterton, 2010: 192). This is demonstrated for example in NLHFs current focus on wellbeing as an outcome for heritage. A strategic outcome for wellbeing was added as part of Strategic Framework 5 (HLF, 2019) and reflects a wider policy focus on the use of wellbeing as a measure of value for the Westminster Government across a range of policy contexts (Fujiwara, Kudrna and Dolan, 2014: 7).
- Assume and communicate consensus (generally on a national basis) - through defining 'our' heritage the AHD creates a narrative with the power to exclude (Smith, 2006: 30).

The discursive power of the AHD over the way heritage policy has developed in England, coupled with the reliance of organisations on grant funding, means that the LOI and projects like it are unable to step outside the wider policy context of national government and the economic climate in which they exist to truly accommodate

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different and more diverse heritages. Emma Waterton describes the sector as "captivated" by what she terms the discursive blueprint (Waterton, 2010: 72) of UK heritage policy, but I suggest that many within the sector are instead held captive by the version of heritage perpetuated by the AHD. Whilst individuals and even organisations may want to break out of restrictive and often elitist ways of understanding heritage, the structures of policy, and in particular the systems of allocating funding, make this impossible. If organisations do not demonstrate they meet the policy aims of funders they simply cannot operate, as the funding available to heritage comes from such a limited range of sources.

This context has complex consequences for the heritage from below of places like the Derwent Valley, as we will see.

- Firstly, large scale projects like the LOI are limited in the way they are able to conceptualise heritage and truly engage with communities.
- Secondly, the impacts of austerity - the policy of the Coalition and Conservative governments in England post-2010 which saw huge cuts in public spending - have severely affected the main funding sources for heritage (see Section 3.6).
- A knock-on impact of this is an increase in competition for the funding that remains. This in turn has led to a reduction in the number of large-scale (expensive) landscape projects, which is potentially even more detrimental for heritage from below as it leads to increased silo working and a reduction in the ability of projects to see landscapes as whole.
- Additionally, heritage from below is affected by the increased instrumentalization of heritage projects over the life of HLF/NLHF (as outlined in Section 3.6), as successive governments required heritage to be seen to be 'doing something' (achieving economic or social outcomes) in order to be worth funding. Waterton goes so far as to say that the mechanisms of policy are such that "many alternative ways of understanding heritage are mis-recognised as something *other than heritage* and are thus summarily dismissed from the management process" (original italics) (Waterton, 2010: 208); this has the simultaneous effect of excluding this type of heritage from funding.

3.2 Conceptualising heritage: Tangibility, expertise and value

In order to expose the ways in which projects like the LOI are shaped by policy, it is important to understand how UK, and specifically English, policy developed in the late twentieth century. Specifically, the processes by which industrial and working class heritages were accommodated into AHD understandings of heritage has implications for heritage from below. Limited understandings of how heritage can be defined, which were inherited from the early Heritage Acts, combined with the increasing instrumentalisation of heritage funding serve to constrain the ability of projects to recognise and explore heritage from below.

The creation of the National Lottery and the lottery funding distributors (including HLF) in 1994 was an initiative of the Conservative government of the time. The purpose of the distributors and accompanying ideas of what heritage 'is' and how heritage funding should be used were therefore shaped by the context of that government's policy agenda. This position developed from the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (1979) and National Heritage Acts of 1980 and 1983 which Emma Waterton describes as the "crystallization of the AHD in public policy" (2010: 74). Waterton charts a process whereby the understanding of heritage as framed in the National Heritage Acts became an intrinsic part of heritage policy as it developed in the UK. She highlights the fact that the debates and acts of the 1980s put tangible 'things' at the centre of heritage policy - the acquisition of buildings, land and objects is at the core of the two Heritage Acts of the early 1980s.

This was exacerbated by the creation of English Heritage in 1984, with its role focused on the built environment. Importantly, the debate was framed in such a way as to consolidate the idea that 'we' need experts to tell us what 'things' are valuable and why. This heritage is then presented to a generic 'public', who should be encouraged to appreciate them for their inherent value and what they tell 'us' about 'our' national story (Waterton, 2010). Until 1994 English Heritage was the main funder for heritage, but since then HLF/NLHF has increasingly become the main funding body for heritage, with a much wider remit. Since its creation HLF/NLHF has had more freedom to define the type of heritage it can fund than English Heritage (now known as Historic England) but escaping these foundational principles of tangibility and expertise is not a simple process.

Whilst clearly stating its commitment to the broadest definition of heritage possible, the way HLF/NLHF negotiates accommodating types of heritage which have traditionally fallen outside of AHD definitions is complex. Whilst 'industrial heritage' is generally accepted as part of an AHD definition of heritage it tends to focus on tangible evidence (historic workshops for example) and celebrating innovation and industrial processes, rather than the social movements and politics of the industrial era. Industrial heritage is required to work hard for us to understand (or, in the language of the policy documents to 'unlock') its value. The following example demonstrates what industrial heritage is required to 'do' in order to be considered of value, showing the importance of tangibility and the instrumentalization of heritage in this context. Introduced in 2013, the Heritage Enterprise programme was the first HLF scheme to overtly encourage 'for-profit' developments and it was particularly targeted at former industrial buildings. In 2015, under the headline *'UK industrial heritage needs you!'* the HLF Chief Executive wrote a blog post in which the 'proud' industrial heritage of various places and cities across the UK was used to promote the creation of the Heritage Enterprise programme which, she writes,

> aims to unlock the potential of derelict, vacant industrial buildings so that they can once again become centres for new ideas and productivity. So that they act not as barriers but as catalysts for regeneration, sparking growth and creating jobs and opportunity. (Souter, 2015)

This is a highly visible illustration of the instrumentalization of industrial heritage and the abandonment of the concept of inherent value of heritage for its own sake which was taken for granted by the authors of the early Heritage Acts. The assumption that former industrial buildings are 'barriers' which must be repurposed - depressing reminders of failed industries - is accompanied by the assumption that jobs and regeneration are the obvious and only option for the delivery of 'opportunity'. The social meanings of these buildings are not considered to be of value, perhaps have not been considered at all, and the fact that the buildings may represent values to which this instrumentalization of heritage is in complete opposition is of no importance. This imposition of the dominant understanding of value bypasses

consideration of other more creative or subversive uses of such spaces to achieve the ultimate goal of an economically productive outcome.

The complex issues at play in understanding and accommodating industrial and working-class heritages into 'official' or AHD sponsored projects can be traced back to the early academic debates on heritage in the UK. Re-examining the critique of the incipient heritage industry during a period of rapid national change exposes the place from which many of these issues began. At the time, deindustrialisation and the rise of the service industries were part of the reshaping of many areas of social and political life under a Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher. The re-presentation of the (recent) industrial past as heritage was seen as deeply political and writers such as Lowenthal (1985), Wright (1985) and Hewison (1987) critiqued this 'retreat to the past' as a cultural response to what they perceived as a nation in decline. This was described as a dual process, at once celebrating the ruling classes through protecting and conserving stately homes; whilst simultaneously presenting a narrative of the working-classes, the unique 'breed' who fuelled the industrial revolution, through serving up the industrial past as a leisure activity. It was seen as intrinsically backward looking and conservative.

As industrial sites closed and re-opened as tourist attractions, industrial heritage was being put to work almost before it had even become heritage - firmly locating the industries as in the past, but still requiring their remnants to be economically productive. Condemning what he perceived as the commodification of heritage, Hewison (1987: 97) attacked a process whereby actual industry was being systematically wiped out, with museums and heritage centres directly replacing it. Thus, former miners became tour guides at mining 'experiences', hollowing out their experiences to offer 'theme park' versions of the past.

This critique came in the form of cultural commentary rather than an analysis of empirical evidence or data, but Waterton and Watson describe it as a key moment because it represented "a move away from thinking about heritage as its objects towards an interrogation of its social and cultural context" (Waterton & Watson, 2013, cited by Waterton & Watson, 2015: 5). Whilst this may have been the case in

terms of how academics and professionals conceptualise heritage, in practice the focus on 'things' continues in terms of funding heritage, and projects and funders continue to struggle to reflect the importance of social and cultural systems and structures.

Thus, whilst in terms of funding industrial heritage there remains a distinct focus on 'things'. According to the website, since 1994 HLF/NLHF has

> awarded almost £590 million to more than 1,400 industrial, maritime and transport heritage projects across the UK...celebrating the innovative buildings, transport and technology that helped to shape the modern world. (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2021a)

The list of 'what we fund' includes printing presses, pumping engines, windmills, historic ships, locomotives and natural landscapes transformed by industry, and includes the suggestion that funding can "pave the way for skills to be passed on to younger generations" (ibid.). This is indicative of another potential split in the way heritage is categorised which can act as a barrier to the expression of heritage from below, particularly in relation to working-class heritage. Under separate pages and categories, 'cultures and memories' and 'community heritage' are also listed under 'our work'. These categories include "customs and traditions, skills and knowledge, passed down to us through generations", "oral traditions, such as storytelling or local dialects" and projects which "retell people's memories about a place or event, such as a long-stay hospital, the miners' strikes or the punk movement" (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2021b). The community heritage page specifies that funding can "help people who are researching and sharing the history of a community or of a place" or projects which "combine different types of heritage in a particular location" (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2021c). But it is in these categorisations and distinctions that the subtleties and interlinking of heritage is lost. Separating these different 'types' of heritage influences the way heritage is understood, acting as a barrier to more complex projects which encompass a range of different 'types'. This poses a risk to landscape scale projects as well as industrial heritage projects. Moreover, framing the miners' strike as 'community heritage' de-politicises what was

a deeply political event, taking it outside the political and social structures which led to the strike and framing it as a personal experience rather than part of a wider long-term process of structural change. In the hierarchy of heritage, the tangible retains its superior status, not least in terms of the amount of funding allocated. It is in these seemingly insignificant sleights of hand that heritages can be marginalised or neutralised by top-down heritage organisations.

3.3 The role of policy in cultivating a split between natural and cultural heritage

The LOI project was funded under the Landscape Partnership scheme which was introduced in 2002 as part of HLF's Strategic Plan 2. It ran until 2019 when it was closed as part of a general streamlining of NLHF grant programmes. It aimed to "address the needs of landscapes [...offering a…] package of benefits to an area, its communities, and its visitors," stating that "areas must have a strong landscape identity recognised by the communities which live, work and visit there" (HLF, 2002: 31). The key aim of the programme was "to promote heritage conservation as an integral part of urban and rural regeneration" (ibid.: 39) and it was introduced alongside a raft of targeted programmes which also included Townscape Heritage Initiatives (THI). THIs were intended to "support partnerships of local, regional and national interests that aim to regenerate economically disadvantaged historic areas for the benefit of local residents, workers and visitors" (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2015: 3), they were effectively the urban equivalent of rural LPs. In England responsibility for cultural and natural heritage sits within different government departments and is managed by separate organisations DCMS (Department for Digital, Media and Sport) and English Heritage, and DEFRA (Department for Environment, Farming and Rural Affairs) and Natural England respectively. This split serves to dichotomize culture and nature, undermining the idea inherent to heritage from below that nature and culture are intrinsically linked. On a practical level it also creates barriers to projects which straddle the two. Whilst encouraging this split, the introduction of the two HLF programmes did, however, have the benefit of actively encouraging multi-agency working which was not easy under the general grant programmes at the time (D. Bennellick, 2020, personal interview, 6 April).

English Heritage (EH) (renamed Historic England in 2015) has been the body responsible for the management of heritage in England since 1984. In 2015 the body known as English Heritage was split in two and EH now has responsibility for the National Heritage Collection of more than 400 historic places and their collections whilst Historic England became, "the public body that looks after England's historic environment and helps people understand, value and care for historic places" (English Heritage, 2022). What was formerly EH and is now Historic England is officially known as the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England and "its powers and responsibilities are principally set out in the National Heritage Act 1983" (Historic England, 2022). The official name of the organisation demonstrates the focus on tangible heritage in its remit and the direct ongoing influence of the heritage debates and acts of the 1970s and 80s clearly have a direct impact on contemporary policy. The policy split between natural and cultural heritage is evident in Historic England's description of itself as "the public body that helps people care for, enjoy and celebrate England's spectacular *historic environment*" (my emphasis) (Historic England, 2021). The historic environment is largely taken to mean the built environment - in these terms the historic is manmade; the natural exists outside this definition. Natural England is a separate body which is "the government's adviser for the *natural environment* in England" (my emphasis) (UK Government, 2021a), and so the two are considered separate and almost in opposition. Further evidence of this split came in an interview with the Head of Land and Nature Policy at NLHF, who expressed frustration that his efforts to ensure landscape was included as part of a definition of cultural heritage within a recent DCMS White Paper had been unsuccessful (D. Bennellick, 2020, personal interview, 6 April). He was not able to overcome the structural framework of how heritage is defined, despite his relatively powerful role. In policy terms, what is considered cultural heritage and landscape heritage - biodiversity, habitats and species protection - are siloed off between DCMS and DEFRA respectively. NLHF is highly unusual in that it can provide funding for both, although in some respects it too plays into this oppositional role.
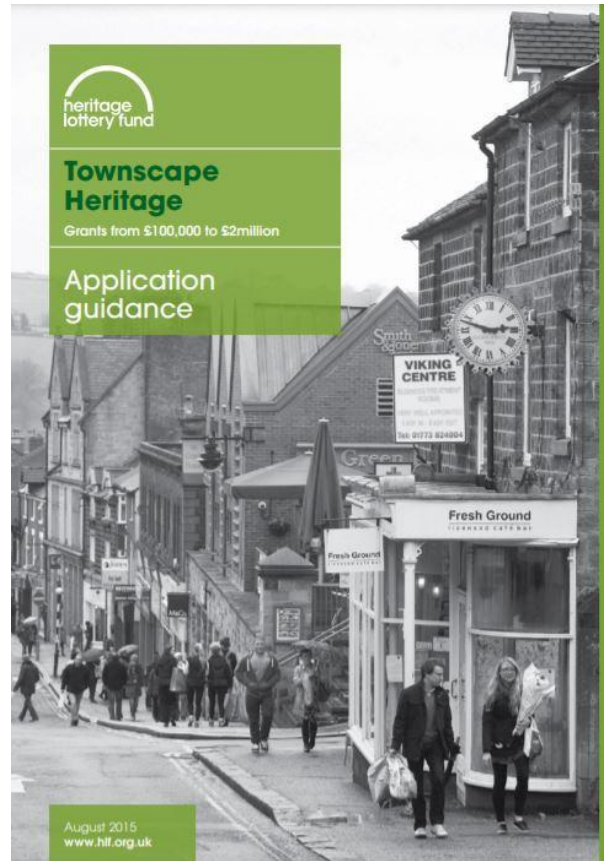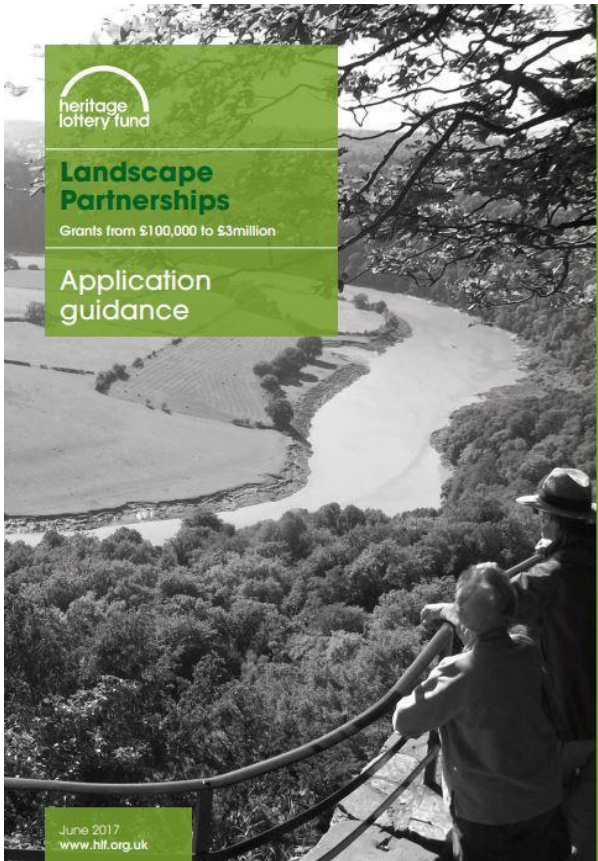
Figure 9: *Landscape Partnership and Townscape Heritage Application guidance documents. The visuals used in the application guidance very clearly indicate the split between natural and built environments (HLF, 2017 and HLF, 2015a.)*

The creation of Landscape Partnerships (funding natural heritage projects) and Townscape Heritage Initiatives (for urban heritage) plays into this dichotomy, suggesting the urban and natural landscapes are separate and unrelated, something which is simply not true in small semi-rural places like Chopwell and Winlaton. Attempting to split the two actually makes the heritage of these places harder to understand. This split has wider implications, suggesting that nature is something which is 'out there', separate to the everyday lives of the 83% of people who live in urban places (UK Government, 2021b). This is clearly too simplistic a reading of the situation.

The guidance for the LP programme emphasised the fact that landscape is a place where nature and culture interact. However, in practice, the management of such

schemes often falls to individuals whose skills and knowledge are based solely in the natural (rather than cultural) environment sector. This is a function of the wider policy context in which nature and culture are siloed off, so the opportunities to gain experience in both types of heritage simultaneously are limited. In addition, many of the criteria on which LPs were assessed have the potential to bring communities and experts into conflict, as natural heritage designations and protections do not always align with community use and values. The NLHF Head of Land and Nature Policy spoke about one community which had a completely different understanding of the landscape to that of the experts developing a Landscape Partnership project for the area. In a former mining community where the landscape is *"completely and utterly scarred through the coal mining industry"* (note use of the word scarred which in itself has very negative connotations) the area is dominated by large spoil heaps which are gradually greening up. This feature of the landscape was seen by heritage professionals as a problem to be overcome as part of the project but local people re-frame the way in which this feature of the landscape is viewed as heritage and were

> *really concerned that the spoil heaps were greening up, they said that's part of their landscape and part of their memory is that it's an industrial landscape and they don't want a completely natural landscape...the archaeology of the industrial landscape is as important to them as nature.* (D. Bennellick, 2020, personal interview, 6 April)

It is unclear at what point in the project planning process these conversations were taking place, but the impression was given that this intervention by the community took the experts by surprise. What they wanted - to preserve the pit heaps - was not part of the 'heritage plan', it was heritage from below. Part of the issue here is with the term 'natural' landscape which is part of an implicit unproblematised idea of 'nature' and a sense that there is a perfect point at which the 'natural' can be said to have been restored. This process is often presented not as a human intervention as such, but as a 'return' to how the landscape 'should' be. Whilst heritage professionals appear very aware of this issue and the manmade character of all aspects of the landscape is recognised in the policy literature, there remains an underlying assumption that 'returning to nature' is the most desirable option. In the example

above the experts were surprised, the interview respondent continued *"I wouldn't have thought that at all, I thought if that was me, I'd think now, let's just plant those"* (ibid.). This lack of a visible recognition of the interactions between the natural and the cultural diminishes a crucial part of what landscape is and always has been. This is a problem with which the interviewee was fully engaged but in the context of the above example the response of the community appears to have been unanticipated by the experts engaged, another symptom perhaps of a siloed way of thinking about landscape in which the processes of heritage become self-perpetuating and self-referring. This example highlights the fact that ideas of what is of value in the heritage landscape are not consistent across all communities, and as highlighted by Bella Dicks (2017) (see Section 4.3.4) the experience of all working-class communities cannot be flattened out into a single uniform sense of what is valuable or how the past should be remembered. Crucially in this example, we see a clash of priorities based on different senses of value. By legitimising certain types of professionalised knowledge and expertise the AHD (in this case HLF Officers) diminishes the power of local communities to control the outcomes for the places they value. This happens despite HLF's stated aim to put power in the hands of ordinary people and the commitment of the organisation to give agency over heritage to communities. As a result of this process organisations like HLF/NLHF are held captive by the frameworks in which they exist, unable to fully realise their own aspirations for a more expansive sense of heritage.

3.4 'People' focused policies and inclusion

From an early stage HLF made an overt attempt to move away from the idea of heritage as an expert driven top-down activity and placed a strong focus on 'people' in its criteria for funding. However, this impetus towards taking a broader and more inclusive approach to heritage is constrained both by the inherited starting point for thinking about heritage (i.e. early heritage policy underpinned by AHD principles) and the practicalities of funding and delivering projects. Despite this, HLF/NLHF policy documents clearly set out an ambition to widen the scope and understanding of heritage:

The philosophical approach to heritage in HLF is [...] different to that of some other heritage organisations who use their expert knowledge to identify, manage and advise on what is important on behalf of society. There is no lack of expert judgement in HLF; it is instead directed towards encouraging more people to be involved in a broader range of heritage, who will then be assisted by capital and time-limited revenue grants to manage the heritage on the nation's behalf. This attitude has allowed for a substantial redefinition in practice of what the heritage is, moving away from what appeared to its critics in the 1980s to be a patrician, backward-looking and object-based set of values towards something much more dynamic and democratic, with a firm commitment to addressing social and economic deprivation and celebrating the changing patterns of expression of national identity. (Heritage Lottery Fund/DEMOS, 2004: 21)

The second strategic plan (2002-7) was a key point for HLF in setting the direction of its funding policy. Fundamentally, the principle of providing value for lottery players drove the development of HLF from this point, rather than designations, charters or conventions (Maeer, 2017: 40). Whilst this can be explained as being based on the principle of public benefit, at the time the approach was "little short of revolutionary" (Maeer, 2017: 43). At least part of the reason it was possible to articulate these new ways of working can be explained by a change of government. In 1997 the newly elected Labour government created the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, replacing the Department for National Heritage. The arts and culture sector, which had not been a priority for successive Conservative governments, became a higher priority under the Labour government with the introduction of initiatives like free admission to the National Museums and funding through schemes such as Renaissance in the Regions. 'Heritage' was seen by the new government as a fundamentally conservative idea, and so the development of a new direction for funding policy must have seemed opportune.

A key aspect of this new regime for the arts and culture was the concept of 'inclusion' and the value of arts and culture to wider social and economic goals was stressed, with the introduction of a new term the 'creative industries' to describe the

sector (McKinnie, 2004: 187). This more expansive definition of heritage may also reflect a pragmatic approach to allocating unprecedented amounts of funding to a sector used to defending its interests in the face of ever reducing subsidies and long-term neglect by the Conservative governments of the 1980s and 90s. Lottery funding presented an enormous opportunity for a sector used to making do with whatever it could get.

HLF strategy documents begin by talking about increasing 'involvement', later moving on to talk about 'participation'. Though the term 'inclusion' is used infrequently, this move to a more inclusive approach to heritage was very much in line with social inclusion as a core principle of the Labour government elected in 1997. Social inclusion was "central to New Labour's philosophy" (West & Smith, 2005: 275) and the influence of this policy focus was felt across government. Amid anxieties about race and class (see discussion of Stuart Hall in Section 4.2.3 and Runnymede, 2000), social inclusion was presented as a central strategy in efforts to overcome a range of social problems, and culture was to play a key role, as "culture defines who we are, it defines us as a nation" as MP Tessa Jowell wrote at the time (Jowell, 2004: 17). Crucially, projects and organisations were required not just to be more inclusive, but to prove it, and in the long term this has the effect of making funding programmes more prescriptive and more outputs focused. It became more and more important to demonstrate value with measurable evidence, something more bottom-up, informal projects and organisations often find difficult.

These changes represent the acceleration of a process which began as early as the 1980s but gathered pace during the 1990s and early 2000s. In 1994 Hooper-Greenhill noted that there was very little guidance on museum standards, but this was "changing extremely rapidly" (pp. 27). Writing about the changing role of Local Authority Museums in the 1990s Ian Lawley noted that "business plans became as much a part of museum management as collections management policies" (2003: 77). These changes were sufficiently pervasive that by 2005 Jim McGuigan was able to assert that "culture is now saturated with a market-oriented mentality that closes out alternative ways of thinking and imagining" (pp. 229). The Labour government's adoption of "'new public management' mechanisms, especially top-down

performance management tools…[including]…explicit formal measurable standards and measurement of performance and success" (Hesmandhalgh et. al. 2015: 104) had a significant impact on the cultural sector, as organisations operating under the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) were required to work under Public Service Agreements from 2007 (ibid.: 105). An important element of Labour's cultural policy and a major part of what led to accusations of instrumentalism was the Local Government Act of 1999, which required Local Authorities to create 'Cultural Plans', which has been described as part of a process of 'attachment' in which the arts and cultural sector were required to develop work which contributed to other policy areas such as crime prevention or health (Gray, 2010: 77). All these developments narrow the focus of what heritage can be and do in policy terms, making it more difficult for expressions of HFB to find a place in official projects.

Finding ways to evidence increased inclusion has been a key task for the sector, yet the concept of inclusion has been problematised both in the context of museums and heritage and more generally (Levitas, 1996; Sandell, 2003; Waterton, 2010: 9). The central criticism is that it focuses on the marginalised, normalising the majority view as the standard from which others deviate rather than one of many. In the case of heritage, this idea is often expressed in the view that 'the heritage' merely needs to be explained in a way that will show excluded groups why it is important. This can be seen in HLFs second strategic plan, in which it states that "it is the task of the Heritage Lottery Fund…to seek to persuade more people to share the passionate enthusiasm of those who love our great works of art, spectacular landscapes and irreplaceable buildings" (HLF, 2002: 1). Whilst the report recognises there is also a need to widen the scope of what heritage is considered to be, this idea that there is some magic formula which will reveal the importance of certain types of heritage to the 'excluded' does nothing to include different ways of defining and understanding heritage.

There is a gradual shift in language over the course of the strategic documents, in Strategic Plan 3 HLF began to talk not of 'inclusion' but of 'participation' and as part of Strategic Framework 4 the focus on people was embedded in a new Outcomes Framework. Under this new framework 14 outcomes, set out under three headings

(Outcomes for Heritage, People and Communities) would be used to assess applications (see Fig. 10). It was against these outcomes that the LOI project was assessed and awarded funding. The number of outcomes required would depend on the size of the grant but the outcome 'People will have learnt about heritage' would be weighted for all applications, suggesting it was the central and most important outcome across the board (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013b: 16). The outcomes show the range of ways in which heritage projects were now expected to help 'people', and in turn provide wider benefits for society and the economy. Learning, volunteering and gaining skills all have the potential to benefit individuals, but importantly they all potentially make individuals more likely to be economically useful, and this is often the way that volunteering and skills are framed in terms of the benefits of heritage. Fundamentally, they are about getting more people more involved and this, whilst potentially offering positive experiences and outcomes for lots of people, perpetuates the idea that heritage projects need to invite people in to experience heritage, of which they are currently unaware. It does nothing to identify or explore different understandings of what heritage is or what it can do.

Heritage outcomes
With our investment, heritage will be:
- better managed (weighted for grants over £100,000);
- in better condition (weighted for grants over £100,000);
- better interpreted and explained;
- identified/recorded.

Outcomes for individuals
With our investment, people will have:
- learnt about heritage (weighted for all grants);
- developed skills (weighted for grants over £100,000);
- changed their attitudes and/or behaviour;
- had an enjoyable experience;
- volunteered time.

Outcomes for communities/society
With our investment:
- environmental impacts will be reduced (weighted for grants over £100,000);
- more people and a wider range of people will have engaged with heritage (weighted for grants over £100,000);
- organisations will be more resilient;
- local economies will be boosted;
- local areas/communities will be a better place to live, work or visit.

Figure 10: *HLF outcomes (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013b: 16).*

To be successful, applications must not only show which outcomes they would achieve but also how they would measure and evidence this achievement. The creation of the outcomes framework can be seen to be, in part, a consequence of the increased competition for funding caused by austerity (see Section 3.6). As a funder

distributing millions of pounds and processing thousands of applications annually, a clear decision-making framework is needed in order to justify funding decisions. Yet this process necessarily disadvantages both informal organisations and more informal understandings of heritage. Writing applications which will score highly against outcomes has become a profession in itself and it discourages risk-taking both for applicants and decision-makers.

The Outcomes Framework is still in place at the time of writing. In Strategic Framework 4 the Chair reaffirms that "while our work is informed by experts, we ask people to decide what they value from the past and wish to hand on to the future. That is the heritage we support" (HLF, 2019: 1). Yet this statement is closely followed by a statement about the benefits of "bringing heritage into a better condition and making it fully accessible to diverse audiences" (ibid.), which feels like a return to the paternalistic goal of making people understand why they should think heritage is important. The NLHF open funding programmes are described as being "for projects that connect people and communities to the national, regional and local heritage of the UK" (NLHF, 2022), implying that people and heritage are separate, and that people need to be shown heritage exists to appreciate it. This is not to say that in practice NLHF does not fund projects which do achieve the aim of community-defined and driven heritage projects, but the language is not consistent in showing that it does. Ultimately the language (and consequently the processes it describes) are limiting and restraining, and this is true for professionals as well as communities.

3.5 The limits of expertise
Within the Outcomes Framework introduced in 2013 there is a tension between outcomes for people and communities (bottom-up heritage) and outcomes for heritage which focus on expertise and professionalisation. The decision-making processes and practical considerations of allocating funding have a deep impact upon which stories heritage projects choose to tell and as such what becomes considered 'heritage' (in Smith's terms, what is admitted to the AHD). Although the decision-making processes often involve community consultation, the final decisions lie with project staff - the 'heritage professionals'. For many projects and organisations with highly specialised subject specific expertise (such as museums and historic

properties) this can become a gate-keeping activity, for others (like the LOI) it involves juggling a range of priorities and dealing with areas of expertise in which they may not be qualified or have experience. Depending on the organisation managing the project, staff do not always have heritage specific skills and experience, or they may be experienced in working with one type of heritage only (for example staff with experience in biodiversity or habitat management might also be tasked with managing an archaeology project or restoration of built heritage). This is something the LOI Project Manager had to deal with. Landscape scale projects necessarily involve a range of types of heritage and the partnership structure of the LP programme was intended to deal with that. However, in reality juggling a range of priorities is incredibly hard and often leaves community consultation as an aspiration rather than a reality.

Asked what they found most challenging about the project, the LOI Project Manager gave the following answer:

> "I don't know if it's a challenge, but you've just got to be so considerate and so self-conscious as well and conscious as a project that it's not your story to tell and especially with Consett and even Chopwell and other areas where it was so, you know, relatively recent, it's in living memory - but the scars are still obviously there - is that it's not our project story to tell at all. It's just for us to bring people together and look at how we can help others do that, if that's what they want to do. You know up in in Consett you've got quite a few strong history societies, you know, one in particular does a lot of this, has an archive and does bring people together and you know, it's theirs really, and you may want to kind of go in guns blazing and think that's a great story, actually it's not a story, is it really? It's what's happened to people. And you know, if you can just form a relationship with people and just be there if they want you to facilitate anything or help or put a bit of resources into something that's great. In some places, that's taken off massively maybe in the areas... it has really taken off as well is the likes of Winlaton Mill and Chopwell and other areas where it's maybe a little bit more distant in the past, it's not quite so raw and sensitive and you can talk about, you know, you know, some of the

amazing cultural heritage there around say Crawley's Crew and then Chartism and other incredible stories that people can look back on now with pride and you don't have to worry about…."

Interviewer: *"You've got the distance?"*

Respondent: *"Yeah, if you're kind of telling a story that isn't really yours to tell whereas I, you've got to be so careful in areas like Consett because it's still so political up there as well around it […] that's probably why we haven't gone to things up there quite so much."* (K. Daglish, 2020, personal interview, 15 April)

This interaction draws out some of the key complexities which impact on how heritage from below is understood and incorporated (or not) into top-down projects. It also underlines how concerns rooted in a desire to be respectful of people's heritage can have the unintended impact of shoring up features of the AHD and indirectly narrowing ideas of what heritage can be and do. There are two indirect consequences to this process. The PM identifies that it is not her 'story to tell' that it is 'theirs' (i.e., it belongs to the community in question), but she also recognises that the LOI project has not *"gone to things up there quite so much"* (K. Daglish, 2020, personal interview, 15 April). She is referring to Consett, where the consequences of deindustrialisation are still particularly raw. Consett Steel Works closed in 1980 and the reverberations of that process are still felt very strongly in the town. The site was completely razed to the ground leaving no trace of the industry on which the town was built, and the social and economic impacts of the closure still impact heavily on residents. Whilst a reluctance to engage with these events is motivated by sensitivity, it has the indirect consequence of leaving a gap in the heritage narrative created by the LOI. This in turn pushes heritage conceptually further into the past and severs the sense of continuity between past and present by disrupting the narrative. Thus, the further the idea of heritage is pushed into the past, the more it feels separate and unconnected to the lives we lead now. This can be a particular problem in working-class former industrial communities (though not exclusively) where the present is shaped by the past in a very real sense. Avoiding the contested parts of

these histories or those parts which are deemed 'too political' creates a gap in the process of how we got from 'there' to 'here'. This raises a second issue, which is that by avoiding difficult or contentious events, heritage is de-politicised. It is precisely in the process of how we got from 'there' to 'here' - in this case how Consett went from being a thriving steel town to suffering an employment rate of double the national average in the wake of the closure (BBC, 2014) - that the politics underlying this heritage can be found. In avoiding the heritage of living memory, a vital component of the story is silenced.

There is an implicit understanding of the power structures involved in developing and delivering heritage projects in how the PM approached this topic. Despite holding the role of PM which legitimises her position as an 'expert' she is aware of the power dynamics at play and she is keen not to remove power or agency from people who have experienced difficult or traumatic events in living memory. However, the very nature of such projects means that some stories will be marginalised or fall from view. By choosing specific stories the project is legitimising them as part of the narrative at the expense of others. There is a perception of neutrality in older narratives, the idea that *"it's not a story...it's what's happened to people"* is not applied in the same way to stories beyond the scope of living memory. But this can be problematic as it creates the past as a tableau, distancing people in the present from people in the past and hollowing them out: the fact that they were thinking, feeling individuals becomes secondary to a wider story arc.

The PM refers to the local history societies in Consett and the idea that large scale projects like the LOI can facilitate smaller organisations and groups to do the more challenging grassroots work. This shows a recognition that there is a role to play for projects rooted in heritage from below within the project and that there is a recognition of different scales and senses of heritage. The PM went on to talk about some of the work done by the smaller organisations which were awarded grants as part of the LOI project and identified them as reaching less typical heritage audiences. But this is a small part of the wider project and whilst it has a clear impact for those involved it does nothing to change the presentation of the wider overall story. Crucially, this kind of work requires building relationships, something

which is very challenging when projects are funded on a short-term basis, eroding trust and fostering cynicism. The following wording from the LOI History Portal website is typical of this kind of presentation of heritage as a lost story to be 'given back' to ordinary people: "the knowledge of this valley's significance in industrial and social history had been lost to all but a few academics and local historians. The Land of Oak & Iron project has transformed that" (Land of Oak & Iron Trust, undated). This view of a 'lost' past fails to recognise the continuities and parallels between the past and the present and necessarily sees some stories marginalised. The idea that it has taken the LOI to 'save' it from loss perpetuates the idea that only experts can define and protect heritage.

When asked about missed opportunities the PM identified some of the stories of social movements and the more political elements of the LOI's past. This is interesting as it does not suggest a conscious decision on the part of key individuals that certain stories are too controversial or political to be told. Rather a process by which the way these projects intrinsically 'work' has been moulded to such a degree that the more challenging stories are sifted out or neutralised. The PM said that she "*would have loved to have done something on Joseph Cowan and the political stories of the area. I think that's a whole other project in itself.*" The lack of focus on this element of the heritage was put down to its enormity, and the fact that it 'needed a project in itself'; but for whatever reason it was not to be *this* project. This is in no way to single out this individual or the project development team as a whole, as the whole apparatus of the funding programme under which the project was developed, and the wider AHD can be seen to be subtly working to make it easier *not* to tell these kinds of stories, despite their significance both locally and nationally. In this way official heritage or the AHD becomes self-perpetuating and continues to narrow the scope for subaltern (in the sense that they stand outside of the dominant discourse (Smith, 2006: 35)) or alternative ways of understanding or doing heritage. The individual managers and policymakers within the sector are not consciously working to make this happen, but the existing frameworks and structures gain an ever-stronger grip, and this is exacerbated by external pressures such as increased pressure on funding. The things which were left out of the LOI constitute the understandings of heritage where the edges are too blurry, they don't fit neatly into

the AHD boxes either in terms of what they are now (there are no physical remains) or what they represent (communities defining value and that value not fitting neatly into a political or national story). Projects necessarily concentrate on 'things' whether they are artefacts, landscape features or species, when in fact attitudes and emotions are equally important and focusing on them could potentially make more change in the long term. But attitudes and emotions are not easily measurable, so in the context of a funded project and an instrumentalised understanding of social benefit there is no incentive to do the kind of work that is attentive to heritage from below.

3.6 Impact of austerity: the economic impact of heritage

The development of HLF policy up to Strategic Plan 3 (2008-2013) shows a gradual growth in a 'people' centred approach, a progressive policy direction which puts ordinary people at the centre of a process of defining and working with heritage. This continues in the Strategic Framework 4 and 5 documents (2013 and 2019 respectively), but it is accompanied by a much more urgent acceleration of a sense of the need for action to protect the sector from the impact of austerity. The LOI was awarded its second round HLF grant in 2015 and it was therefore in the context of SF4 the project was developed and largely delivered. It is clear from the outset that Strategic Framework 4 was written at a time when the heritage sector was facing significant challenges. Whereas, in the SP2 document for example, the Chair's Introduction was largely concerned with articulating a vision of what heritage is and what it can do, the SF4 document focuses on the external context and the challenges it presents. It opens, "we have developed our new strategic framework over the past 18 months during an extremely turbulent period for the UK's heritage", the consequences of which will mean a "fundamental re-design of some heritage services and activities" (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013b: 1). This sets the tone for the document and indeed the way many organisations were forced to operate in this period. This has implications both for the LOI and for heritage from below.

In her work on the early discourse on heritage in the UK, Waterton highlights a key idea in the debates and Acts of the 1970s and 80s which is that heritage assets were considered essentially useless in themselves. She references Baroness Stedman in

the House of Lords, who said when debating the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill in 1979 that "the structures with which this legislation is concerned are usually ruinous, or at any rate no longer of much use for current social or economic purposes" (Hansard, cited in Waterton, 2010: 88). Heritage buildings, sites and landscapes were considered as exemplars to be collected, important because of what they represent but with no practical purpose. This idea has not survived, and the direction in which the concept of value has developed has implications for heritage from below. This idea of heritage as of the past, to be saved for the future, but essentially useless in the present has been replaced by the belief that heritage must *do something* in the present - that it must produce social and economic outcomes and that someone must intervene to *allow* it to do so. Over the last 25 years, and increasingly in the years since 2010 when austerity put growing pressure on public funding, that intervening body is most likely to be HLF/NLHF.

Key to understanding the development of HLF/NLHF policy from SP3 onwards is the fluctuating nature of lottery income. All the organisation's grant income comes from lottery ticket sales meaning the ability to fund projects is completely reliant on this. The wider economic context is also relevant in that in a period of austerity the operating costs of the lottery funders came under greater scrutiny. Table 2 shows the amount the organisation expected to be able to commit to new projects annually. After a long period of relative stability, reduced lottery incomes meant that during SP3 the amount available to HLF was much lower than previously, before rising again in 2013. These fluctuations were based entirely on how many people were buying lottery tickets, which is influenced by a variety of factors.

Strategic Plan and period	Expected grant awards per year
SP1: 1995-2002	c.£300m*
SP2: 2003-2007	£300m
SP3: 2008-2013	£180m
SF4: 2013-2018	£375m
SF5: 2019-2024	£225m**

*As per Heritage Lottery Fund/DEMOS, 2004: 21

** This is the figure for 2019, the report then states £1.2b over 5 years (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2019: 46)

Table 2: HLF/NLHF annual grant budget by strategic plan/framework.

The SP3 document feels very different to the documents which came before and after. In it we see a future focused organisation, but protecting heritage for the future is conceptualised in a very different way to the 1970s idea that heritage is about simply preserving things from the past so future generations can enjoy them. Instead, heritage is actively put to use and the report is filled with 'innovation', 'transformation' and 'impact'. Both HLF and the heritage it supports must work hard to justify their value. The idea that heritage is about passively enjoying the past is gone and a strident advocacy for heritage as a vehicle for change and renewal is presented. The organisation is clearly seeking to present itself as modern, progressive and efficient. Whilst the focus on 'people' is still clearly present the language is subtly changing and becoming more financialised, and this is a process which continues in the following two documents.

Whilst the SP2 document did talk about investment, it was largely in the sense of investing in a shared future, not as an overtly economic transaction. In the SP3 document, "innovative investment" becomes a core principle. HLF is a "responsible investor, using clear criteria and prioritising applications for funding strategically" (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2008: 7). The organisation is presented as competent and business-like and the expectation is that grant holders will be the same, for example HLF "expect projects to maximise the funding they can lever in from other sources" (ibid.). This leaves little room for bottom-up expressions of heritage and favours

large, formalised organisations and projects. A focus on 'sustaining and transforming' (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2008: 4) is the beginning of a corporate focus on sustainability, which along with resilience, would later become buzzwords for the sector. Sustainability was considered in the second strategic plan (2002), but the concept of measuring 'sustainable development' was rejected as "difficult to assess and monitor" with a fear that "it would place excessive burdens on small organisations; and inevitably tensions would arise between sustainable development and heritage needs or statutory obligations" (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2002: 47). Pre SP3 (2008), sustainability referred to the sustainability of the heritage asset, not the financial sustainability of the organisation managing it. This new definition of sustainability, plus the emerging focus on the business side of applicant organisations points to the direction of policy in the decade of austerity.

This focus on economic sustainability accelerated in the decade following the 2010 General Election, which ended in a Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government in England. This precipitated a period of austerity which lasted well beyond the election of a Conservative majority government in 2015. The 2010 Spending Review resulted in a 25% cut to DCMS spending (Bull, 2015: 47) and this was coupled with eye-watering cuts to local government with revenues available to councils to fund local services falling by "18% in total or 24% per person" in the decade from 2009 to 2019 (Harris, Hodge, and Phillips, 2019: 6). This was even more pronounced in the North-East than in other parts of England, where "spending per person has fallen by 30%... compared with 15% in the South West" (ibid.: 7). This inevitably had a knock-on effect for culture and heritage, meaning that support and funding was stripped back significantly. In its 2011 reporting on cuts in museums, the Museums Association found that of respondents to its research 20% had been subject to budget cuts in excess of 25% (Newman and Tourle 2011: 4); and this in only the first year of a decade of cuts. The significance of cuts to local and national government cannot be overstated in terms of the impact on HLF applicants and grant holders. In the wake of austerity "the boundaries of public funding are redrawn" (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013b: 19). In this context, and with English Heritage subject to a budget cut of 30% (Architect's Journal, 2010), the 2013 strategic document does much to publicise and advocate for the benefits of the

heritage sector, but it also presents the strongest economic case for heritage of all the documents so far. Increasingly it must walk a line between being more inclusive and pushing the boundaries of defining heritage and justifying the tangible benefits heritage can deliver.

By 2019, when the fifth strategic document was produced, we see this insistence that heritage must always 'do something' to justify its existence explicitly articulated. The distance travelled from the heritage debates of the 1970s and 80s is demonstrated by the following paragraph:

> Our approach is probably best summed up by the phrase, "It's not enough to save something – you've got to make it live". That's because a living heritage is most likely to be sustainable and to bring greater benefits to people and communities. (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2019: 1)

The idea that the kind of heritage which was in need of protection and funding would be of little use for social or economic purposes has disappeared. Yet this is not quite heritage as a process, rather it is characterised as a resurrection of something almost dead, it requires someone or something, in this case NLHF, to 'make it live'. And the reason for doing this is to make it 'sustainable' and bring 'benefits' which the document will go on to explain and which need to be measured. This idea underlies SF4 (2013) as well as SF5 (2019) and has specific consequences for heritage from below, increasing its marginalisation and making it more difficult for heritage from below to find expression in top-down projects. Central to the ethos of the document is that heritage must be 'doing something' all the time. This principle, which can be seen gradually developing in the HLF/NLHF strategic documents, is now firmly embedded, as it is across the arts and culture sector more widely. It justifies the work of heritage organisations through "a host of wider benefits" and economic and social outcomes. These are listed as including "developing skills and improving wellbeing, boosting local economies and creating jobs, sustaining biodiversity, and encouraging a sense of identity and belonging" (NLHF, 2019: 4) all of which can be seen to contribute to a wide range of local and national government policy aims. It is essential that it does this to secure its existence. But what of the heritage which does

nothing to add to this system of economic and social returns? This is part of how heritage from below is defined. This is just one of the reasons HFB is marginalised by the policy and funding processes in place in the UK, but it has consequences for the expressions of heritage which are 'allowed' within the dominant heritage narrative.

Austerity has had other impacts on projects like the LOI. The role of Local Authorities in the process of developing heritage projects is receding, making multi-agency projects like LOI difficult to develop and manage. Whereas at the start of the LP programme around two-thirds of project applications came from Local Authorities, by the time the programme closed, very few applications came from Councils as "Local Authorities just don't have the capacity to fund and create a Landscape Partnership" (D. Bennellick, 2020, personal interview, 6 April). So, whilst an anticipated drop in natural heritage projects has not happened post-SF5, they are more likely to be single organisation (and often single habitat or species based) projects (ibid.). Running landscape scale projects is becoming increasingly difficult. This impacts on the way landscapes are understood, and the interactivity of nature and culture becomes less visible. NHLF's lead on Nature and Landscape commented that

> we're seeing...much narrower projects that are focused on a particular theme, rather than what was brilliant about LP was...everything in the landscape matters equally and projects were trying to balance that. So I think we have a serious problem with it, we're not doing that at all at the moment" (ibid.).

There is a negative side to the development of multi-agency landscape scale projects in that they can become so monolithic as to 'swallow up' smaller heritage organisations and groups, making them part of the dominant overall narrative. This was a particular risk with Landscape Partnerships as they were able to offer small community grants for complementary work within the project boundary. The LCAP for the LOI lists 14 groups with an interest in local heritage and an indirect by-product of large multi-agency projects is that they come to set the heritage agenda, nudging existing organisations to work in a particular way or focus on particular themes. By distributing Community Grants large projects can simultaneously act to support smaller groups whilst subtly influencing their work. Despite this, the

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declining opportunity for the development of large-scale projects is detrimental to the holistic understanding of landscape, which is to the detriment of heritage from below.

The impact of the demise of Landscape Partnerships on multi-agency projects is further exacerbated by a significant rise in competition which makes funding large scale, and thus expensive, projects challenging to justify for NLHF (Bailey, 2018). Successful LP projects required intensive staff input - people working closely with the public doing training in landscape-based tasks, completing engagement activities, running workshops - and NLHF decision makers often find this kind of staff cost hard to justify and question the need and value for this kind of work (D. Bennellick, 2020, personal interview, 6 April). Landscape scale projects are complex and difficult to manage - something which makes a simple building restoration project a much 'safer bet'. And all of this comes at a time when funders like NLHF are being asked to do more and more. Changes under SF5 place a much greater focus on inclusion (a specific outcome of the 2017 Tailored Review (DCMS, 2017: 12)), diversity and wellbeing. All these issues have been further exacerbated by the Covid 19 pandemic. NLHF suspended all its programmes in 2019 to deliver a £50 million emergency funding package (National Lottery Heritage Fund, 2020), effectively pausing normal operations indefinitely for most organisations.

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter introduced the concepts of the AHD and HFB and the complex power relationship they encapsulate. The two frameworks for understanding heritage point in different directions: the former is necessarily constrained by designations and categorisations whilst the latter is inherently more porous and open to interpretation. The AHD is concerned with purpose and definition, HFB with an expansive view of the past in the present which defies easy definition. A fundamental issue at the centre of this thesis is the AHDs inability to accommodate alternate or more expansive ways of understanding heritage. As has been shown, the professionals working in the sector are as beholden to the frameworks of the AHD as the publics and communities they work with. The ways that HFB can operate within a project like the LOI can be seen to be both shaped by HLF/NLHF and beyond their reach. In many forms, HFB will continue to exist regardless of the policy and funding processes

that operate around it (although its significance will be overlooked or unrecognised). But the grip of the AHD over policy - even in the face of a conscious effort to overcome its influence - means that HFB will never be able to exert the same power as 'official' heritage. This in turn means that despite efforts to make heritage more inclusive, the values underpinning HFB are not awarded a high status, which has profound impacts for marginalised communities and individuals.

This chapter has demonstrated that the expressed aims of HLF/NLHF to enable heritage to be defined by people and to put people at the centre of heritage processes, are limited and constrained by the processes of the AHD. They are further constrained by the wider policy aims of national government, as over a period of decades an increasingly instrumentalised view has been taken of arts and culture. This view dictates that organisations and projects must always be shown to be adding social or economic value to legitimise their existence and be awarded the funding on which they rely. The inability of the sector to move away from a focus on 'things' rather than ideas, emotions and social processes creates a hierarchy of value which is detrimental to the types of heritage which fall under the banner of heritage from below. The reliance on a limited definition of expertise, and the siloing of expertise within the wider definition of heritage negates the power of heritage to cross disciplinary boundaries and makes the split between nature and culture more intractable. In this process experts become either gatekeepers or jugglers: attempting to show people how to decode the value prescribed by their discipline or trying to balance understandings of heritage in projects which encompass wide-ranging interdisciplinary themes.

This has specific consequences for industrial heritage. In policy literature industrial buildings, machines and structures come to symbolise a time when 'we' were great innovators but the social and political themes which underpin this heritage are relegated to 'community' heritage. In the process, we are encouraged to look back and marvel at 'how things used to be' and 'how far we have progressed' rather than see the continuities of everyday life and draw parallels with the politics and social problems of our own times. Squeamishness and sensitivity encourage professionals to create a gap between 'them' and 'us', 'now' and 'then' which can hinder

understanding and alienate people from their own pasts. The stories which are left out seemingly unintentionally, create the spaces in which the AHD tightens its grip on the processes of heritage. Consequently, many types of heritage are mis-designated as "something other than heritage" (Waterton, 2010: 208).

We have seen that AHD and HFB are not oppositional and that there is interaction and overlap between them. However, it is necessary to further explore how this works in practice and what the term 'heritage from below' is used to signify in the context of this thesis and the heritages explored in the Derwent Valley. Chapter Four introduces the concept of 'enmeshed heritages' to elaborate these connections.

Chapter 4: The lived experience of the heritage landscape: memory, class, and culture in North-East England

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Three demonstrated the policy context of the thesis, focusing on the ongoing struggle between the principle of a people-focused broad understanding of what heritage is and can do and the realities of funding and delivering heritage on the ground. These policies have shaped definitions and perceptions of the heritage of the Derwent Valley both in terms of official, top-down heritage and heritage from below. In this chapter, the theoretical framework for the thesis is laid out, fleshing out the key concepts and exploring the academic literature which underpin the thesis. The concept of enmeshed heritage is set out as a means to better understand the senses of heritage explored here.

Whilst utilising the concepts of heritage from below (HFB) and the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) to aid understanding of how heritage works in practice, it must be noted that, as Muzaini and Minca (2018) explain, these are overlapping categories that "constantly interact with one another, such that clear cut distinctions are frequently blurred" (pp. 14). In part 4.2 of this chapter, I address both concepts and depict their interaction through the notion of 'enmeshed heritage', in which culture, identity and place combine to create a sense of heritage which is messy, connected and defies easy categorisation under either the AHD or HFB labels. Sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4 elaborate on the concept of enmeshed heritage, considering the importance of continuity, intangibility and dissonance in its expression.

Part 4.3 focuses on the embodied nature of enmeshed heritage in the landscape, and the ways in which this is particularly important in former industrial and working-class landscapes. This enmeshed sense of heritage asks us to move away from a focus on objects and cohesive 'heritage sites' and, hence, draws on the disciplines of Geography (particularly with reference to more-than-representational theories) and Memory Studies, which offers insights on the impact of intangible heritage, memory and place on identity formation. The role of affect is explored and its importance in understanding enmeshed heritage is highlighted. Paul Connerton's concept of

'incorporating memory' (1989) is introduced as a way of illuminating the importance of action in the landscape, foregrounding the fact that the landscape is ever-changing and that actors in the landscape are co-creating place with every new or repeated action. The important role of class in understanding how people use and understand landscape is highlighted as an integral part of this process of place creation, with both the practices of industrial labour and social life contributing to this sense of place. Class is a concept to which scholars in memory studies have rarely paid close attention, but in the context of the Derwent Valley memory and heritage are shot through with working-class identity and the legacies of deindustrialisation. The concepts of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), structures of feeling (Williams, 1977) and the half-life of deindustrialisation (Linkon, 2018) are utilised to explore this classed sense of place and re-emphasise the importance of physicality in understanding the relationship between people, place and the past.

Finally, part 4.4 considers the role of social memory in enmeshed heritage. Understandings of the past seen through the lens of social remembering expose the landscape and community as deeply entwined and suggest that people experience time in the landscape in a non-linear way. This understanding is shaped and influenced by their social experiences and relationships. Depictions of working-class heritage are often associated with feelings of nostalgia, and this too has an impact on the way working-class heritages are positioned and understood. To dismiss social remembering as backward looking or nostalgic is too simplistic a reading of the processes of remembering together, and the idea that nostalgia has potentially productive value is introduced. An awareness of this context is essential to understanding how people use and relate to place and landscape in the context of enmeshed heritage. Across the chapter these interdisciplinary insights are drawn on and combined to create a holistic understanding of how landscape and place is shaped in the communities of the Derwent Valley.

It is important to note at the outset that this study is firmly rooted in the context of North-East England, and national and local contexts are significant in understanding the development of debates around heritage. Mason (2020a) cautions against attempting to read across nations when social and political contexts are so different

and specific (ibid.: 6) and uses 'Anglophone' to distinguish the specific context in which she writes, with a focus on museums specifically. Within the context of this thesis there is a need for yet further specificity. Whilst Australian research is drawn upon, particularly that of Laurajane Smith (whose research spans the UK, North America and Australia), there is a limit to how instructive case studies from other national heritage contexts can be. Australian and North American heritage work has a very specific context in which indigenous communities are central. In the US, the legacy of slavery brings a different perspective to the debates and in the UK the colonial legacy gives a different context again. Even within the UK the differing perspectives of the home nations means that to generalise across nations and regions is problematic and must be done with much care and caution. In the context of researching North-East England, it can be seen that there are regional and local particularities to which attention must be paid; these are explored in this chapter.

4.2 Defining heritage

The following three sections explore the relationship between the AHD and HFB, introducing the concept of enmeshed heritage to describe and explore the senses of heritage found in the Derwent Valley. Power emerges as a key theme as the influence exerted by the frameworks of the AHD are drawn out. It is demonstrated that one of the key features of the AHD is that it finds greatest value in tangible things defined by experts. Its constraining power makes it impossible for unofficial or alternative forms of heritage to transcend a hierarchical view of heritage in which they are most often relegated to the lower status category of 'community heritage'.

4.2.1 Enmeshed heritage: between the AHD and HFB

The forms of heritage explored in this thesis are described as 'enmeshed', reflecting that whilst they share many of the characteristics of heritage from below, it is impossible to disentangle them from the AHD. Further, exactly what this form of enmeshed heritage actually 'is' is hard to define, meaning it is never fully aligned with the concept of HFB outlined in the literature (though this is in itself an elusive concept to define). Importantly, like HFB, these enmeshed heritages are found in the "meaning full" landscape, a place of action, where meaning making is passed on through generations and "underscored by embodied practice" (Robertson, 2012: 2)

rather than the tangible 'things' of the AHD. It is in this broad understanding of what heritage can be that enmeshed heritages can be located and understood.

The concept of the AHD (Smith, 2006; as outlined in 3.1) has been extremely influential in Heritage Studies and beyond. Its author, Laurajane Smith, was instrumental in the foundation of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (CHS), which is shaping the "compelling direction of progress" in the field (Tunbridge, Ashworth and Graham, 2000: 369). This is not to say that the concerns of CHS are new. As highlighted by Mason (2020a: 20), many of the issues central to CHS can be traced back to the New Museology of the 1980s and 1990s. However the coining of the term 'AHD' was a significant moment for the discipline, and the concept has become ubiquitous.

The AHD exerts power over the way heritage is understood and this impacts both on how people think about heritage and the way that heritage is practised and managed. Some of the key elements of this process are:

- It creates the past as 'other'. Rather than emphasising continuity it siloes the past from contemporary concerns and negates its work in the present (Smith, 2006: 12). Presenting the past as a static entity which needs to be saved 'for future generations' is "disempowering the present from actively rewriting the meaning of the past" (ibid.: 29).
- It focuses on and reproduces elite experiences and struggles to accommodate minority and marginalised experiences or ideas of what heritage is (ibid.: 30).
- It silences 'non-expert' voices and stories (ibid.: 12).
- It focuses on the national (ibid.: 30).
- It is physically bounded, with an emphasis on specific sites, buildings and objects (ibid.: 31).
- It is passive, assuming the visitor 'gaze' (though this is not to say this is how visitors actually see heritage sites) (ibid.: 31).

Smith demonstrates how these ideas underpin international conventions such as the ICOMOS Venice Charter (2006: 21) and can be seen as part of a universalising tendency; that Western European conservation ideals have been imposed on the rest

of the world. Writing in 2012, Howard noted that despite the influence of Smith's work on the AHD "the power of the Authorised Heritage Discourse has not been much weakened" (Howard, 2012); the ideology which underpins the AHD "stands firm despite growing academic critique" (Fredheim, 2017).

Robertson highlights the significance of Smith's work on the AHD for the development of the concept of HFB (as outlined in 3.1), noting its strength in providing "a measure by which examples of heritage management can be unpacked and [by which] the socio-cultural work that heritage does can be better understood" (2012: 6, see also 2018: 169). Whilst he is at pains to emphasise his desire to "escape from an easy reliance on a series of questionable dualisms" (2012: 23) in Heritage Studies, there is an awareness that it is all too easy to fall into defining HFB and the AHD oppositionally. This is borne out by the amount of space given in the later volume *After Heritage: Critical perspectives on heritage from below* (Muzaini and Minca, 2018) to emphasising the intertwined and interlinked nature of the AHD and HFB. It is easy to see how writing about HFB can slip into an oppositional framework with the AHD. Whilst this is not wholly productive, there are some key features of HFB which make it very difficult for traditional heritage structures to accommodate it (for all the reasons set out in Chapter 3). Thus, the term enmeshed heritage will be used in an attempt to make more visible the inevitable untidiness of these definitions and categorisations of heritage, which often mean little to those on the ground, experiencing heritage in their everyday lives or working in the sector.

The definition of the AHD has come to be seen as a seminal moment in Heritage Studies. The power of the concept of the AHD is in the fact that it is highly recognisable to those familiar with the discipline, neatly encapsulating the frameworks and structures to which the sector and the discipline is beholden. The problem with its ubiquity is that in taking it as a given, how it works in the world is often glossed over. In *Uses of Heritage* (2006) for instance, ICOMOS and UNESCO are described as the "authorising institutions" of heritage (pp. 87) with analysis of the Venice Charter, World Heritage Convention and Burra Charter. When Smith moves on to consider how the AHD is reproduced at specific sites, the focus is on audience reception. The process by which these high level international and national

Conventions and Charters actually reach the meeting rooms of heritage organisations across the UK (or anywhere else for that matter) is obscured. It is most likely that in general policymakers and practitioners are explicitly discussing neither the work of ICOMOS and UNESCO nor the processes of the AHD. These ideas are implicitly absorbed and legitimised in messy and uneven ways, enmeshed in the everyday work of keeping a site open to the public or finding the funding to create a new exhibition. Witcomb and Buckley (2013) highlight the fact that whilst *Uses of Heritage* (2006) is heavily cited in academia it is little known amongst professionals and practitioners, owing in part to a perception of the academic debate being cut off from the realities of work on the ground. Whilst many individuals and organisations are doing work to actively undermine the AHD, they are unlikely to describe it as such. But this is precisely the point. Whilst practitioners do not discuss it (in reality most will never have even heard of the AHD) it nevertheless structures the way they work albeit in uneven, inconsistent ways. It is for this reason that the features of the AHD are important in understanding the way HFB operates in landscapes like the Derwent Valley. It is not as an oppositional concept to HFB that the AHD is important, instead, it gives clues to where the limits and restraining properties of official heritage lie.

The difficulty of finding a way to work outside the constraints of the AHD is an issue Fredheim highlights, suggesting that it can be the case that "the presence of the authorised heritage discourse becomes a reassuring reminder of all we are not, instead of an unshakeable truth about the systems within which we all operate" (Fredheim, 2017: 620). Specifically, Robertson asserts, "heritage studies in general have failed to pay sufficient attention to the (relatively mundane) home as a site of memory work" (Robertson, 2015: 997). In the case of this thesis 'the home' is taken to mean the landscapes of home rather than simply a building in which people live. This lack of attention can be seen as a symptom of the AHD, which focuses on the tourist and the economic benefits of heritage. In this context local communities who happen to live in what is deemed a 'heritage landscape' fall into the background, becoming almost part of the landscape rather than an audience to be attracted. They are less important than the 'participants' who volunteer or take part in workshops as

they play no role in demonstrating impact and as such their experience is not foregrounded.

It is possible for expressions of HFB to exist completely independently of the AHD, but very often the two do interact, overlay and intersect. HFB has the power to disrupt the AHD. Crucially, HFB may have nothing to do with the AHD, but in any landscape the AHD always has the power to disrupt or even destroy HFB and to justify it through heritage protection legislation. In this way the two are enmeshed together in complex understandings of heritage. In the next section the nature of enmeshed heritage is explored.

4.2.2 Defining enmeshed heritage

The term enmeshed heritage is not intended to be a definitive category into which heritage types, events or sites are able to be placed. Instead, it is intended to act as a way of describing heritage which sits at the very edge of what might be described as 'heritage'. It describes a sense of value taken from the past and utilised in the present and which draws on and interacts with both the AHD and HFB. It is found in the (often unselfconscious) habits and practices of the everyday, and though elements or expressions of this sense of heritage may spill over into more official or legitimised types of heritage, it does not rely on these forms. Specifically,

- It encompasses embodied action or practices based in continuity, often between generations
- It is a social practice, but it plays close attention to the individual
- It does not coalesce around things or practices as a response to risk of loss
- It is not interested in economic outcomes or outputs
- It is not performed for an audience of tourists or visitors to the landscape
- It is based around landscapes of the familiar or landscapes of home (though this is not to say it is inherently positive)

Whilst many of these characteristics are shared with HFB, the term is so bound up in being oppositional to the AHD it is challenging to move beyond this. The term enmeshed heritage is intended to reflect how the senses of heritage it describes are deeply entangled with both the AHD and HFB. The term not only reflects the sense

that it is impossible to disentangle these heritage types, but also the difficulty in escaping the two polarising concepts (despite the best efforts of those writing on the subject). The term enmeshed also attempts to encapsulate the understanding that people and landscape, natural and cultural, are deeply entangled, which is central to the thesis. Essentially, whilst drawing heavily on the principles which underlie HFB, I attempt to explore a way of understanding landscape heritage which goes beyond the site specific in a way that the literature on HFB is largely yet to do. In the Introduction to *After Heritage: Critical perspectives on heritage from below* (2018: 4) Muzaini and Minca note the focus of the volume on "the cultural realm" rather than the natural, which reflects wider work on HFB. Similarly writing on walking, a key methodology for the PhD, tends to focus on the urban (see for example Bates & Rhys-Taylor, 2017) meaning that in this context the 'natural' landscape is under-explored. The thesis therefore seeks to widen the study of HFB and walking methods in a 'natural' landscape setting. Further, the heritage literature - including that on HFB and affect - is largely focused on objects and sites rather than larger more loosely defined landscapes. To move beyond the focus on defined 'heritage things' the thesis draws on memory studies (conceptually) and anthropology and sociology (in terms of methods), widening the scope of what constitutes a heritage landscape and how it is understood.

4.2.3 Enmeshed heritage: dissonance and tangibility

In Chapter Three it was demonstrated that heritage policy in the UK has put ever-increasing demands on heritage to become more visibly inclusive and to deliver instrumentalised outcomes with economic and social benefits. This process has implications for HFB in that it requires heritage to justify itself by identifying who the heritage is for and how those particular people will benefit in tangible ways in order to secure funding. This necessarily focuses the work of practitioners on activities that will attract external visitors and participants to enable them to evidence impact (often through the blunt instrument of visitor numbers). The focus on visitors and tourism is often at the cost of local communities who are not seen as primary audiences for many heritage attractions (and the very term 'heritage attractions' in itself says something of the direction in which many sites and venues have been pushed).

Over two decades ago in his 1999 keynote speech to the *Whose Heritage?* conference, organised by the Arts Council, Stuart Hall asked

> Who is the heritage *for*? In the British case the answer is clear. It is intended for those who 'belong' - a society that is imagined as, in broad terms, culturally homogenous and unified.
> It is long past time to radically question this foundational assumption. (Hall, 2005: 24)

The academy and the sector have been grappling with this question ever since, and in terms of HFB, it remains significant. When the landscapes of home become tourist attractions, what is the role of local residents? What does heritage do for them in this context? Hall's speech reflected a growing movement to challenge AHD conceptions of heritage. With assumptions around what constitutes heritage being questioned, a process of "unsettling and subversion of the foundational ground on which the process of Heritageconstruction [sic.] has until very recently proceeded" (ibid.: 26) was underway. This process sought (and continues to seek) to broaden the scope of who controls heritage.

In the years since Hall's speech the idea of a plurality of heritage has been widely accepted (see Graham & Howard, 2008: 1; Tunbridge, 2008; Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge, 2007) and this is often framed as 'dissonance' - according to Howard and Graham dissonance is inevitable (2008: 3). Yet the concept of dissonance is inherently negative, and it does not follow that those heritages that diverge from the AHD are necessarily dissonant in a negative sense. Like the oppositional framing of AHD/HFB, the framing of any kind of alternate sense of heritage as in opposition to traditional or AHD readings is problematic. It negatively frames alternate readings of the past and places them in opposition to the top-down narrative or the normative understanding of the past (and, as the AHD would have it, the majority view). Framed in this way creating a more inclusive sense of heritage necessarily involves contestation: negotiating otherness, dissonance, ownership and control; all are inevitably part of opening up heritage to wider voices. This framing of dissonance

puts alternate heritage in the position of being out of harmony with the majority, of being unable to agree. Yet the interests of the majority are not necessarily the same as the interests of the AHD. It is perfectly possible that the dissonance, the negativity, comes from the AHD rather than the alternate version, but it is very rare that we see this framing. Heritage that exists outside AHD framing is presented as "something separate from 'normal' heritage" (Shackel, Smith and Campbell, 2011). As such the very framing of dissonance serves to shore up and give power to the AHD.

Enmeshed heritages are hard to categorise, they draw on the tangible and the intangible, the AHD and dissonant heritages. It is this complexity which the AHD struggles to accommodate as it attempts to sort and label types of heritage to fit into pre-existing policy and organisational structures. The impetus to make heritage more inclusive was accompanied by the growing recognition and legitimisation of intangible cultural heritage throughout the 1990s and into the early twenty first century. This resulted in the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003). The Convention specifically focuses on 'intangible cultural heritage' and whilst it identifies the interdependence of intangible cultural heritage and tangible cultural and natural heritage, it specifically does not recognise the existence or legitimacy of intangible natural heritage. This is a sleight of hand which limits and constrains the definition of what is considered to be heritage. It is argued by Tunbridge, Ashworth and Graham (2000) that by formally recognising intangible heritage, UNESCO implicitly endorses the idea that heritage can be tangible, that it is contained in 'the thing' (object, artwork, landscape, building, etc.). They argue that "the term [heritage] logically refers to the interpretations, indeed usually plural, which are ascribed to the manifold resources derived from – or alluding to – the past. It follows that all heritage is intangible" (pp. 367). Their view that all heritage is intangible, makes explicit the idea that heritage is not contained in the 'thing', or as Smith puts it that "there is no such thing as heritage" (2006: 11).

So, whilst efforts have increased from the late twentieth century and beyond to better accommodate subaltern and marginalised heritages by the guardians of the

AHD, this has not served to significantly diminish its power. Dissonance and intangibility are central to expressions of HFB. Enmeshed heritages have the power to encompass dissonant views of the past - both AHD and HFB expressions - simultaneously; and much of the power of the enmeshed heritages shared as part of this study rests in intangible memories and ideas. Whilst top-down policy has continued to seek to define and control a wider range of heritages, enmeshed heritage continues to operate on a day-to-day level, outside of official projects but interweaving with both AHD expressions of heritage and HFB. Despite the ongoing power and authority of the AHD to control and define heritage, whilst enmeshed heritages continue to exist within the systems and frameworks of the AHD, they never fully operate within their control.

4.2.4 Enmeshed heritage: expressing continuity and redefining participation

The enmeshed heritage explored in this thesis focuses on the mundane and the everyday. Rather than considering how visitors or external participants experience place it asks how people who live in heritage landscapes experience it. In the process, heritage is exposed as a negotiation of continuity and discontinuity. Whilst yearning and loss are a feature of this type of heritage, it also exposes the importance of the threads that run through our daily experience, connecting us invisibly to the past and the future. Occasionally these invisible threads are made visible but feelings about place and identity are all part of a subtle negotiation with the past in the present; this type of heritage is inherently intangible. This sense of a past, present and future enmeshed in the landscape is another feature of enmeshed heritage which the AHD finds difficult to accommodate, often presenting continuity in a contradictory way. Firstly, as Smith writes, the AHD can work to smooth out conflict, presenting a neutral account of the important things we must preserve 'for the future'. In this reading heritage invokes a sense that the present has a duty to pass on unchanged its inheritance from the past, to protect that legacy and ensure that it remains unsullied by the present so that the next generation may benefit from the past. Subsequently, current generations simply become caretakers of the past, disengaged from an active use of 'the heritage'. (Smith, 2007:164)

Simultaneously, by presenting the past as something to be gazed upon from the present, heritage can encourage a sense of a *lack* of continuity, of a past to be looked on and remembered from afar. This is particularly a feature of presentations of working-class history, where visitors are encouraged to look back and think 'how far we have come'. This sense of a lost or disappeared past, often in combination with an overall presentation of the past as a 'sweep' of history which inevitably brought us to where we are now, can be jarring and disorientating.

The issues around dissonance and intangibility discussed in the previous section combine in a complex way with an AHD discourse around loss which serves to undermine senses of enmeshed heritage that are based in continuity of experience. Heritage organisations often focus on risk of loss as a 'call to action'. This is an effective way of interesting new people in particular aspects of heritage but it also serves to exacerbate the sense that the past is something 'other'. It gives the impression that there is a constant threat (through the decline of buildings, objects or landscapes) of yet more loss. Logically, this means that at some point the past will be completely lost to us, and something unspecified but important will be lost with it. This focus on risk of loss has indirect consequences for how people engage with heritage. Writing as part of *Heritage Futures,* a four-year research project with the aim of "exploring alternative ways of shaping future legacies and assembling common worlds across different fields of conservation practice" (Heritage Futures, undated), Archaeologist Sarah May highlights that whilst UK policy places a high value on participation, it often frames this in the context of risk and endangerment. On this basis, in order to 'participate' individuals are encouraged to volunteer or donate money to help restore a building, plant trees or litter pick on the beach. These tasks are often undertaken at specific sites of heritage significance, people will travel to them to take part and this participation will be at a set time. It is very likely these tasks will be supervised by a paid member of staff. Taking part is described as contributing to an effort to save or protect something. Without this protection there would be some kind of loss.

By contrast, HFB is not necessarily an expression of heritage based on fear or risk of loss, rather an expression of continuity. In this context 'participation' is often simply

the continuation of a particular habit or everyday practice. Rather than a defined act of volunteering, communities and individuals shape and maintain place as part of their everyday experience without thinking about it or drawing attention to it. The more 'official' version of participation involves a call to action to 'save' or 'protect' a particular place, which creates an atmosphere of constant jeopardy around heritage (May, 2020). This focus on risk and protection can be seen to be a part of the structure of the AHD - simultaneously designating risk and defining a solution: to 'save' the heritage we must subscribe to the expert view of how best to protect it.

Using the example of the Lake District in the North-West of England, which was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2017, May outlines the political and social processes at play in defining the Lake District as a landscape in danger of loss, then focuses on the experiences of one sheep farmer in the area with whom she spends time observing her work and experience of the landscape. The experiences she describes have parallels with those of the Highland Crofters described in Robertson's case study *Hardscrabble Heritage: The Ruined Blackhouse and Crofting Landscape as Heritage from below* (2015). Both cases could be described as enmeshed heritages, where daily life in the landscape has a heritage value and where "patience and complexity" (May, 2020: 81) are central to the relationship between community and landscape. In both cases heritage is expressed through continuity and perseverance. Robertson describes the complex and emotional relationships between families and the blackhouses they have inherited from crofting relatives. Some of those interviewed express a desire to put them to use as a means of connection to the past and the landscape in ways which are challenging to articulate and which permeate their ideas of themselves and their families, so that "it is effectively impossible to separate out the ruin from all other affective influences which shape individuals' sense of self" (Robertson, 2015: 1003). The power of the ruined and reused blackhouses is contrasted with the AHD sanctioned versions conserved and interpreted at heritage sites. The value of the latter has been questioned on grounds of authenticity, whilst the former are described as sense-scapes,

the dirt and the dust; the rusting corrugated iron roof; old plastic sacks and all other material deposited in the blackhouse ruin is latently practical. Disruption emerges from such formations and offers the possibility of new functions and landmarks to memory. (ibid.: 1005)

These sites specifically do not exist to present or preserve a use of landscape which is in the past and lost to the present. They are part of a proactive ongoing use of the past, a continuity which constantly looks both backward and forward. There may be a risk of loss, but this would be loss of memory or identity, not loss of historic fabric. They are expressions of enmeshed heritage. Similarly, in May's case study example, the farmer she worked with believes that,

> farming is a never-ending project, a growing challenge. Unlike building a house, where there is a clear endpoint, the project of being a farmer never ends. Yes, there is a connection to her family, and an attachment to the place...she believes that shepherding maintains the landscape she loves. (May, 2020: 83)

To accommodate these expressions of enmeshed heritage is to stretch the definition of 'participation' as it is commonly envisaged by heritage projects and organisations, which often seek to recruit volunteers to demonstrate engagement, feeding into the perceived social/economic benefits of heritage. These self-consciously performative ways of participating in heritage are very different to the kind of participation in enmeshed heritage to be found in the examples from May and Robertson above, and which are explored in this thesis.

The AHD promotes a narrow definition of participation which is focused on the conspicuous preservation of a generally static heritage asset. Enmeshed senses of heritage may encompass this type of activity, but the people interviewed for this PhD are participants in the landscape in that they play an active ongoing role in creating place in the present. For the AHD to accommodate this kind of heritage it would need to give agency to (and therefore cede some control to) the people who take part and recognise the different types of value to be found in the landscape. The

approaches taken in this PhD have been developed in an attempt to do just that. Reflecting on a knowledge exchange workshop on 'transforming loss' held as part of *Heritage Futures*, Bartolini and deSilvey (2020) recount the reflections of one professional on the process of 'letting go of control'. This individual reflected that 'letting go of control' is very challenging for heritage professionals who have learned that control is the best means of preservation. Thus the "challenge of giving over control to natural processes, and to communities" (ibid.: 353) and the resulting uncertainty is something they need to be supported to achieve. The desire of organisations which are shaped by the AHD to exert this control can represent a direct threat to heritage from below and enmeshed senses of heritage.

4.2.5 Summary

The concepts of the AHD, HFB and enmeshed heritage were introduced in Section 4.2.1. The term enmeshed heritage is used to encapsulate the messy, inter-related feelings about heritage and place which characterise the senses of heritage found in the landscapes of the Derwent Valley. Enmeshed heritage in this context has much in common with heritage from below, but it also borrows from and intersects with official heritages. In this context it is concerned with landscapes which are neither completely 'natural' nor completely urban, the edges are blurred and the two interact. It is not concerned with defined sites, assets or objects and it is often intangible. All these features make it very challenging for the AHD to accommodate enmeshed senses of heritage. Enmeshed heritage is not an expression of elite heritage, it finds value in the everyday. In this context participation is simply doing the things of everyday life, continuing a practice or habit. For official projects, where structured participation and management of tangible heritage to minimise risk of loss are central, these are challenging ideas to recognise.

In the following sections, the enmeshed nature of the experience of place in the Derwent Valley is further elaborated. More-than-representational theory and affect are used to demonstrate the interconnectedness of people and place, and the specifically classed element of these processes are shown in this context. The blurred lines between natural and cultural landscape and the landscapes of work and home

are explored to demonstrate the vital importance of the specifics of place in understanding how enmeshed senses of heritage operate.

4.3 Situating enmeshed heritage in the landscape

In the following sections it will be demonstrated that taking a holistic, enmeshed approach to landscape is particularly important in former industrial and working-class landscapes. The embodied and social nature of enmeshed heritage means that it is deeply connected to place, and the role of place in understanding these heritages is explored in Section 4.3.1. In 4.3.2 more-than-representational theory and theories of affect are put to use to illustrate the importance of these place relationships. This is followed by a consideration of the role of class in the processes of heritage which are rooted in the landscape, or more particularly this landscape. In general, participants in this study strongly identified as working-class or having working-class heritages and whilst this is recognised to mean different things to different people there is evidently a strongly class-based dimension to the way people feel about and use place in the Derwent Valley. Section 4.3.4 draws on concepts from sociology and working-class studies to explore and understand this more fully.

4.3.1 Understanding landscape in the context of enmeshed heritage

For those who shared enmeshed memories of the Derwent Valley, remembering is closely bound up with place and landscape, and a strong sense of place based in the embodied experience of the landscape is evident. Landscape is understood here as a continually becoming entity. It is a place of interactions, encounters and interdependencies; some of them human, but not exclusively. Jaramillo and Tomann (2021) note that taking this holistic approach to landscape is particularly important in the context of deindustrialising places were a "landscape approach shifts from a concern with specific sites of deindustrialisation towards multifaceted collective understanding of emerging moments and nodes, where a landscape is coming into being with multiple actors, including humans, animals, ecologies and effects" (pp. 5). Implicit in this understanding of landscape is the rejection of the idea that there is a split between nature and culture, an idea which the AHD serves to uphold. This sense of the landscape as interconnected, relational and ever-changing is articulated by Tim Ingold who writes about landscapes in which,

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each place embodies the whole at a particular nexus within it, and in this respect is different from every other. A place owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there - to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. And these, in turn, depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage. It is from this relational context of people's engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance. (Ingold, 1993: 155)

Enmeshed heritage is firmly located in place, and Ingold is explicit in his rejection of *space* in favour of *place*, 'space' he writes, is an inadequate concept in the task of understanding landscape. He uses the metaphor of a surveyor who sees the landscape as a single plain which can be understood as if from above, to be mapped and charted in an abstract way, from a distance. This is an inadequate way to understand landscape, Ingold writes, "for a place in the landscape is not 'cut out' from the whole...Rather, each point *embodies* the whole at a particular nexus within it" (ibid.). This way of understanding landscape recognises the nature of each element as enmeshed within the whole, both physically and temporally. Space is where meaning is *attached* to the world, in contrast to place, where meaning is *gathered* from it; places do not have boundaries (or rather the boundaries are flexible and porous); and crucially they are relational (ibid.: 156). This understanding of how place operates is central to the concept of enmeshed heritage.

Yet the idea that place is important, that the specific experience of being 'from' somewhere has meaning, has developed negative connotations; it can be viewed negatively, as stagnation. The idea of place identification or attachment became unfashionable amongst cultural geographers in the 1990s as it came to be associated with regressive essentialism, a cliché of inward-looking communities hunkering down and shutting out the world as a reactionary response to globalisation. Instead, the appeal of space to cut us loose from place, to allow the freedom of possibility, came to be seen as progressive and future oriented. There is an optimism in this idea of space, it is free from old ties and thus "space that is stretched over a grid of cardinal points makes the idea of place vivid, but it does not make any particular

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geographical locality *the* place" (Tuan, 1977: 150). Doreen Massey asserts that space represents the "sphere of the possibility of existence of multiplicity" (2005: 9). Unlike place, which is assumed to be necessarily narrow and enclosed by boundaries, "space is open" (ibid.: 11). Tuan refers to place as a pause, "if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place" (Tuan, 1977: 6).

It is important to be attentive to the potential for essentialism or the romanticisation of place when working with enmeshed heritages, but equally the inherent optimism of the progressive idea of space: of open, interrelated, multiplicity can be appropriated in cynical ways. This is something that Bonnett highlights, noting that "the political implication of the celebration of space remains far from clear" as the domination of "footloose neo-liberalism not socialism…social fragmentation not solidarity" (2016: 13) increasingly appear to be the outcome of a world which favours the global over the local. In the UK at least, some of these assumptions about space and place have been associated with assumptions based on class, with working-class communities often being portrayed as inward looking and overly attached to place, unable to keep pace with a globalising world. To understand some of the more negative feelings about place uncovered in this study, we must understand that place is important to people, that feelings of identity and belonging are often strongly influenced by place, and that for all mobility and change may be positive for some, they will have negative impacts on others.

It is clear from the fieldwork undertaken as part of this PhD that whilst the idea of place-based senses of belonging may have fallen out of favour amongst academics, this is not to say that these feelings suddenly vanished. The work of Geographer John Tomaney highlights the lack of concern for local place attachments within the discipline and calls for greater attention to be paid to local attachments (2015: 508). As an example of this trend, Tomaney draws on Massey's 1991 classic case study of Kilburn in which she describes her local high street, its mix of Irish and Indian culture, its chaotic but "ordinary" appeal. In focusing on the Heathrow flight paths overhead and the never-ending traffic, Massey emphasises its connectedness, its place in the world and the importance of the relationships it supports, making it a

place without boundaries. Massey briefly suggests a "counterpose to the chaotic mix of Kilburn [in] the relatively stable and homogeneous community (at least in popular imagery) of a small mining village" (Massey, 1991: 28), on which Tomaney picks up as being, what he calls, a stereotyped view of mining communities (Tomaney, 2015: 512). While this could be considered somewhat overstating the point, in that Massey does question the homogeneity of such a community, the comparison is telling and considering Tomaney's critique of this case study enables some of the key issues around place and enmeshed heritages to be drawn out, revealing the complexity in understanding relationships with place.

For Massey, Kilburn, is an urban, multicultural, metropolitan suburb, characterised as essentially 'ordinary'. This normative way of seeing the experience of living in London points to a misunderstanding of communities outside the capital, which is often felt by people living in other places as a lack of interest in 'ordinary' life outside London and an attitude in which certain 'types' of place are too easily dismissed as old fashioned or regressive. Tomaney challenges the image of the pit village as stable and homogenous, turning Massey's example of a village in the Durham coalfield on its head. Rather than being the archetypal unchanging, inward-looking community, he points out that these were often places of confrontation and change. Massey advocates for conceptualising an outward looking sense of place with porous boundaries, and diverse urban communities like Kilburn are assumed to be where this kind of place can be found. The example of a place like Chopwell complicates this perspective, and exploring the enmeshed heritages of places like Chopwell reveal the complex layers of interconnectedness and diverse experience these landscapes and communities contain.

In the twentieth century Chopwell was, like many industrial places, part of a global network, it was interconnected with the world - and that was something people tangibly felt. Byrne highlights the global reach of the industrial North-East (2002: 282), mentioning the blacklisted miners of Chopwell who migrated to Canada after the 1926 General Strike and Lockout. Although the world is in one sense much bigger for residents of Chopwell in the twenty-first century, it has also been made smaller by deindustrialisation. While residents may drive 10 miles further to go to

work and have the opportunity to travel or make friends across the globe online, their network of labour no longer stretches as far as sending steel to India or hosting a Bolshevik delegation from Soviet Russia. This is diversity in a different sense (and it is of course freighted with colonialism), but it has an impact on the psychology of place. Understanding that all of these stories and heritages are enmeshed within the communities and landscapes enables a more nuanced understanding of places like Chopwell. A further complication to this assumption of closed boundaries comes in that whilst a number of those interviewed described an insularity about the village, they also described their local area as huge and encompassing the surrounding country and woodland, suggesting a porous and ever-changing boundary. A research focus on the urban obscures another layer of complexity in understanding rural or semi-rural places, something which this thesis attempts to address.

Perhaps the most important point to take from Massey is that nowhere is there one single unified sense of place. Understanding this helps to avoid some of the negative connotations of place attachment about which she writes and is central to defining enmeshed heritage, in which people and place are constantly being made and re-made. In the context of this thesis, the landscape of enmeshed heritage is located in place and recognises not just that place is porous and changing but moreover, that what place is varies from person to person and across time. This understanding of place is deeply enmeshed in the past but also in the present and the future, it shapes identity and senses of belonging and it is deeply influenced by class. The next sections consider in more depth how people and their place in the landscape are understood in the context of enmeshed heritage, and the role of class in how people relate to place.

4.3.2 The embodied experience of being in the landscape
The memories and heritages shared by participants in the Derwent Valley were both personal and social, they drew on individual experience but were very often about social experience. They were also very often drawn from interactions with the landscape, and this sense of the "sociomaterial and natural entanglements that form industrializing landscapes" (Jaramillio & Tomann, 2021: 1) is understood as affective experience. Understandings of place drawn from the development of Non

Representational Theory (NRT) and more-than-representational theories are central to defining and understanding enmeshed heritages. An understanding of place influenced by more-than-representational theories adds richness and texture, enabling a more expansive and nuanced understanding of landscape than purely representational interpretations can offer. This necessarily encompasses affect, a concept which has gained significant currency across a range of social science and humanities disciplines and is important in the recent development of cultural geography, memory studies and heritage studies.

Affective understandings of place offer a more expansive insight into how people experience landscapes than purely representational interpretations. Whilst affect is elusive and difficult to measure, it recognises that we respond to place in emotional and less than conscious ways, not simply intellectually. This is a significant feature of enmeshed heritage, which as a concept attempts to encompass the myriad ways that people interact with and respond to landscapes. Geographer Ben Anderson (2006) set out what Pile (2010) describes as a 'layer cake' approach to explaining affect, feeling and emotion; where layer one, affect, is the 'deepest' layer. It is pre- and non-cognitive and has a transmissible quality which can 'pass' between people. Thus "affects reside in bodies, plural: they are not simply a bodily content or capacity, affect refers to flows (of affect) between bodies" (Pile, 2010: 9). In this formulation both feelings and emotions are specific to the person, feelings are pre-cognitive and emotions are the expression of feelings; emotions are "socially constructed, through language and other representational practices" (ibid.). This recognises the interconnection of people and places and the relational aspect of place and landscape which is central to enmeshed heritages. Key to understanding affect is its unconscious nature and its transmissibility between bodies; there is a "transpersonal capacity which a body has to be affected (through an affection) and to affect (as the result of modifications)" (Anderson, 2006: 735); it is a potentiality (Crouch, 2015). This understanding that bodies and places (and bodies in places) have an affective quality which is transmissible and to some extent unknowable suggests that elements of the landscape are enmeshed in ways that go beyond what is perceived.

The embodied nature of affect is a central feature of more-than-representational theories and "it is within non-representational theory that the term has been given especial prominence and significance" (Pile, 2010: 8). NRT was first outlined by Nigel Thrift (1996) as a reaction to theories of cultural geography which viewed culture as a signifying/structuralising force (Anderson, cited by Lorimer 2008) and an over-emphasis on the visual. Cadman identifies two main elements of the "representational problematic" (2009: 1), firstly the 'deadening' impact of a focus on the politics of representation at the expense of practice; secondly, a resultant lack of attention to the "non-intentional, non-discursive, and elusory nature of the everyday world" (ibid.). As such, NRT focuses on exactly the kind of experience which is central to the concept of enmeshed heritage: everyday experience based in habit and practice. As well as seeking to overcome these issues, the development of NRT represented an attempt to break down the dualism of theory and practice (ibid.). NRT enables the landscape to be understood in broader terms than simply what it represents, moving "towards understanding the body and landscape as dynamic and dependent entities that can be usefully thought through together" (MacPherson, 2010). NRT aims to capture the 'onflow' of everyday life (Thrift, 2007: 6). It is specifically concerned with interaction, though not necessarily human interaction. It is not subject-based and 'things' are given equal weight, they are not "mere cladding" to the human experience: "things answer back" (ibid.: 9). Thrift imagined a "new era of the inhabitable map in which space has more active qualities designed into its becoming – a tracery of cognitive and pre-cognitive assists threading their way through each and every moment of the being-at-work of presentation" (ibid. 17). This idea of 'the inhabitable map' captures the sense of landscape as a nexus of ever-evolving relationships between multiple actors (both human and non-human); landscape is a place where things are constantly happening and changing. This concept of landscape as a place of action has variously been described as "dwelling" (Ingold, 1993), "immanence" (Stewart, 2007) and "flirting" with space (Crouch, 2015), and this characterisation of landscape is central to understanding enmeshed heritages.

This understanding of place can be further illuminated using Sociologist Paul Connerton's concept of 'incorporating' memory which can be utilised to further flesh

out the understanding of these interactions (Connerton, 1989: 72) in the context of enmeshed heritages. Connerton describes two categories of memory. First, inscribing memory, which is found in texts and monuments, providing tangible records of the past and fixing it in memory. Secondly, incorporating memory, which is a process by which we

> preserve the past deliberately without explicitly re-presenting it in words and images. Our bodies, which in commemorations stylistically re-enact an image of the past, keep the past in an entirely effective form in their continuing ability to perform certain skilled actions...Many forms of habitual skilled remembering illustrate a keeping of the past in mind that, without ever advertising to its historical origin, nevertheless re-enacts the past in our present conduct. In habitual memory the past is, as it were, sedimented in the body. (Connerton, 1989: 72)

It is in the "reinforcing effect of repeated acts" (ibid.: 93) that meaning is found. Most crucially, incorporating memory cannot (or should not) be reduced to a 'sign' (ibid.). This type of habit memory is constantly being practised within landscapes as people go about their everyday activities. The idea that in this repetition memory becomes "sedimented in the body" (ibid. 72) speaks to the relational aspect of enmeshed heritages - the landscape and the fact of being an actor in place creates the person, as the person simultaneously creates the landscape. This idea of memory as practice is echoed in Robertson's description of heritage from below as "a current way of life made more meaningful by a sense of inheritance from the past...underscored by embodied practice" (Robertson, 2012: 2). Thus, all forms of interaction with the landscape become expressions of memory: walking, working, playing; each act incorporates both the individual and their practices into the landscape in a continuous process of shaping and re-shaping place. Considered together, these ideas create a fuller picture of landscape as a place of active memory, of practice, doing, dwelling. This is often an unconscious or semi-conscious process and emotion; feeling and affect are an integral part of the enmeshed landscape.

It is important not to use NRT to downplay or disregard the idea of representation, which does inevitably play a role in understanding the landscape. As such the term 'more-than-representational theories' (MTR) has gained currency (Waterton, 2019) and is more useful for this project, in that it encompasses all of the ideas encapsulated within NRT but does not exclude representation. In terms of landscapes this is particularly important as the very concept of 'a landscape' necessarily frames a place or view as a single entity which is given meaning by the person (or entity) looking at it and defining it as such. This is true of a heritage landscape like the *Land of Oak & Iron* which has been defined (in what could be considered a fairly arbitrary way) as a cohesive 'place' and is therefore interpreted by a range of actors through that lens. This has an impact on the ways in which people think about and act in the landscape, but this abstract sense of 'the landscape' as a whole often feels disconnected from everyday experiences of the places within it.

A key criticism of NRT has been its universalising tendency, whereby all actors and interactions are considered to be equal, without due consideration of the power relationships at play. Class and gender play an important role in the case studies selected in this thesis and are central to the way place is experienced by individuals and groups (see Chapter 9). Yet as Tolia-Kelly (2006) highlights, both in relation to NRT and geographies of affect, all bodies are not equally able to move through the landscape and experience/instigate affect and "affective registers have to be understood within the context of power geometries that shape our social world [...] different bodies having different affective capacities" (Tolia-Kelly, 2006: 213). Crouch suggests that in terms of affect and heritage, rather than being central to how sites and venues are experienced, the kinds of structural forces which Tolia-Kelly identifies as integral to the experience of emotion and affect "may be considered to flicker and inflect rather than control and constrain" (Crouch, 2015: 184, citing Crouch, 2010). This suggests a layer of privilege which not all have access to. The idea of the everyday experience as gentle and untouched by conflict as suggested by Crouch here is certainly not universal. Rather than seeking an "accommodation" of class and gender in these notions of everyday affect (as well as race, disability and any other factor which could impact on how people experience the world), these structural issues should be central. Crouch's call for a "gentler everyday politics" (2015: 184)

underestimates the inequality of impacts of power structures on how people experience the landscape and its affects: this gentler experience is simply not available to everyone. However, it is possible to foreground the way intersectional identities shape experience of the landscape within a more-than-representational framework if we remain attentive to the particularities of individual experience. The concept of affect can in itself offer new understandings of how places and landscapes act in different ways on and with individuals, provided we pay close attention to context. With this in mind, it is useful to turn to Tolia-Kelly's more recent work with Waterton and Watson on *Heritage Affect and Emotion* (2017). This research seeks to actively "engag[e] with experience, the sensory realm and the affect materialities and atmospheres of heritage landscapes" (ibid.: 4). While this work is positioned around heritage venues and objects rather than landscapes, it offers a nuanced, affective approach to the ways in which people interact with landscape. This sensitivity to affect enables attention to be paid to atmosphere and a sense of a shared feeling of place, suggesting useful combined alignment with the concept of habitus and 'structures of feeling' (as outlined in Section 4.3.4) to give a broader conceptual underpinning to understanding the memories and senses of place explored in this study.

4.3.3 Sense of place in the former industrial landscape

The idea of 'sense of place' is central to understanding enmeshed heritages. In this context, sense of place is expressed as a feeling of 'placeness' (Elkin, 2016); the 'thick' experience of being in and of place, whether that be positive or negative (or a mixture), without the necessity of visible symbols of the past. In Section 4.3.1 the importance of place over space was explored and an important element of this place-specific sense of heritage is an understanding of the physical proximity and intimacy with landscape that heavy industry entailed. This is coupled with a social intimacy which derives from a way of life which is very specific to both a time and a place: twentieth century life in a village in the industrial North East. So we see that in the context of enmeshed heritage, sense of place is both physical and social.

Yet the term 'sense of place' has to some extent been co-opted as a policy term and is often used to describe the ways places are made marketable as heritage

'destinations' with signifiers like restored shop fronts and street furniture used to mark places out for their heritage 'value'. These changes in themselves often have a classed dimension and are seen as associated with gentrification, with negative impacts for working-class communities. But the use of sense of place as a policy term does not reflect the understanding of sense of place expressed by respondents in the course of this study. The idea of sense of place as heritage shop fronts or cast-iron street furniture contrasts starkly with the physicality of being in place experienced by the coal miner or ship builder, where bodies and landscape were physically intimately enmeshed. The proximity of home and work life was another element of this particular physical experience of landscape. For those living in former industrial communities the physicality of the place, the things they have experienced in it, the houses and trees and paths - as well as the slag heaps and chemical smells and industrial injuries - are firmly rooted in a physical place and its atmospheres (which again points to the importance of the affective qualities of place in understanding enmeshed heritage).

This is something Dicks (2015) touches on when writing about the Rhondda Heritage Park, where ex-miners act as tour guides, telling visitors about the conditions in which they worked and guiding them through a mining 'experience'. Dicks describes how miners spoke about the way their bodies were "corralled, searched, surveyed and controlled" (Dicks, 2015: 374) as part of their day-to-day work in the pit, and goes onto quote one of the guides who spoke about the physical experience of his first day at work as a miner. Waiting for the cage to take him down to the shaft, he tells how "you could feel the draw of the air as you got closer to the shaft…. Get in, in the cage [...] Ding, ding, ding, and away she started to go, and when I say go, I mean *plummeting*" (ibid.: 375). The focus here is on physical sensations and the immediacy of action. The way in which he talks about the experience with short punchy sentences, the emphasis on sounds and speed and physical sensations evokes the immediacy of working at the coal face where the relationship between people and landscape was as intimate as is possible. Thus, sense of place (and belonging) is made up of many factors, but in the context of former industrial communities it is often tied up in physical interactions between people and

landscape, meaning individuals are physically implicated in the formulation of the landscape and vice versa. In this context the idea of a free floating relational 'space' makes little sense; the immediacy of place is ever present.

The social element to this phenomenon is demonstrated by research from 2008 on social capital in the region (Schmuecker, 2008) which concluded that the North-East "is a place of particularly strong communities" and is "exceptional in terms of being a sociable place" (pp. 4). This is evidenced in terms of factors such as the likelihood of individuals to visit relatives regularly and speak to their neighbours. These factors can be seen as residues of working-class heritages, something which is explored in the next section. Enmeshed heritages are rooted in the specifics of place and (as explored in the next section) it is important to remember that whilst commonalities between individuals and communities can be found there is no single 'cultural identity' that can be attributed to the North East of England (or indeed any region or place).

In *Cultural Region*, Natasha Vall (2011) explores the evolution of regional cultural policy in the North-East from 1945 to 2000, emphasising the contested nature of a 'regional identity' and suggesting that the term 'the North-East' held little currency until well into the twentieth century, as 'the North' "remained the popular descriptor for all northern counties" (2011: 4). The North-East, she writes, is a "fluctuating, shifting and contingent creation" (ibid.). Dan Jackson on the other hand, traces out not a culture of the North-East, but a 'Northumbrian culture', which

> has always relied upon - and celebrated - toughness and hard work - firstly in a dangerous frontier zone which, after centuries of violence, transformed into a great crucible of the Industrial Revolution where the same qualities of endurance were relied upon and celebrated. This in turn bred an almost instinctive solidarity and friendly (but often claustrophobic) communalism, with offshoots in dry humour and treacly sentimentality. (2019: 3)

There is a danger in this definition of turning to the essentialist approach against which Massey warns (something which Jackson himself recognises) but it is in the

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traces of the industrial past - the physicality and communalism of industrial life - that the specifics of the regionalised, classed, sense of place can be found. Enmeshed heritages draw on all of these different influences and ideas, coming together at a nexus of place and time as an expression of the past (and the future) in the present.

Being attentive to the specifics of an individual place and community is key to the concept of enmeshed heritages. It is not always clear to outsiders why people would value the place they live, in some cases it is not easy for those communities to articulate what is valuable (and some of the methods used in this PhD are intended to bridge the gap between feeling and articulating). Sociologists Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005) identify that the traditional binary split between 'born and bred' locals and 'incomers' is insufficient to understand twenty-first century community relations, asserting instead that "people's sense of home is related to reflective processes in which they can satisfactorily account to themselves how they come to live where they do" (ibid.). Using the concept of 'elective belonging' they suggest that those who can articulate why they live where they do and understand it as an active choice are most 'at home' (ibid.: 54). They go so far as to state that "attachment to place is detached from historical communal roots in that place" (ibid.: 61) and in fact they suggest that the very idea of this is something to be resisted, terming this urge nostalgic. To make the assertion that this conclusion is applicable in all places is perhaps to overlook experience in other types of place.

The interviews completed as part of this study would suggest that there is a form of belonging based on historical roots built into how people feel about where they live, and that these feelings are more than nostalgia. The impulse towards continuity is often framed negatively as nostalgia, but this label does not reflect its complexity. Many of those people interviewed in Chopwell and Winlaton could have chosen to leave but did not. Whilst this may technically be a form of elective belonging, the way they spoke about their relationships with place suggest that being 'from' somewhere is more important than Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst's analysis suggests. The lens of enmeshed heritage can offer insight into this complexity.

This complex relationship with former industrial places is reflected in the work of Alice Mah, who has researched Walker, Newcastle Upon Tyne, extensively in the context of communities of what she calls 'industrial ruination'. Walker is very different to the villages of the Derwent Valley: it is an urban community suffering ongoing and protracted social and economic decline and disruption in the wake of the demise of the Tyne shipyards, around which the community was built in the 1930s. It is the most deprived neighbourhood in the city and ongoing regeneration consultations resulting in large scale demolition of homes have done little to change this. Yet Mah catalogues the persistence and tenacity with which local people defend their homes and their right to live in homes earmarked for demolition. This sense of pride and connection to place is based on maintaining the continuity of family and social life. The home becomes significant as the only tangible thing left of a way of life which has disappeared, meaning that "the loss of a home through post-industrial change also reflects a break in the narrative of one's life, a narrative rooted in expectations about family life, community life, the process of ageing" (Mah, 2012: 166). There are complex reasons for wanting to stay, even in situations which may seem bleak to outsiders, but as Mah puts it, in these communities there is "devastation: but also home" (ibid.: 153).

Mobility has at its heart issues of class, although 'class' might not be the way in which mobility is explained or expressed. Working-class culture - the endurance, solidarity and communalism of Jackson's Northumbrians - is a backdrop to social life in many former industrial communities in the North of England. This is not an overt, political positioning, but instead it gives a shape to day-to-day activities and creates social markers. It is often very place specific, perhaps because in traditional working-class communities, work and home were found in very close proximity. This sense of class culture is elusive, but it gives shape to everyday lives as well as informing the underpinning values of many people. The next section explores this phenomenon and attempts to give it more shape.

4.3.4 Habitus, structures of feeling and the half-life of deindustrialisation
There is a version of working-class culture at play in communities like those found in the *Land of Oak & Iron* which, though drawn from and influenced by the day-to-day

practices and politics of the industrial era, is distinct from it because it is based firmly in the present. It is this kind of elusive and nuanced sense of the past which the AHD struggles to accommodate and to which enmeshed heritage is sensitive. It is not a process of clinging to the past or a hankering after how things used to be, but a lived experience influenced and shaped by experiences of the past. Byrne shows how the experience of industry goes beyond the facts and details of the working life of those individuals engaged in it, rather "industrialism has been a way of life, a way of doing things" (Byrne, 2002: 280). Importantly, he asserts that industrial culture is not, and never was, a "culture of the poor" (ibid.). Whilst writing on the post-industrial experience often focuses on communities of deprivation it is also the case that,

> industrial culture is something which lies behind the lives and experiences of the new 'post-industrial' middle masses, derived as those middle masses are from the intersection of the old aristocracies of labour and industrial middle class, two social formations which always melded the one into the other. (ibid.: 281)

This is particularly pertinent to the communities studied here, as both Chopwell and Winlaton are relatively affluent communities, at some temporal distance from the trauma of the closure of the colliery and the coke works.

This could be described as a frame through which the world is seen, and Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a useful way to begin to understand the concept. Put simply, habitus is the creation of a "common sense world" (1977: 80), a way of understanding the world as a lived experience. It is "the universalizing mediation which causes an individual agent's practices, without either explicit reason or signifying intent, to be nonetheless "sensible" and "reasonable"" (ibid.: 79). Rather than a set of rules (because it is never articulated as such) it provides a way of seeing and being in the world which is self-regulating. It creates the 'edges' of the world in which we exist, not just setting boundaries around behaviour and conduct, but also expectation - what is possible within the sphere of existence.

Particularly important to understanding enmeshed heritage is Bourdieu's focus on the significance of early experiences and how they shape the "conditions of existence" (ibid.: 79). This points towards the ways in which understandings of the world developed during childhood can shape how we see the world and interact with it, even under very different circumstances in later life. Thus, traces of the traditional working-class habitus (that is to put it crudely, and is not to say there is one single habitus with which all working-class people would identify) can be seen both in the later life of affluent individuals who would describe themselves as having had working-class childhoods, as well as intergenerationally in their children and perhaps even grandchildren. The habitus is the

> product of history [...] a past which survives in the present and tends to perpetuate itself into the future by making itself present in practices structured according to its principles, an internal law relaying the continuous exercise of the law of external necessities." (ibid.: 83)

This is the kind of language used by Robertson to describe heritage from below and it reflects the ways in which the past ripples through the present whether it is noticed or not. It is vital to recognise the classed nature of these ripples in former industrial communities.

A deeper understanding of the role of habitus in understanding enmeshed heritages can be found through Bella Dicks 2017 work *The Habitus of Heritage* (2017), in which Dicks explores visitor responses to heritage using Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Importantly, she critiques his tendency to flatten out working-class experience and see it as a negative, "a lack of 'well-formed' habitus and cultural capital" (pp. 53). This reminds us that whilst rejecting value judgments of the working-class experience, it is also important to understand that not all those from working-class backgrounds inhabit the same habitus. Thus, when working with enmeshed heritages it is crucial to remain attentive to the specifics of place. Dicks gives the example of two women from a similar background who interpret an exhibition very differently. Importantly, both women see something in the exhibition they can directly relate to their own lives, "their experiences and their memories

mean they grasp it as having implications for who they are (and were)" (ibid.: 60). Whilst these individuals may not share the same life experience there are "classed commonalities" (ibid.) in their life experience and responses. Dicks concludes that there is a need to explore the underlying feelings and affects of the experiences of visiting heritage museums and that the "psychic complexity of habitus" (ibid.:61) would be a productive avenue for further research. It is in this complexity that the ripples of a working-class past can be seen in the present.

Habitus provides a useful starting point for understanding the role of class in terms of memory and enmeshed heritages in the landscape, but it lacks an attentiveness to the affective nature of how class weaves its way through the memories and sense of place studied here. Dicks' 'psychic complexity' is perhaps better understood through the lens of 'structures of feeling', a concept which Tim Strangleman has written about in relation to deindustrialisation in Britain. In *Deindustrialisation and the Historical Sociological Imagination: Making Sense of Work and Industrial Change* (2016), Strangleman draws on EP Thompson's analysis of industrialising society to gain a better understanding of deindustrialising Britain (Thompson, 1963, cited in Strangleman, 2016). The article draws out Thompson's focus on the lived experience of industrialisation and crucially, his insight that individuals could only draw on the past they knew to understand and negotiate this change (Strangleman, 2016: 469). The tendency of sociologists to talk about the past in terms of discrete time periods draws attention away from the processes of transition. Thus, deindustrialising communities are viewed as being in a new 'post-industrial' phase which is distinct from the last, but of course the individuals 'caught up in de/industrialisation' can only work through that lived experience by drawing on the existence they already knew: they could not step out of their own experience to suddenly become 'post-industrial communities' as opposed to 'industrial communities'. It is this key lesson from Thompson's study of industrialisation on which Strangleman draws and which is an important insight in understanding how class can operate within enmeshed heritages. Strangleman highlights the usefulness of Williams' term 'structures of feeling' to describe the continuities between these seemingly disparate periods.

Understanding what this looks like in practice is challenging, especially as some of the underlying values and ideas of working-class culture run counter to the dominant ideology of what Byrne describes as consumerist capitalism (2002: 287). There is a character of resistance in some expressions of working-class culture which goes against the grain of the dominant culture. Byrne uses the term 'industrial structures of feeling' to describe how:

> The sentiments which inform and construct 'ways of life', ways of doing things, sense not just of personal but of collective identity, understanding of possibilities—survives beyond industrialism and remains, at least for the moment, a common linking factor in the North-East. (ibid.)

Williams defined three types of structures of feeling: dominant, residual and emergent (1977: 121) and it is residual structures of feeling which are most relevant here. The residual, he writes, "has been effectively formed in the past, but is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present" (ibid.: 122). These residual elements are specifically not part of the 'dominant culture': parts of it are likely to have been incorporated but there are significant elements which are 'at some distance' from the dominant culture.

Whilst the concept of structures of feeling gives more shape to the inherently shapeless and elusive idea of working-class culture at work in the present; it does not refer specifically to working-class culture in its formulation. To give a more specific focus to this building sense of how working-class culture is at work in the present Sherry Lee Linkon's concept of the 'half-life of deindustrialisation' (2018) is useful. Though writing about the US and from the discipline of literary studies, the idea of the 'half-life' neatly encapsulates the ongoing, unpredictable and far-reaching impacts, including the psychological impacts, of deindustrialisation. She defines the period of 'half-life' as starting in the 1980s but there is no reason this cannot be applied to earlier change. The concept "foregrounds the struggle with loss and change" (ibid.: 5), capturing the "liminality of this era" (ibid.). The concept of the half-life recognises Mah's assertion that "industrial ruination is a lived process [...]

not simply matters of historic record [...but…] enduring and complex lived realities for people occupying the in-between spaces of post-industrial change" (Mah, 2012: 201). Both Mah and Linkon capture the sense of being caught between two phases, a negotiation of transition which defies the simplistic categorisation of communities as 'industrial' or 'post-industrial'. Linkon highlights how the metaphor drawn from nuclear half-life highlights its potential toxicity, both physically and mentally, and there are a range of negative impacts on former industrial communities. But importantly she also points out there are positives which, like Williams' 'structures of feeling', could be seen as running counter to the dominant social ideology in that they are based in a more communal, socialised way of living. Communities like Chopwell and Winlaton are perhaps further along in the process of the half-life than other communities which have felt the impacts of deindustrialisation more recently, but in the enmeshed senses of heritage uncovered as part of this research there is evidence that some of the structures of feeling remain, even decades after the loss of industry. As Strangleman points out, the concept of the half-life includes a "temporal open-endedness where there is no clear end point, or transition, to something else" (Strangleman, 2016: 476); this lack of 'something else' is important.

Industrial heritage is overtly described as a key part of the heritage of the *Land of Oak & Iron* and celebrating cultural heritage is one of the key aims of the project. Industrial heritage cannot be understood without the perspective of class, but (as explored further in Chapters Three and Nine), class is often sidestepped in interpretation of working-class heritages as presented by the AHD. As Dicks asserts in discussing South Wales coal mining communities, "avoiding the language of class… [has the] …the effect of depoliticizing the history presented" (2015: 367). Understanding heritage as enmeshed enables an accommodation of this neglected element of working-class heritages which the AHD struggles to offer. In side-stepping issues of class, a key component in understanding the loss felt by post-industrial communities is negated because it strips out a central part of the identity of such communities. This matters precisely because of the 'lack of something else' implied in the concept of the half-life of deindustrialisation.

4.3.5 Summary

In the previous sections the significance of sense of place and its intrinsic link to issues of class has been explored, further expanding the understanding of the influences shaping the enmeshed heritage of the Derwent Valley. It was shown that critique of place comes often from an urban metropolitan-centric perspective and that villages like Winlaton and Chopwell, rural but with a distinctly industrial character, are understudied. In these villages the boundaries of place are porous, but in a different way to the urban neighbourhoods of big cities, accommodating elements of the natural landscape. It has been shown that making space for affect and more-than-representational theories enables a recognition that there is a quality to sense of place and enmeshed heritages which defy description or articulation. This is something I have tried to capture in my methods (see Chapter Five), and which can only be understood when time is spent in place. It is a sense of place that is more than just an aggregation of knowledge about what is 'important' or 'unique' about a particular geographic location.

In the former industrial communities studied here, the feeling of place and the past is strongly linked to class identity, and this is itself better understood through the lens of affect and more-the-representational theories. It was shown that Connerton's concept of incorporating memory (1989) gives greater clarity to these ideas, recognising that every act in the landscape is part of a process of making and re-making place. Finally, the concepts of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), 'structures of feeling' (Williams, 1977; Strangleman, 2016) and Sherry Lee Linkon's concept of the 'half-life of deindustrialisation' (2018) were utilised to further elucidate the role of class in how people feel about place and landscape in the context of the thesis. The final sections of this chapter consider the role that remembering together has on shaping senses of heritage and the role of nostalgia in understanding place.

4.4 Social memory and nostalgia

An understanding of social memory derived from the discipline of memory studies brings an important perspective on enmeshed heritage in the working-class landscape. A key element of the classed nature of memory in the villages of the Derwent Valley is the social frameworks of former industrial working-class life. Industrial structures of feeling are based in social life as well as the history of specific

working practices, and in this respect memory studies can add depth to an understanding of how remembering works in these settings. In the past understandings of work, social life and place were enmeshed in landscapes which were shaped by industry (both socially and topographically) and continue to be so. The social, embodied, physical and future-oriented qualities of landscape already explored in this chapter and which shape an understanding of enmeshed heritage also encompass and include forms of memory. In particular Connerton's concept of incorporating memory demonstrates how action in the landscape can be a form of remembering and reconstructing place. This section explores the role of social memory in the enmeshed landscape, showing how the residues of a form of social life can be transmitted and transferred between individuals in families and communities.

4.4.1 Memory as a social act

Whilst it is uncontroversial to suggest that memory is a social process, there are multiple ways of understanding or categorising group memory at different scales. Maurice Halbwachs' insight that memory is fundamentally social, that it exists 'in society' and that we both acquire and "recall, reorganize, and localize" memories (Halbwachs, 1992: 38) as part of a group is vital in understanding how people remember together and re-imagine the past in the present in the context of this PhD. Halbwachs' focus on the inter-relatedness of remembering and social groupings enables an understanding of remembering together based on the idea that "collective memory is the active past that forms our identities" (Olick, 1999: 335). In this formulation there is no 'place' in the mind where memories are 'kept', ready to be brought out and shared, instead they are "recalled externally" (ibid.) and the social groups in which the individual participates are crucial to the ways in which those memories are processed, shared, and felt. Crucially, people are part of many overlapping and separate groups and the way they remember is therefore shaped by different influences at different times. His is a presentist view of the past, holding that memories of the past are not only socially constructed, but that they are vitally shaped by the concerns of the present. This way of understanding collective memory "puts social interaction at the heart of culture" (Erll, 2016: 21). This recognition of

remembering as intrinsically social is an important part of understanding enmeshed heritages.

Further shape can be given to how we understand memory in the context of enmeshed heritage by Jan Assmann's concept of 'communal memory' (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995). In Assmann's work 'communicative memory' is defined alongside 'cultural memory', creating a binary relationship, but it must be remembered that the two interact in the same way that the AHD and HFB constantly interact. Communal memories are "characterized by a high degree of non-specialization, reciprocity of roles, thematic instability, and disorganization" (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995: 126). This is the kind of memory shared as part of this study, it takes place within groups, such as family or household, but is otherwise not formalised. It generally refers to spoken communication; "a joke, a memory, a bit of gossip, or an experience" (ibid.: 127) and a key characteristic is "its limited temporal horizon" (ibid.) which extends (according to Assmann) to 100 years at most:

> The communicative memory offers no fixed point which would bind it to the ever expanding past in the passing of time. Such fixity can only be achieved through a cultural formation and therefore lies outside of informal everyday memory. (ibid.)

The work of Jan and Aleida Assmann is highly influential, but they are primarily concerned not with communicative memory, but instead with cultural memory, which is seen as "more compelling" (Olick, 2011: 209). Yet the boundaries between the two types of memory are not distinct. In the same way that the enmeshed heritages of the Derwent Valley are inseparable from both the AHD and HFB, communal and cultural memories are deeply enmeshed, each influencing and interacting with the other. Assmann describes cultural memory as being part of "the concretion of identity" (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 130); as having the "capacity to reconstruct" (ibid.); and having a role in a process of "obligation" (ibid.: 131), particularly in the sense of being normative and "providing rules of conduct" (ibid.: 132). All these features equally apply to communicative memory and can be seen in the memories shared by participants in this study. Assmann argued that

communicative memory lacks a "fixed point" (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 127) around which it can coalesce, but the memories shared by participants in this study suggest that the 'fixed point' on which communicative memory often relies is not temporal, but geographic. In many instances it is challenging to say where communicative and cultural memory begin and end, as they fuse into one another and inform how people interpret the world and their memories of it.

The ideas laid out in the definition of cultural memory echo some of the defining features of the AHD - for example the dominance of expertise. The idea that there can be no experts in communicative memory is called into question by spending time in landscapes and places, where 'informal experts' are often important figures in community memory. Whilst there is a recognition that the two types of memory interact there is also a sense that they must be defined and delineated which is not always easy or even possible, and there is an implicit value judgement in which communicative memory is somehow 'less' than cultural memory. Yet, however it is categorised or defined, the phenomenon of memory is part of a complex enmeshed relationship between people, place and time. In memory, time is not a chronological linear concept, it is a space for processing, reimagining, understanding. Susannah Radstone articulates this concept by describing memory as an 'in between' space, a space for the "holding in tension" of different ideas and pasts, part of which is a recognition that memory itself means different things at different times (Radstone, 2000: 11).

Characterising memory as inherently social recognises the influence of people in the present on how we remember. Memory is relational, and these relationships can be between people in the present and people in the past. As outlined in Section 4.2.3 enmeshed heritages coalesce around continuity, and memory is an important part of this. Yet theorising on memory tends to focus on discontinuity and change, having coalesced around the idea that a nineteenth century 'memory crisis' (Radstone, 2000: 8) was precipitated by the advent of modernity; a perceived break with history which not only interrupted and erased memory, but fundamentally changed the ways it is possible to remember. This was followed in the late twentieth century by a 'memory boom', explained as a reaction to the trauma of two world wars and in particular the Holocaust, events which fundamentally disrupted a sense of the

continuous progress of modernity and created a new narrative of trauma. The idea that there was some kind of 'break' with history coalescing around the French Revolution (Fritzsche, 2004) and exacerbated by Western industrialisation (it is important to note that this is often discussed as distinctly Western process) centres on what can be described as a move from 'sacred' time to 'historical' time (Bonnett, 2016: 5). This resulted in a sense that "the past no longer served as a faithful guide to the future" as the two were no longer intrinsically linked (Fritzsche, 2004: 5). People were now connected by time and place in a series of unique moments which gave contemporaries a feeling of having a "specific temporal identity not unlike the feeling of generation, and separated or decoupled them from their forebears two or three generations earlier" (ibid.: 53). However, the memories shared by participants in the Derwent Valley contradict this idea, demonstrating how even at a distance of two or three generations, individuals can feel a closeness and kinship with those who came before. The underlying importance of continuity in these memories is linked to the concept of nostalgia.

The concept of nostalgia has been described as essentially linked to modernity (Boym, 2001; Legg, 2005; Tannock, 1995), and forgetting and modernity are considered to be closely related (Connerton, 2009). The next section considers the role of nostalgia in enmeshed heritage. The focus on the convergence of place and time in the context of former industrial areas leaves a vulnerability to a softening of the edges of the past and a tendency to see only the positives of a seemingly lost time. This can lead to accusations of 'smokestack nostalgia'. This negative perception of nostalgia in part comes from a belief that it is possible to establish 'what really happened in the past', and forms of memory that are seen to gloss over the negative or challenging aspects of that past are labelled as nostalgic. But highlighting memory as the site of the "equivocations and ambivalences" of modernity (Radstone, 2000.: 8) Radstone rejects a binary formulation of 'what happened' and 'what was imagined' (essentially the split between 'history' and 'memory'). She writes that memory work should be concerned with the relationship between the two and how this plays out in people's lives (ibid: 10.). In this thesis it can be seen that it is in this interaction that individuals and communities establish value and nostalgia is one of the ways in which individuals and groups negotiate this relationship.

4.4.2 Nostalgia and the enmeshed heritage landscape

Nostalgia was first defined as a medical condition which was said to affect Swiss soldiers fighting abroad in the seventeenth century. Those that were afflicted were said to suffer from "loss of appetite, pathological changes in the lungs, brain inflammation, cardiac arrests, high fever, as well as marasmus and a propensity for suicide" and the nostalgic was possessed by a "mania of longing" for home (Boym, 2001: 4). As Bonnett asserts, nostalgia has to a large degree lost its association with place, instead being commonly understood to be associated with a lost time. In the context of research on landscape and place, this missing link is crucial as "mobility, landscape, environment and the hunger for a *place* called home still provide the most characteristic and powerful tropes of the nostalgic imagination" (Bonnett, 2016: 2). To understand enmeshed heritages, nostalgia must be recognised as being found in the specific experience of a specific place at a specific moment in time. In a twenty-first century context, nostalgia has come to be viewed much as Owen Hatherley describes it in his response to the 2015 UK General Election *The Ministry of Nostalgia* in which he describes

> an increasingly nightmarish situation where an entirely twenty-first-century society - constantly wired up to smartphones and the internet, living via complicated systems of derivatives, credit and unstable property investments, inherently and deeply insecure - appears to console itself with the iconography of a completely different and highly unlike era. (Hatherley, 2016: 12)

The book, in its attempt to "work out how this happened and what can be done about it" (ibid.) is entirely negative in its understanding of the motivations towards and outcomes of nostalgia. This hostility towards the idea of nostalgia is reflected in the way it is approached in the academic literature, in which there is a tendency to try and sift through case studies to find 'good' and 'bad' 'types' of nostalgia. Svetlana Boym's *The Future of Nostalgia* (2001) is one of the key texts on the phenomenon, in which she defines two forms of nostalgia, restorative and reflective. Restorative nostalgia "puts the emphasis on nostos and proposes to rebuild the lost home and patch up memory gaps" (ibid.: pp. 41). This type of nostalgia is characterised by

symbols, myths and conspiracy theories and its proponents, Boym writes, believe in the truth of this lost home, aiming to return to the status quo. For them, "the past is not a duration but a perfect snapshot" (ibid.: pp. 49). Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand "dwells in algia … the focus here is not on recovery of what is perceived to be an absolute truth but on the meditation on history and the passage of time" (ibid.). This type of nostalgia can be reflective, humorous, ironic; it is a playful "rendezvous with oneself" (ibid.: pp. 50). Similarly, Tannock (1995) defines two types of 'nostalgic vision', one of retreat and one of retrieval (pp. 457), which reveal the nature of continuity available. In the former, continuity is only available through reflection on the past - there is no tangible way of achieving continuity in the present. The latter offers elements which can be 'retrieved' for the present in the construction of the future. "The ever-present danger" (ibid.: 548) of locating value in the past, Tannock asserts, is the suggestion that it is unavailable in the present. Nostalgia is so often spoken of in these terms, of danger, suspicion or regression and this attitude is also prevalent in the heritage sector itself, which is further explored in Chapter Seven.

This overtly negative conception of nostalgia overlooks its importance as a process of locating value through memory, as seen in the memories shared as part of this study. Bonnett highlights the ability of nostalgia to "call us back to meaning", explaining that "nostalgia evokes the possibility of meaningful events, relationships or things" (2016: 6). Unlike Hatherley's characterisation of nostalgia as an array of empty symbols of a confused, hollowed out version of the past, Bonnett highlights nostalgia's ability to be a productive force, creating "new standpoints from which to observe the world" (ibid.). This has parallels with Radstone's foregrounding of memory's potential for transformation. Radstone asserts that it is "a concern with memory's representation of lived experience which is driving the turn to memory" (2000: 11), pointing again to the liminal position of memory work which exists in the space between the subjective and objective, the inner and outer world (ibid.) meaning that,

> in illuminating aspects of individual and collective formation, memory work
> can bestow a historical self or group knowledge - a *felt* knowledge of one's

historical and cultural formation - that can expand the field of choice. Such is its liberatory potential. (ibid.: 13)

Nostalgia can be seen to be part of this process of illumination as part of a wider process of personal and social remembering. Dames (2010) suggests that nostalgia should be considered "not as a symptom that explains something, but as a force that does something" (pp. 272), making it part of a therapeutic process. Whilst we may not always agree with the end product of the process, viewing nostalgia as a "process rather than a thing" (pp. 273) is presented as a useful way forward in understanding how nostalgia is felt by individuals and how it impacts on the world. In this understanding of nostalgia and of memory as a liminal space of negotiating memory, heritage from below and nostalgia intersect to create a way of processing and working with the past in a future oriented way. Robertson draws out the power of heritage from below, as "both a means to and a manifestation of counter hegemonic practices" (2012: 7), a dynamic process rather than evidence of stagnation; and nostalgia is part of this process. Nostalgia has the potential to be a critical, self-reflecting process and is often a key part of remembering together.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter framed and described the concept of enmeshed heritage, exploring and demonstrating its relationship with the AHD and HFB and delineating its key features. The senses of enmeshed heritage uncovered in this study of the Derwent Valley share much ground with HFB but differ in that they focus on the connections between the cultural and the natural environment rather than specifically on the cultural realm. This is something which theorising on HFB has in practice tended not to do (Muzaini and Minca, 2018: 4). Enmeshed heritage does not focus on single heritage sites, buildings or monuments, it is concerned with holistic landscapes. Enmeshed heritage is place specific; it pays attention to affect, emotion and the embodied experience of place. In the context of the former industrial communities of North-East England it is working-class in character and linked to a classed structure of feeling. Enmeshed heritage is a social process.

The first part of the chapter highlighted the importance of continuity in understanding enmeshed heritage. Whilst the AHD and official heritage projects tend to focus on risk of loss and minimising change (May, 2020), the lived experience of place is instead based around negotiating change and finding continuity. Part of this negotiation is nostalgia, a phenomenon of which the AHD is suspicious, given as it is to avoiding engagement with emotion and affect (Smith and Campbell, 2017). In the second part of the chapter, the role of more-than-representation theories and affect in understanding enmeshed heritage were explored and the idea that bodies and places have an affective quality which is transmissible and to some extent unknowable (Anderson, 2006) is a key insight in understanding enmeshed heritages. It is equally important to recognise that affect is not universal or equal, every actor in the landscape does not have the same freedom to experience place and place does not respond to every actor equally (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). This calls us back to the classed and gendered nature of the experience of place and the importance of an attentiveness to the specificities of place in understanding place relationships and enmeshed heritages.

The specificity of place is central to enmeshed heritage and in Section 4.3 insights from geography, anthropology and sociology were used to draw out the nuances of how this attention to specifics shapes enmeshed senses of heritage. In considering Massey's (1991) Kilburn case study and John Tomaney's (2015: 512) response we see that place is not neutral. Not only is the lived experience of place impacted by class (amongst other factors) but perceptions of place from the outside are shaped by class assumptions. The boundaries of place may be porous and ever-changing but there will always be boundaries and they are interpreted differently by different people. Section 4.3.4 draws on three different approaches to understanding how class acts on people and place - habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), structures of feeling (Williams, 1977) and the half-life of deindustrialisation (Linkon, 2018). Considering the three concepts together creates a rich sense of how we can conceptualise class in former industrial communities - how class has the potential to set the physical and intellectual boundaries of all elements of our lives through generations; the fact that a social class does not have one standard structure of feeling but that there are commonalties to be found across class groups; the recognition that working-class

heritages are not simply concerned with the details of industrial labour but whole social structures; and that for working-class communities life did not transition cleanly from 'industrial' to 'post-industrial', the transition is a process that for many is still ongoing.

The final section drew on memory studies to flesh out the concept of memory as a social process which is intrinsic to enmeshed heritage, focusing on the idea that memory is always a partial recreation of the past rather than an accurate recall. This understanding recognises that something will always prompt us to remember and that prompt will influence how and what our memories are. Memory is always shaped by the concerns of the present. The next chapter charts the process of developing a methodology capable of attending to the expansive concept of enmeshed heritage.

Chapter Five: Paying attention to the ordinary: Developing a responsive methodology using sensory and mobile methods

5.1   Introduction

This research focuses on thoughts, feelings and attitudes and as such a qualitative approach has been taken. It aims to understand how participants feel about and use the landscape and how this is reflected in the memories that are transmitted both consciously and unconsciously, forming the heritage which is valued within families and communities. From the outset I sought to gain a depth of insight into a relatively small number of cases rather than collect a large amount of broad but shallow quantitative data. The approach taken integrates traditional interviewing with more experimental methods of data collection. The principal methods for the project were:

- Interviewing - taking a life story approach, audio recorded and transcribed
- Walking interviews - video and audio recorded and transcribed
- Observation - taking a loosely ethnographic approach I attempted to immerse myself to some extent in the life of the villages through attending events and meetings. The line between observation and engagement became somewhat blurred here, reflecting my own feelings about the nature of working with participants, as discussed below.

Key to the methodology, and therefore the development of the methods, was the ability to remain flexible and responsive to the emerging research material and the directions in which it pointed. This enabled attention to be paid to the features of memory and everyday life that are difficult to articulate and the ordinary everyday details which are often felt to be not worth mentioning. The three primary methods also allowed attention to be paid to the different types of memory uncovered by the research (as discussed in Chapters Seven to Nine) as shown in Table 3 below. The three principal methods combine to take account of communicative and cultural memory (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995) and incorporating and inscribing memory (Connerton, 1989); each method reveals a different perspective on memory.

Method	Type of material	Memory types
Life history interviews	• How we tell our own stories • How our stories fit into the lives of others - family, community, generations and wider context	Communal memory
Walking interviews	• How our stories fit into the landscape • How we interact with the landscape and vice versa • How we interact with others in the landscape	Communal memory Incorporating memory
Observation and engagement	• How we interact with each other • How we establish 'insider' status in a group • How we interact with place and landscape • How we interact with official heritage/the AHD	Interactions between communal/cultural and incorporating/inscribing memory

Table 3: *Mapping methods with memory types.*

5.2 The development of the methodology

5.2.1 The research journey

At the heart of the thesis is a desire to gain a greater understanding of the ways in which people remember and how this impacts on their feelings and attitudes to place, particularly familiar places and landscapes. The field work was conducted during a period of political and social upheaval in England and the wider UK (between late 2017 and autumn 2019) as the consequences of the Brexit vote unfolded and the impact of a decade of austerity continued to be felt. Following this, I was writing up the thesis during the Covid 19 pandemic, which amplified the need to better understand interactions with local landscapes, as periodic lockdowns forced many people into a new intimacy with their immediate surroundings. The relevance of how people feel about the places in which they live is incredibly significant in this context, shaping as it does the kind of future people can imagine and defining how they see their place in the world. It was envisaged at the start of the project that it would primarily involve insights found in the stories that participants chose to share, stories of places to which they are intimately connected and that are familiar to

them. Over the course of the project it became clear that to capture the subtleties of how people understand and utilise the landscape it would be necessary to investigate the interactions between people, place and memory in a more nuanced way than traditional interviewing could achieve. To begin to understand the relationship between people and place it would be necessary to talk to and observe people *in* place. As such the methodology developed to accommodate more sensory and more mobile methods, methods which offer more space for the minds of participants to wander, both into the past and into the future.

Some of the factors influencing how I approached the research question include my role as a researcher working between the disciplines of geography and heritage studies; the collaborative relationship with the *Land of Oak & Iron* (LOI) project; and my own desire to take a participatory approach, whilst being transparent about the limitations to participation in the project. Sarah Pink asserts that "methods have biographies" (Pink and Leder Mackley, 2013 cited in Pink, 2015: 58) and this is certainly true in the context of this project. All the above factors came into play in shaping the development of the project methodology over the course of the fieldwork, demonstrating that the way the research process changes and develops can be as revealing as the data it produces (see Pink for further discussion, ibid.).

My own background is in heritage studies, but the move into geography has given me a distance from heritage that has felt somewhat liberating, enabling me to pivot away from the visitor studies/tourism perspective of the discipline towards a more social sciences approach. In so doing I have also drawn on anthropology, specifically in terms of ethnographic approaches with reference to the work of Tim Ingold and Sarah Pink; and sociology, where there is currently a strong interest in walking as a method. Whilst challenging in terms of maintaining a clear focus and manageable scope for the project, this wider interdisciplinary lens has broadened my perspective and given me the confidence to be more experimental.

My relationship with the LOI project has had an impact on the methodology in the sense that it shaped my initial trajectory and inevitably impacted on the participants I was able to recruit. Had I, for example, been working with a grassroots organisation

such as a community centre, I would likely have recruited a different demographic. In the event, those I did recruit were all reasonably engaged with either the LOI or other activist or heritage groups in their villages. Whilst this is not detrimental to the research, it does have an impact on the findings. This is linked to my own personal feelings around the research process and the desirability of developing participatory approaches where possible. By nature, a PhD project does not allow for a truly participatory approach in so much as the development of the research question and the methods are generally done by the researcher in isolation. I did, however, attempt to immerse myself in the research environment as much as possible, being responsive to the material I was generating and the individuals with whom I was working. By being flexible and adapting my methods as I made my way through the research process I was able to build relationships of trust with participants, in some cases over several years. I attempted to offer ways of participating which were not purely one-sided instruments of data extraction, but were more interactional and which offered, I hope, experiences that had value in and of themselves to those who took part.

This focus on relationship building and immersion in place became the guiding principle of the research; by immersing myself in place and developing two-way relationships with participants I aimed to conduct research grounded in reciprocity and authenticity. Writing about her research on human-animal encounters Becky Tipper notes the "sidelong character" of participant observation, where "an attention to things noted in passing" (2020: 148) brought new insights. This is something I recognise from my own research and to which I tried to call attention. Part of this was based in longevity. I conducted my first interviews in 2017 before taking a year of maternity leave which allowed me to return to the project some time later and re-connect with participants to do walking interviews. This longer timescale (in some cases I was in contact with participants for a period of two years) enabled trust to build and the obvious life changes I had been through opened new avenues for conversation as we continued to work together.

5.2.2 Remaining responsive to the research material using Grounded Theory and mixed methods

In attempting to capture the ways that memory weaves through and influences everyday life I felt it was important to be led by the material I collected and for the voices of participants to set the direction of the research. As such the methodology selectively borrows from a Grounded Theory (GT) approach, particularly in terms of what have been termed the 'tools' of GT. The appeal of GT is that "grounded theorists start with data" (Charmaz, 2006: 3) but as has been frequently stated, GT and Inductive Research share this approach and it has been suggested that many researchers claim a GT approach when in fact they have used an inductive approach (Hood, 2007: 2; Bryman, 2008: 572). Bryman (2008) distinguishes between the 'tools' and the 'outcomes' of GT (pp. 572) and it is the tools which were utilised in the development of the methodology for this project. This included simultaneous and iterative data collection and analysis, constructing codes from data rather than setting a predetermined list, constant comparison, and memo writing (Charmaz, 2006: 5). But it is precisely in the language used to describe these tools that my approach diverged from GT. I sought to move away from thinking of the material I was collecting as merely data. Like Sarah Pink I came to see that "it would be erroneous to see sensory ethnography as a method for data collection at all" (Pink, 2015 :5). She writes "I do not use the term 'data' to refer to the ways of knowing and understanding that are produced through ethnographic practice". To reduce the varied and nuanced material shared and collected to 'data' would be to overlook much of its richness and I attempted to remain attentive to this idea throughout the project.

Returning to Bryman's tools and outcomes, the very prescriptive focus on a fairly rigid process of hypothesis and theory creation involved in a true GT approach felt too constraining for the aims and outcomes of this study. Hood's approach reflects this core principle of GT, in that she states the final research report must be an "analytical product rather than a purely descriptive account. Theory development is the goal" (Hood, 2007: 5). Thus, I have borrowed from the tools of GT to focus on participant responses and to act as an ongoing reminder that starting with and being led by the research material is a legitimate approach. But alongside this I remained mindful of the sensory, experiential nature of the research topic and in this context

the importance lies in exploration and understanding rather than rigid theory development.

The research was conducted as an iterative process with different methods and ideas tested and either rejected or further developed as I went. I tried to do this in a manner that was responsive to the way the situation was taking me and which was unbounded by a pre-set idea of what kind of data I 'should' be collecting. This was an attempt to reflect a complexity with which Childers (2014) grapples, as she defines her own 'promiscuous' approach to qualitative research. Searching for a way of understanding data that goes beyond coding, she outlines a case study in which she attempted to tackle her data with an approach that was "wily and analytically unrestrained yet responsive and committed to the vibrancy of the world and participants" (ibid.: 820). Childers' promiscuous approach seeks to recognise the messiness and the materiality of the data. To do this she sought to physically immerse herself in the material, which she transcribed, copied, coded, re-coded, and made notes on whilst drawing on theory and practice, which she utilised as "flexible tools rather than recipes" (ibid.: 821). I attempted to learn from this approach and from Waterton's assertion that "the trick, it seems, is to continue to push at the boundaries of traditional methods" (Waterton, 2019: penultimate paragraph).

The lack of established methods for researching the everyday and the mundane is something highlighted by Sociologists Holmes and Hall (2020: 3), who in *Mundane Methods*, attempt to "expand the empirical toolkit...to fully encounter everyday life in all its sensory, multifarious glory" (ibid.). The way the volume is organised in sections focusing on 'materials and memories'; 'sense and emotions'; and 'mobilities and motion' speaks to the significance of the physicality of being *in the world* in this kind of research. I sought to capture some of the immediacy of this through my methods but also to pay attention to this in the analysis of the material. This study is concerned with memory, and memory is highly sensory. A key aim was to do justice to the vitality and 'realness' of the experiences shared.

Sarah Pink's concept of 'sensory ethnography' has also influenced the development of the methodology, through its ability to "lead us to the normally not spoken, the

invisible and the unexpected" (Pink, 2015: 53), an idea which suggests that it is possible to fill 'gaps' in knowledge and understanding that traditional interviews cannot breach. Pink outlines an approach in which the study of the senses is not the primary aim but rather can lend another perspective on the subject under study, whilst placing a focus on process as well as outputs. This makes researcher positionality a central issue and encourages a consideration of the relationships at play in the research process. Pink asserts that sensory ethnography does not come with a predetermined set of methods or a toolkit for research, instead, it recognises that methods are constantly developing (2015: 58). Thus, I adopted a different way of using video to complement interviews to that used by Pink. In the case study outlined in 'Walking With Video', Pink (2007) adopts a journalistic style, utilising a phenomenological approach to explain and explore the importance of a specific place for an individual. Participants are asked to 'show and tell' their own perspective, going beyond the idea of simply 'experiencing' place in tandem to give the participant a more active role in the construction of how place is presented. In contrast to this very self-conscious use of video, I used it almost as an extra pair of eyes, to record the subtleties of the landscape and the dynamics of the event of a specific walk. This approach is designed to capture something of the immediacy with which people experience place rather than the constructed or reconstructed conscious sense of place they actively create in talking about it. During this process I also recognised that simply by being present I was creating a different sense and experience of place for the participant.

A key concern in writing up the thesis has been how to capture this sense of place and the vitality and immediacy of the moment and the actors in it. Sociologist Les Back writes about the challenge of doing this, specifically in relation to the doctoral thesis

> Reading doctoral dissertations I am struck by an inhibition that students feel with regard to social descriptions [...] More often than not research findings are presented in the form of long block quotations from research respondents. These excerpts are expected to speak for themselves [...but it means that...] the texture of the very lives we seek to render is flattened and glossed. Put

crudely, the words of respondents will not carry vivid portrayals of their lives. (Back, 2007: 17)

I have used long quotations in writing up the data and would contend that in some cases it is these very specific stories which do give vitality to participants: the turns of phrase and dialect, along with the choice of stories and the way they are told, can paint a vivid picture and form a crucial part of capturing "life's light and heat" (ibid.: 20). But the wider point is important. I was a primary actor in each of the activities involved in my data collection and this can feel uncomfortable at times and presents challenges in writing up. The choice of pseudonyms for example feels incredibly loaded, bound up as it is with social knowledge and judgements - what makes one name 'like' another one? What does a 'type' of name say about a person and what assumptions come along with that? It is in this kind of dilemma that we might reach for the certainty of long quotations, the only gesture to authenticity available. I have tried to balance the words of participants with expressing a sense of place and conveying atmosphere and mood where possible. Images and video clips are used to try and capture more of what is so often left in the background.

The development of the specific methods used represents an attempt to give participants the space to choose their own direction as well as gain a rich and thick sense of memory. Life history interviews are a specific type of unstructured interview in which the interview is "directed to documenting the respondent's life, or an aspect of it that has developed over the life course" (Jupp, 2006: 239). The development of this approach as a method came from attempts across the humanities and social sciences disciplines to democratise knowledge creation and to 'give a voice' to marginalised and overlooked communities (Jackson & Russell, 2010: 172). Life history interviewing enables an understanding not just of the individual but of the context in which they exist, and it "can help greatly with understanding how the social context gets played out in individual lives" (Punch, 2014: 157). Its value is not in establishing objective facts, but rather in gaining an insight into what Portelli called the "active process of creation of meaning" (Portelli 1991, cited in Jackson & Russell, 2010: 174). Importantly for this study, life history interviewing allows a significant amount of 'space' for the respondent to choose the direction of the

conversation so that the interviewer is not responsible for choosing the focus. I drew up a topic guide (see Appendix 12.1) and list of prompt questions, which in the first instance were very much based around a chronological 'story' of the person's life, beginning at their birth and progressing through to the present day. I avoided questions specifically about heritage, instead I developed questions which hinged around generational milestones: birth and early life; marriage and children; grandchildren (and in some cases great grandchildren). This allowed me to return the focus to how memory is transmitted between generations. As the interviews went on it became clear that when questioning people about their use of and experience of being in the landscape, they would reach a limit: both of language and of interest. Some of the ideas I felt I was grasping at but not quite reaching are difficult to articulate, they are based in a feeling of *being* somewhere and not often or easily communicated. But more than this, they were often such commonplace or everyday feelings that people seemed to feel they were not worth expressing, so both the language and the intent was lost. My strategy for overcoming this was based around walking interviews. By combining traditional and walking interviews I aimed to capture another perspective on the ever-changing nature of the interactions between people and landscape and the dynamic landscape as a place of action, as well as reflecting the mobility of the interactions between place and communities. I used traditional interviews as a springboard to exploring new approaches which enabled me to complement traditional methods and data with more mobile and responsive ways of understanding place and people.

In geography, walking methods have roots in psychogeography and the 'dérive'. As described by Geographer Morag Rose, whose work with the Loiterers Resistance Movement continues to utilise the notion of the dérive as a research method and as a form of creative practice, walking as a method "is particularly valuable when you want to study relationships with place [or] everyday experiences" (Rose, 2020: 211). It brings a new dynamic - the place becomes almost an extra participant in the interview: posing new questions, suggesting different topics and facilitating new types of understanding between researcher and participant. For a project focused on landscape this is particularly important as it foregrounds the role of the landscape as a place of action where the individual actors (researcher and participant(s)) are

enacting new uses of place in real time. The idea that memory of place is generated through use and repetition makes the interview part of the process of remembering, another layer of action added to the memory bank of place.

The act of walking is intrinsically both meditative and physical, making participants inclined to reflect but also distracting them enough from the sense that the conversation is a formal 'interview' that they feel more comfortable and less restricted. As Solnit describes, "the rhythm of walking generates a kind of rhythm of thinking … [provoking the idea that] ... the mind is also a landscape of sorts and that walking is one way to traverse it" (Solnit, 2001: 6). It also has an equalising function - interviewer and participant are placed on more equal terms, in fact, with participants choosing a route they know well, the balance of power tips in their favour. They also have the power to set the pace. There is a constant to and fro of care, something which is also very equalising, 'can you manage this gate?', 'watch out for that puddle', walking brings a shared experience of the physicality of being in place that fosters a different atmosphere to the interviews. Crucially, walking foregrounds the sensory, removing the focus from the words being spoken and redistributing significance to all of the senses, which are stimulated by the environment through which the walkers pass. Atmosphere is created by the places themselves. The sound of whipping wind or the glare of bright sunshine; exposed paths at the top of the valley; sheltered tracks through wooded areas; all guide conversation and set the tone for what is remembered. I regret that no interviews were done in bad weather. Logistically it would be difficult for a number of reasons, and asking a participant to undertake a rural walk in the pouring rain would not be fair, but it would have been interesting to see the results. The atmosphere of place also impacts on the quality of the silences. Some participants were more comfortable with silence than others, but all the interviews contained more silence - or at least more time without talking - than would feel comfortable in a traditional static interview. Space for reflection must surely improve the quality of the questions as well as encouraging richer responses. More than this, it demonstrates how acting in the landscape encourages sharing of information on a personal level and this in turn generates a feeling of community.

O'Neill and Roberts (2020) identify an increasing use of what they term 'Walking Interview as a Biographical Method' (WIBM) in sociology. They note that walking can be a particularly insightful way of knowing due to its "sensate, kinaesthetic, and performative attributes" (ibid.: 2). They stress that rather than merely being an interview in a different setting, the walking interview enables an understanding of how "consciousness 'moves' across dimensions" (ibid.: 7). This is what I sought to interrogate - more than simply collecting stories tagged to different places on a map, I wanted to capture the ways in which place, story, person, time and space interact and influence one another, "the orality, landscape, the sense-scape (sound, smell, touch, visual), perceptions, and emotions are based within context, within which both interviewer and interviewee interact" (ibid.). O'Neill and Roberts also point to the storied nature of the method, which makes it obviously complementary to the life history approach I took when conducting traditional interviews.

These methods were complemented by an attempt to immerse myself in place to some degree. This was not an attempt at a full ethnographic observation, which Taylor would describe as "an immersion study in the anthropological tradition" in which the researcher moves to the area of study and tries to become part of the community (2002: 5). Rather I sought to spend enough time in each place that I could begin to feel some of its rhythms and flows and appreciate the atmosphere and mood of place. In the first edition of the journal *Ethnography* Willis and Trondman write:

> What is ethnography for us? Most importantly it is a family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents and of richly writing up the encounter respecting, reporting, representing at least partly *in its own terms* the irreducibility of human experience (original italics). (2000: 5)

This reflects the essence of my approach in that it uses a range of methods and grasps at the desire to do justice to experience as it is experienced by participants. Whilst recognising the inherent subjectivity of the role of the researcher and the ultimate impossibility of presenting experience exactly as it occurs, it is within this definition of ethnography I sought to work. At the same time my approach developed

in response to the kind of practical concerns which Crang and Cook allude to when they suggest constant immersion is not always "necessary or possible" (2007: 40) nor is it often "viable in contemporary contexts" according to Sarah Pink (2015: 4). For me, the process began with observation - walking in the area and attending events and meetings - and became more interactive as time passed. I wanted to foreground the worldview of the participant and spending time in the places we were discussing seemed the most effective way to gain a deeper sense of place and context. This developed from observation to engagement as the time I spent in Chopwell and Winlaton became less about watching and more about interacting. As such I became more aware of my position as researcher and how my presence influenced people's responses and actions.

5.3 The fieldwork process: how the methods developed on the ground
5.3.1 Choosing case studies
The *Land of Oak & Iron* project boundary gave me a clear geographical limit to my research area. However, the area covered by the project is diverse and very large, at 177km2, so it was necessary to determine a way of gathering data which would be manageable both physically and intellectually and which would provide useful, comparable material. I therefore chose to select case study areas. To select my case studies, I initially established a set of criteria. The criteria were intended to enable the creation of case study areas of a manageable size and scope, which reflect the typical character of settlements in the project area. The selected areas should be:

- Rural or semi-rural in character
- Recognisable settlements - either geographically or culturally
- Have a historical link with one or more of the *Land of Oak & Iron* industries
- Located near to one or more of the heritage assets being restored as part of *Land of Oak & Iron*

Several alternative case study areas were considered, each with their own individual characteristics and idiosyncrasies which could provide useful material for the research. Although the LOI area is predominantly rural, there are several larger towns and villages included within the boundary, and a balance needed to be struck between choosing locations with a large pool of potential participants and ensuring

the area of study could be considered 'discrete' in and of itself. For example, Consett, to the south of the LOI area, was considered. As the site of the now defunct Steel Works which was the defining feature of the town and focal point for the LOI industries it could have yielded large amounts of data. However, the town is one of the largest settlements in the project boundary, making it a-typical, and its boundary is somewhat fluid. For example, though Leadgate or Blackhill are part of Consett, it could be argued that they are culturally separate entities making the 'recognisable settlement' criteria difficult to meet satisfactorily.

Figure 11: *Map showing the major settlements within the Land of Oak & Iron (Land of Oak & Iron, 2021a).*

Other villages such as Shotley Bridge and Winlaton Mill were considered because of their historical links to the LOI industries (the former being a historic centre of sword making, the latter the site of one of Crowley's factories). The area to the very north of the project boundary presented opportunities as well as challenges in terms of

potential data gathering in relation to the established criteria. The historically discrete settlements of Blaydon, Winlaton, Swalwell and Winlaton Mill, whilst retaining their individual character, have to some extent merged into one as the urban creep of Gateshead has extended south and west. Much like in Consett, satisfying the 'recognisable settlement' criteria could be challenging in this area.

To help with selection, I initially explored the full breadth of the area covered by the project. This involved meeting with the LOI Project Manager who was very helpful throughout the project without seeking to influence the course of the research in any way. My status as something of an 'insider' in terms of my knowledge of the sector, and in particular Heritage Lottery Fund processes, was helpful in developing this relationship as we were able to talk on fairly equal terms about the progress of the project and it felt like more of a two-way relationship than simply me relying on her help and knowledge. I attended several events and meetings in the initial stages of the project to familiarise myself with both the area and the LOI project (see Table 4). These events and activities enabled me to gain an understanding both of the LOI project and of the area in terms of its heritage and social make-up. As I got to know the fieldwork area my activities started to coalesce around the village of Chopwell, which I eventually chose as my first case study area.

Initial familiarisation activities	Lobley Hill Knit and Natter group Coal and Iron Geology Workshop - run by Durham Wildlife Trust *Land of Oak & Iron* Delivery Group Wagonways Walk - around the village of Dipton with a local amateur expert Oral History Training event in Consett organised by the *Land of Oak & Iron* project
Chopwell	Chopwell Community Centre Coffee Morning Chopwell Regeneration Group Chopwell Woodfest Chopwell Community Workshop (part of 'A Good Night Out in Chopwell sub-project)
Winlaton	Winlaton and District Local History Society LOI Mapping Group

Post-fieldwork	Spent a week working in the LOI Heritage Centre during writing up period Met with LOI Trust legacy group Met with new Heritage Centre Manager after LOI project completion when the LOI Project Manager post had ended Gave a talk on the project at LOI Heritage Centre as part of the *Being Human Festival*

Table 4: *Activities undertaken to familiarise and immerse in the case study communities.*

Given the size of the research area and the type of rich qualitative data I was aiming to collect, it made sense to restrict data collection to a limited number of case studies. The research is not intended to produce highly generalizable data but rather to explore the nuance and detail of the particular experiences of place. As such choosing cases based on specific places (as opposed to seeking a random or representative sample spread over the whole geographical area of the LOI) seemed important. As highlighted by Yin, case study research is most useful when "the boundaries between phenomenon [or 'case'] and context may not be clearly evident" (2014, 16) and the method allows an in-depth investigation of a "holistic and real world" perspective (ibid.: 3). This approach was vindicated by the experience of working in Chopwell, where I sought to immerse myself in the experience of people and place whilst also making connections which would lead to interviews. The importance of case selection is highlighted by Flyvbjerg (2006), who outlines a number of different 'types' of case, one of which is the 'extreme' case. This type of case is described as "unusual...especially problematic or especially good" (ibid.: 230). It could be said that Chopwell represents this kind of case, as being a relatively cohesive community with strongly definable origins; the 'sense of place' it represents is perhaps less nebulous than some of the other villages or areas within the LOI. There is also, of course, an element of fortune in the decision-making process. Chopwell was on the shortlist of places under consideration as an initial case study and several people happened to show an interest in participation, in addition to the fact that there happened to be a few local events happening around the time I was starting to look for participants. These were significant factors contributing to the selection of Chopwell as the first case study.

Chopwell was therefore selected as the first case study area. It met the selection criteria as follows:

- It is described by Gateshead Council as "rural with large open spaces and woodland" (Gateshead Council, 2015a: 1).
- It is a recognisable settlement both geographically and culturally as the village is fairly cut-off from other local places due to its hilltop position. It is an identifiably discrete settlement, culturally it is a quintessential 'pit village' in that it did not exist until the turn of the twentieth century when large scale mining began there and it continues to identify strongly as having a mining heritage, for example participating in the annual Durham Miners Gala.
- The village has a strong historical link with coal mining, one of the LOI industries.
- Chopwell Wood is one of the key sites for the *Land of Oak & Iron* project, with the first heritage festival of the project - Chopwell WoodFest - being held there in July 2017 and a range of activities being held in the wood over the life of the project. I was able to use the 2017 Chopwell Woodfest event to launch my fieldwork.

When the time came to choose a second case study both my own personal circumstances and that of the LOI were different. The LOI was in its final months and as such staff were looking towards evaluation and legacy projects. I had recently returned from maternity leave and as such was less able to attend events, particularly in the evenings, and had less time to spare for relationship building and exploring different options. Winlaton was suggested by the LOI Project Manager as a potential case study area, partly because of its active Local History Society. By chance, when I attended a meeting of the LOI Mapping Group (which had formed to create an interactive online map) I met several people who were interested in taking part and had links to Winlaton and this also influenced my decision. In terms of the criteria:

- The Ward in which Winlaton is located is described by Gateshead Council as "particularly rural" (Gateshead Council, 2015b: 1).
- It is a recognisable settlement both geographically and culturally, the historic settlement dates to the 12th century. In the 1690s Ambrose Crowley

established one of his iron works in the village and it became part of a successful industrial network. Although the village grew significantly in the twentieth century it remains a discrete hilltop settlement, separated from Blaydon to the North and Winlaton Mill to the East by steep banks.

- The village has a strong historical link with iron and steel production, one of the LOI industries.

- Winlaton is in the area which has seen most activity as part of the LOI project, with the new Heritage Centre close by in Winlaton Mill. As a larger settlement than Winlaton Mill it is a more practical choice in terms of generating sufficient leads but many people (or the families of people) in Winlaton have migrated up the hill from Winlaton Mill. This meant that choosing Winlaton as a case study had the benefit of including people with a knowledge of both settlements.

5.3.2 Building a sample

Over the course of the research period I attended events and met with numerous people and groups to build a picture of life in the villages and gain a sense of place (see Table 4). I went on to conduct detailed interviews with 19 members of the community, who I spoke with over the course of 13 static interviews and five walking interviews, each lasting one to two hours. Additionally, I interviewed the LOI Project Manager and the National Lottery Heritage Fund Head of Land and Nature UK Policy. These interviews supplemented a process which built familiarity with and immersion in the two communities. In terms of the sampling frame, I did not attempt to achieve a 'representative sample', however I did record and categorise participants by age, generation, gender, what I termed 'residency status' (see below) and class (where possible). I also sought to recruit intergenerational groups where possible. This was much more successful in Chopwell than in Winlaton. The below tables show that I was able to recruit a sample which was representative of a broad spread of age and experience, encompassing a range of different perspectives and types of experience.

Age and gender

The age and gender of participants was recorded. In Winlaton there was an equal split between male and female participants and all of those who took part were aged

over 60. In Chopwell the gender split was significantly less equal, with only one male respondent, but the age range was more even. The youngest respondent was in their 20s and the oldest in their 80s with the majority in their 40s and 50s. In Chopwell two intergenerational groups from the same family were also interviewed. One family was interviewed together and the other in separate individual interviews. Though it was disappointing not to achieve a better age spread or intergenerational group in Winlaton, many of those interviewed did speak extensively about the experiences of their children and grandchildren and as such the sample is still considered successful.

Generation

Transmission of memory through generations is an important component of the types of memory considered in this study and as such participants were also categorised by generation, which in some ways can be seen to be more significant than age. A number of ways of categorising generations were considered and a model from the Social Sciences was sought, however, much of the writing on this topic is heavily influenced by marketing theory and as such the following categories were used and were utilised as a general marker of generational spread rather than for any detailed analytical purpose.

Generation	Period described	No. of participants
Millennials	1982 onwards	1
Generation X	1965 - 1980	4
Baby Boomers	1946-1964	8
Silent Generation	1945 or earlier	6

Table 5: *Generational spread of participants (author's data collection).*

The spread achieved was fairly even, except for the under representation of millennials in the study. Younger age groups were hard to recruit and only one person was interviewed in this generational group.

Residency

Participants were categorised in various ways regarding their 'residency status' and that of their parents and children. This was done in an attempt to ensure that a mixture of 'natives' and 'incomers' were interviewed but also to attempt to gain a sense of whether longevity of residence has an impact on how people remember and feel about place and to identify any obvious trends in terms of residence.

Chopwell respondents

Resp code	Participant			Participants parents		Participants children			
	Born LOI and stayed	Incomer	Born LOI and returned	Parents always LOI	Parents elsewhere	Children stayed LOI	Children elsewhere	Children returned	No children
CG1:R1		█			█		█	█	
CG1:R2		█			█		█	█	
CG2:R1	█			█					
CG3:R1			█	█					█
CG3:R2	█			█			█		
CG3:R3			█	█					█
CG4:R1	█			█			█		
CG4:R2	█			█		█	█		
CG4:R3	█			█		█			
CG5:R1	█				█	█			
CG5:R2				█					█

Table 6: *Residency status of Chopwell participants, their parents, and their children (author's data collection).*

Winlaton Respondents

Resp code	Participant			Participants parents		Participants children			
	Born LOI and stayed	Incomer	Born LOI and returned	Parents always LOI	Parents elsewhere	Children stayed LOI	Children elsewhere	Children returned	No children
WG1: R1	X			X					X
WG2: R1	X			X					
WG3: R1		X			X	X	X		
WG3: R2		X			X	X	X		
WG4: R1	X				X	X	X		
WG4: R2		X			X	X	X		
WG5: R1	X			X		X	X		
WG6: R1	X			X		X			

Table 7: *Residency status of Winlaton participants, their parents, and their children (author's data collection).*

Class

Whilst not central to the research objectives, class is an important factor both in terms of people's own perceptions of their social class and their objective social position, and it can help to provide further insight into the processes of memory and social relationships. However, class is challenging to define and can be sensitive - asking people to define their own social class can lead to defensiveness or suspicion. There is a complex dynamic at play between perception of traditional upper/middle/working-class definitions of class and self-definition as 'working-class' almost as a heritage identity in itself, which may bear little or no relation to the socio-economic status of the individual. For this reason, I decided that whilst interviewing I would take a fairly subtle approach to establishing self-identified class, I did not directly ask the question 'what class would you say you are?' but I found that class was often referenced more indirectly. Where possible I made an attempt at

a 'soft' definition of self-defined class based on the more general responses interviewees gave.

After the interviews I emailed the participants and asked them to complete the 'class calculator' created as part of the Great British Class Survey. This was developed by a team led by Fiona Devine and Mike Savage and is available on the BBC website (BBC, 2017). I asked only for the result, which meant no personal information was recorded and (whilst this approach obviously relies on trust that the participant will be honest both in terms of their responses and in reporting the result) this allowed a more nuanced assessment of the individual's actual social class to be made. The survey sought to capture economic, social and cultural capital as part of establishing the social class of individuals within a twenty-first century context (BBC, 2017; Savage, 2015). The results of the survey highlight the importance of the increasingly confusing middle, as the elites grow more powerful at one end of the spectrum and the precariat become even less so at the other. The five other classes identified - established middle class; technical middle class; new affluent workers; traditional working-class; and emerging service workers - all exist somewhere in between. This classification system recognises the complexity of the 'new' class system in the UK whilst also including social factors as well as economic indicators along with an easy tool for classification. This made it preferable to other systems such as the NS-SEC, which is focused on occupation, or the SEG which whilst broadly more social scientific in approach does not have a transparent conceptual basis (Rose & Pevalin, 2003:1).

Class categories	Number of participants
Elite	1
Established middle class	4
Technical middle class	
New affluent workers	1
Traditional working class	1
Emergent service workers	
Precariat	

Table 8: *Breakdown of participants by class according to the Great British Class Survey Class Calculator categories (author's data collection).*

This includes 7 out of 19 interviews where information on class was returned.

In broad terms it can be noted that most respondents self-identified as being working-class or from a working-class background (via parents or grandparents). No respondents referenced being part of another social class directly or indirectly, although there were subtle differences in the ways in which people referenced class and their own positions. Several respondents spoke about how, looking back on their childhoods, they realised they had very little money. Some participants referenced specific traditional 'working-class' occupations such as mining in relation to parents or grandparents and others were much more conscious of class as a political concept, describing themselves as Socialists or allying with the Labour Movement. Seven respondents completed the GBCS questionnaire and only one of them was identified as 'traditional working class' from the results. Most of the others were categorised as 'established middle class', with one 'new affluent worker' and one 'elite.' Interestingly, one person replied to my email asking if they would complete the survey by simply saying *"I am working-class."* It was unclear whether they had completed the survey or not, although the wording suggests not, as 'working-class' is not one of the category names on the GBCS. These responses show a complicated relationship between class and identity in terms of how people identify their own class; how this is linked to their heritage and identity; and how the reality of their socio-economic position relates to their own sense of values and identity. Whilst a

detailed analysis of these class dynamics is not possible within the scope of this study, the complex relationship between class, identity and heritage was kept in mind throughout the data analysis and the class data collected is a useful way to highlight this complexity.

5.3.3 Chopwell: from life history interviewing to walking interviews

I launched my fieldwork recruitment at Chopwell Woodfest in summer 2017. I was offered a stall by the LOI and developed a small number of interactive activities to act as a conversation starter and generate interest. This event was the start of making links with the community and it led to several other events as well as providing direct contact with potential participants.

Figure 12: *My stall at Chopwell Woodfest (author's own image).*

Figure 13: *People enjoying the festival (author's own image).*

My favourite place in the Land of Oak & Iron is...

_____

I like to go there with...

_____

I like it because...

_____
_____
_____
_____

Figure 14: *Postcard produced for Chopwell Woodfest.*
By asking people about their favourite places, I began to build a sense of how people
feel about the places in the LOI boundary and what is important to local
communities.

Once I had made links in the community and attended events I began to hear from
volunteers who wanted to be interviewed. In Chopwell this was a fairly easy process
and I found a group of willing interviewees quickly. I made the decision to interview
participants in their own homes. I did offer a neutral alternative to every participant
but all but one person was interviewed at home (with one interview held at the LOI
Heritage Centre). For some types of research interviewing in a neutral space would
be preferable but given the importance of place and home to the project it seemed
appropriate in this case to interview people in their own homes. Elwood and Martin
(2000) suggest that "the interview site itself produces 'micro-geographies' of spatial
relationships and meaning, where multiple scales of social relations intersect in the
research interview" (ibid.: 649). They were referring to the power dynamics of the
interview, and putting participants in a familiar setting does potentially give them a
certain amount of power and control over the situation; but beyond this the micro-
geographies of the home are revealing data in themselves. I took brief notes
immediately after the interviews and tried to record my thoughts on the setting and
atmosphere. Details such as the room chosen, what refreshments were offered and
by whom, the presence of pets, all served to add richness and colour to the words
that were spoken in the interview.

In addition to the interviews, I attempted to gain a more immersive sense of place and collect more rich and thick data using other complementary methods. I experimented with a number of ways of doing this. In the first interviews I did in Chopwell I offered respondents a pack to complete. These were inspired by the concept of the 'cultural probe' developed by Bill Gaver (Gaver, Dunn and Pacenti, 1999). The pack consisted of a folder of activities, including a map 'diary' showing where the participant went over the course of a week, a request to draw a map of where they live, and a booklet of prompts to give details of different places (e.g., 'a place I come to often', 'a place where I feel at home'). The appeal of this method is in its ability to give a "detailed texture of the sites" (ibid.: 29) and reduce the 'distance' between participant and researcher. In terms of data generation, the packs were only partially successful: only a small number were completed and they were difficult to follow up on and collect. For this reason, the data has not been analysed as part of the research findings, but the method was useful as part of the process of immersion in place and added to the thick understanding of place when considered alongside the interviews. The ability to build on my methods in response to how the project was developing is one of the tools of Grounded Theory which I found particularly useful. This flexibility, and the recognition that "the emergent analysis may lead to adopting multiple methods of data collection and to pursuing inquiry in several sites" (Charmaz, 2006: 178) gave a sense of freedom to experiment which yielded interesting and varied results.

As I transcribed the interviews I also plotted the places people had lived within the villages on a map. This was a useful way to visualise the specificity of place and to see the proximity of generations of people within the same family to each other and to the places of which they spoke. The map below (Fig. 14), which shows all the places that one of the family groups interviewed in Chopwell have lived, is particularly interesting in showing the proximity of the family group, the fact that Chopwell family stories often begin in the area known locally as The Streets (on the map this is the group of streets named after rivers) and how, despite long term residence in place, people are often far from static.
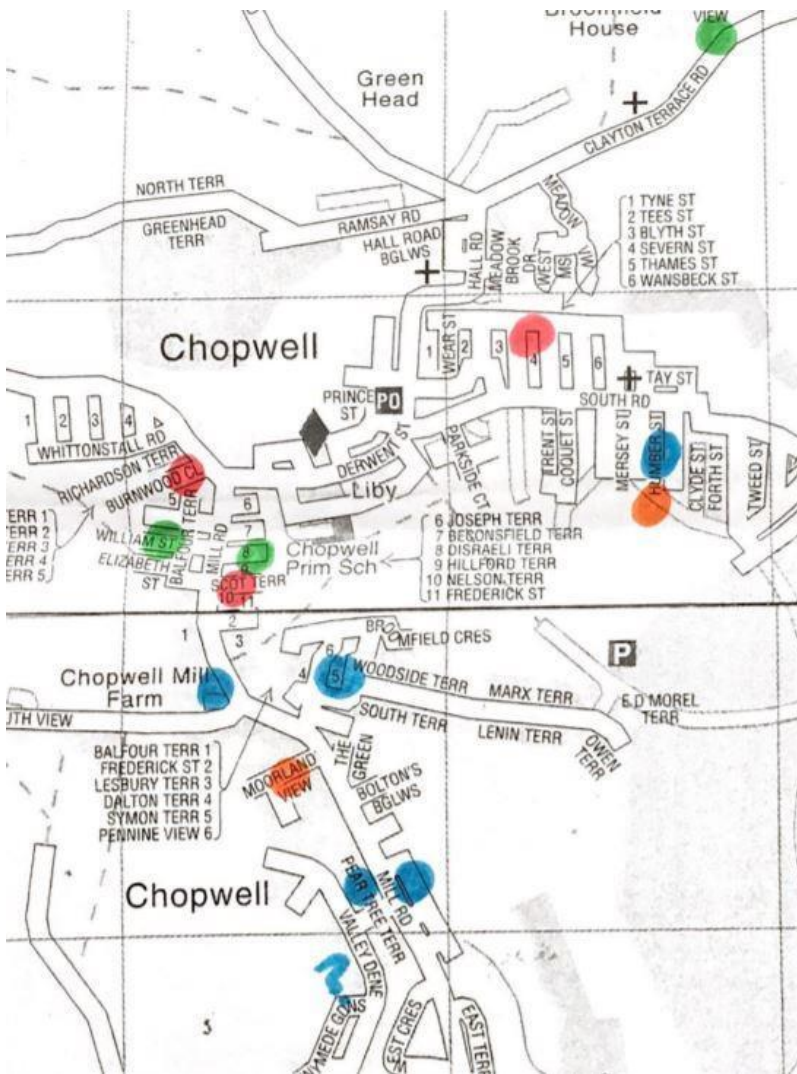
Figure 15: *Map showing the locations of the homes and former homes of each member of one family group.*
Each colour represents a different individual in the family group, individuals are not identified to protect anonymity. Additionally, orange dots show the location of homes of other key family members who were not interviewed.

The completion of this kind of exercise enabled me to gain a greater understanding of the place and how people use and understand it. As well as going to specific events, I also attempted to spend time in Chopwell and walk some of the paths and woodland people had been telling me about. The events were useful to get a sense of the heritage and to meet people, but when attending organised meetings I often got a sense that people were very familiar with being 'researched'. They had been through the process before: some well-meaning person arrives, chats to them about something specific, thanks them and then disappears without a trace. There is a sense that people know what is expected of them and there are 'kinds' of things they

think researchers want to hear. I tried to go somewhat beyond this, for example at the Chopwell Coffee Morning, which was more informal, it was possible to chat more generally with people, but in these kinds of settings the research/participant dynamic can feel quite constraining.

Despite these attempts to gain a wider sense of place as immerse myself in the research, as the interviews continued my notes show an increasing sense of frustration with the format:

Extract from author's field notes

Preparation for fifth interview - change in approach - November 2017

I have been going back over previous interviews and doing transcriptions and I feel like I am not getting at the heart of what I am trying to investigate and I need to change the format/approach I'm taking in the interviews. Fundamentally, the questions I'm asking seem to be leading people to talk much more about sense of community than about landscape. This is kind of counterintuitive as it's the opposite problem that I have when I try to talk about heritage - that they focus on the tangible and buildings in particular, rather than the intangible. People are mentioning natural heritage and this seems to be important to most of the respondents so far but I am finding it difficult to get beyond quite generic statements like 'I love the woods' - getting people to talk about how they experience these places is much more difficult and ultimately might only really be solved by doing walking interviews, which I think is something I am going to have to leave to the next case study village because of the timing (winter approaching and mat leave coming up)...I have tried to amend my interview format and intend to test it out this afternoon in an interview which will be with an intergenerational group of 2 or 3 from the same family. ...I've then come up with some more scenario based questions - 'what are the important places in the story of your family?' for example - which will hopefully get them thinking in a slightly different way, which will be facilitated by the fact they can interact with each other as well, rather than it being too much pressure on one person. I think some are treating some of the questions almost like an exam or a memory test and I want to try and get away from that.

I devised several questions which diverged from the chronological life history approach. The most useful of these was 'if you wrote the story of your family, which places would be in it the most? Where would the action happen?' Inevitably, this led to people talking about specific homes or places in the home, but it also gave interesting insights into how people use their local places. The street was commonly given as an answer by older people; but different places in the woods, in local fields and beauty spots and social clubs and pubs were all described, giving a new perspective on places of value. Whilst these questions went some way to overcome some of the issues I was facing, I wanted to find a way of working with participants that would be more sensory and offer opportunities for thick description, but which was also more present or future-oriented and less past-focused. By their very nature the life history interviews focused on the past and there was a tendency for people to speak extensively about the past and their early lives in particular, but have much less to say about the present. For this reason I embarked on walking interviews, although in reality there was a significant gap between the first interviews and the walking interviews as I took a year of maternity leave in between.

I developed the walking interview format and first used it in Chopwell, whilst also identifying and recruiting participants in Winlaton for traditional interviews and follow up walks. The walking interview does raise more practical difficulties than a sedentary interview. It can be seen as exclusionary, as not everyone is able to walk the same routes and the way people experience place and space varies. In this instance, no one I interviewed experienced significant difficulties with mobility, although one of the walks involved two women in their 80s and mobility was a consideration. I asked participants to choose the route so in this respect it was clear it was terrain on which they would be comfortable but I was careful to check in with them regularly as we walked and offer assistance if needed. Recording is more challenging, as incidental noise is more of an issue and taking notes is not possible. I asked participants to wear a GoPro on a chest harness, which recorded what they saw as they walked as well as speech. I also carried a Dictaphone as a back-up recording of the conversation. This proved wise, as in one interview I accidentally videoed the walk at double speed which meant the speech was incomprehensible.

There is also an additional potential recording requirement when conducting walking interviews in that there is an option to record not just what people say but also where they say it. Through GPS the route of the walk can be tracked as well as how the conversation progressed along it. There are benefits and problems raised by using GPS as a method of data collection. Evans and Jones (2011) warn against being "overly seduced by the positivist potential of this method" (pp. 857), as well as the added complexity for the mobile researcher who may make mistakes which could compromise results. I made the decision not to plot the conversation against fixed points on the map as I felt it was not necessary for the aims of the research and could easily become a distraction. I did record the route of the walks but did this myself on paper after the walk had ended rather than relying on technology.

The format of interviews was very simple. I contacted those I had previously interviewed and asked if they would be willing to take me on a walk of around an hour. I suggested they choose either the walk they do most often or a favourite walk. All but one of the walks took this format. The walk which differed began as a kind of treasure hunt, as the participant sought out a house they had visited often as a child, in an area which had undergone significant redevelopment. It then became almost a guided history tour of the village as they remembered it. This was the only walk I did with someone who no longer lived in the area and as such this format made more sense for them, as it related more to long-term memory than lived day to day experience.

5.3.4 Winlaton: refining and consolidating the methods

Alongside organising and carrying out walking interviews in Chopwell, I began to develop contacts in Winlaton. I approached this in the same way as the previous stage of research, using the LOI Project Manager to find leads and attending events and meetings to talk about the research and look for volunteers. I also set up a contact form on my own website which included details of how to get in touch via my Newcastle University profile page. I used Twitter to promote my research and this was supported by LOI social media accounts. By this stage I felt more confident in my methods and was able to talk in more detail about the research process with potential volunteers as I had already done several interviews. Again, I interviewed

people in their own homes and at the end of the interview, if it seemed appropriate, I asked participants if they would be interested in doing a walking interview. In Winlaton the research process was shorter, as the second interviews were usually done within a few weeks of the first, so the relationships were perhaps not so well developed. Despite this, the two walks completed were successful and yielded useful data.

For a variety of reasons I spent less time in Winlaton than I had in Chopwell but was still able to gain a good sense of place and immerse myself somewhat in the surroundings. My sense of place was perhaps more reliant on a small number of key individuals in Winlaton than in Chopwell. This was partly because my contacts had come through heritage specific organisations - mainly Winlaton History Society and the LOI Mapping Group - but does also perhaps reflect something of the nature of the place. In Chopwell every contact seemed to yield a further family or kin link which naturally led to a feeling of becoming more recognisable in the village which in turn generated more interest and participants. In Winlaton, contact felt more piecemeal and tended to stop at one 'link in the chain'. This perhaps reflects the less connected nature of social life in the village as generally the contacts I made were based around small interest groups rather than expansive extended families. One result of this is the lack of intergenerational interview groups in Winlaton.

I continued the process of immersion in place throughout the analysis and writing-up process, for example, spending a week working in the offices at the LOI Heritage Centre in Winlaton Mill. I also continued to make time to walk in the area and maintain contact with the LOI staff after my fieldwork was completed. This became more challenging firstly as the Covid 19 pandemic meant the Centre was closed and travel restrictions were introduced; secondly this period came directly before the LOI project was due to end in summer 2020. As the project drew to a close, staff (who were all on fixed term contracts) began to leave and it became harder to maintain links. The Project Manager left the organisation in autumn 2020 and the Heritage Centre Manager became the new point of contact. As the LOI Landscape Partnership project was over, the funded elements of the project designed to engage communities were complete and the focus of the Centre Manager role is more

commercial. Heritage is part of the offer at the Centre but the focus of the role is making the Heritage Centre profitable to keep it running and as such the nature of the relationship inevitably changed. Despite this I was able to maintain a good relationship with the new staff and the LOI Trust legacy group and there was an ongoing enthusiasm for engaging with my research from the team of staff and volunteers.

5.4   Research ethics and the role of the researcher

In total 19 people from the case study areas were interviewed over 13 static interviews and five walking interviews, plus two interviews with policymakers. I asked all participants whether they wished to remain anonymous and almost all said yes. I therefore allocated reference numbers to each individual which I used throughout my notes and drafts. However, when it came to writing up, I needed to decide how to refer to individuals - using the reference numbers feels impersonal and interrupts the flow of the writing, but using pseudonyms raises issues. Achieving anonymity can be particularly challenging in small communities, and whilst no contentious issues were raised during the research, people did make comments that could be perceived as negative or to which they might rather not be attributed. In a small community, creating pseudonyms can only be effective to a point as many potentially identifying features are discussed in the course of the interviews. By its very nature, this research is concerned with family and kin relationships and discussion of other people and the details of their personal histories (in the context of how they intertwine with that of participants) is another potentially problematic area. Realistically, it is unlikely that other members of the community are likely to read the thesis but due to the collaborative link with the LOI project, quotes and sections from the thesis are likely to be more widely disseminated and will be potentially seen by a wider section of the community.

Some researchers choose to entirely obscure the fieldwork area, using fictionalised place names for example (see Hall, 2019 who called the Greater Manchester suburb where her research took place 'Argleton' to preserve anonymity. In this example all participants were also given pseudonyms). However, as the thesis is fundamentally concerned with the specifics of place in a particular landscape and is explicitly linked

to the *Land of Oak & Iron* project this was both impractical and undesirable in this instance. Identifying surnames also caused a potential issue here as, particularly in Chopwell, there were one or two family names which cropped up across all interviews and which are obviously significant in the village. This is an interesting area of research but exploring it presents obvious problems around anonymity. Wiles et al. (2008) discuss these issues and the potential need to omit relevant data because of the risk of identification of subjects, concluding that this is sometimes necessary. Despite this they recognise that the integrity of the data can be damaged by convoluted processes for disguising identities.

During the writing up process I made the decision to allocate pseudonyms to all the participants, which are used throughout. I refer to participants by their first name only. The process of choosing appropriate pseudonyms felt potentially problematic to me, as the choice of similar 'types' of names can be very culturally loaded. What makes one type of name 'similar' to another is based on a variety of factors and generational differences are a major factor, but this also feels like a potentially classed decision and as such I was very conscious of being as sensitive as possible when choosing the names. The two policymakers interviewed - the *Land of Oak & Iron* Project Manager and National Lottery Heritage Fund Head of Land and Nature UK Policy were fully aware that they would be quoted and identified in the research. The issue of anonymity is further complicated by the use of video, as was the case in the walking interviews (see British Sociological Association, 2017: 8). Voices can be identifiable, and in some of the videos people's faces can be seen. I ensured that the consent form made it clear that still and clips from the video could be used in a variety of settings including blogs and presentations as well as in the thesis and I made this clear when talking through the forms with participants as part of the interview process. The form made it clear that the copyright of all material would sit with the researcher.

Each participant was sent a project information sheet in advance of their interview, which I went through with them with an opportunity for questions. I then went through the consent form and explained I would ask them to sign it at the end of the interview. This is something recommended by Jackson and Russell (2010: 178), as

informed consent may not be sufficiently covered by asking respondents to sign a form at the beginning of the process and checking and double-checking consent becomes very important. By asking participants to sign at the end I was asking them to consent based on what they had said, not on what they might say, which makes informed consent as 'informed' as possible (see also British Sociological Association, 2017: 5).

The approach outlined in this chapter necessitated a high level of personal engagement with participants. Intrinsically, this immersive, relational way of working put me as a researcher and an individual very much within the research process and any attempt to detach myself or make myself 'separate' would be disingenuous. This is not to suggest that this immersive way of working in any way neutralises the power dynamics which inevitably accompany this kind of work. Ultimately, the relationship is one of researcher and researched and whilst I did everything I could to foreground the voices of participants (in calling them participants rather than respondents or interviewees I wanted to reflect their vital role in the interactive, iterative approach), I am ultimately in control of how their words and actions are reported and analysed.

My own relationship with the research changed and evolved over the course of the fieldwork and I attempted to remain mindful of my own preferences and prejudices throughout. My relationship with the LOI potentially had an impact on my relationship with participants and I was careful to explain that we were working together but that I was not employed by or commissioned by the LOI. I was conscious of being within and without different communities and interest groups throughout the project and this changed over time. The following is taken from my fieldnotes (July 2017) and is useful in demonstrating some of the complexities of my own position in the research process:

Extract from author's fieldnotes

I started on Lenin Terrace, near the park, feeling slightly worried about the weather. I parked behind a caravan - deserted streets, a weird disproportionate number of white vans, a few old men wandering about. I crossed the road and went down Whinney Leas - a single track dead end with some cute terraced houses at the end and I was confused because the sign for Milkwellburn Wood seemed to just point into someone's drive. I said hi to a couple of old men and immediately thought of a Crimewatch reconstruction - these men were the last to see her alive. I persevered down the drive/path through some nettles, over a stile to a more promising but still overgrown path and then over another stile to a farm track. I wasn't sure if I was in the wood yet (Milkwellburn Wood) and just after going through a farm which seemed also to be a timber merchant I came to a sign announcing I was entering the wood, with a map, showing where the old pits etc were.

A friend rang me at this point and I talked to her as I walked through a very conifer-y wood, which was already beginning to climb back up the slope. This is a proper track now, maintained by DWT. I reached a fork and whilst still talking on the phone I decided to have a sit down and look at the map and eat my lunch. Whilst I was doing this an inquisitive dog came and snuck up on me and licked my nose. It was funny, and his owner seemed very embarrassed.

I finished my chat and chose my fork [on the path]*, then another
(the left-most of three), which took me down to a dried up forge. In
the hope of seeing some industrial remains I back tracked and took
the right-hand track. This part of the forest seems less managed,
with more of a range of tree species. I had a sit down on a rock and
wrote some notes, really lovely views.*

*After walking not very far I found myself back at Whinney Leas,
where I saw a decomposing animal, I don't think it was a rat but it
looked too big for a mouse. Not nice. I thought there must be
another path, there looked like one on the map so after snapping
what I thought might be the site of Taylor's Pit I went back and
found another path which continued on through the fields just to the
west of Chopwell. When I got to the edge, I found there was no stile
where I expected one. I walked round the top edge and into the next
field, but no through path was to be found. After photographing the
view I backtracked, and found the missing stile, which had been
there the whole time.*

*So through another field, and then a sharp right turn and across an
overgrown bit to emerge back into Chopwell at the end of
Whittonstall Road. I walked through to Mill Road and around the
Community Centre, which faces onto the Miner's Memorial and the
site of the old colliery. I sat on a bench and looked down at the
Community Centre. Very few people about, a couple of older blokes,
a youngish bloke in a hoody with the hood up, a youngish woman. A
car with something noisy wrong with it pulls into the garage next to
the community centre.*

My own discomfort in my surroundings is shown in the tongue in cheek reference to Crimewatch and an undercurrent of concern for my safety. This is not an environment I feel naturally comfortable in, I grew up and have always lived in cities. These kinds of places - not entirely rural but definitely not urban - have the ability to make me uncomfortable. I am not used to negotiating places with maps, especially not fields and woodlands. I like walking but am usually happy to be led by someone more experienced. My willingness to spend part of the walk talking to a friend on the phone emphasises my discomfort, rather than being wholly in the place I appreciated the distraction, finding comfort in someone else 'being there' with me. The reality of places like Chopwell, of white vans and decomposing animals, is the reality of rural or semi-rural life, and it has little to do with the branding of the LOI. It was some of this ordinariness, of this experience of place as a living entity that I was trying to capture. But I never quite manage to escape my own otherness. My search for 'industrial remains' and the anthropological eye on every aspect of my surroundings exposes me for the outsider that I am, a tourist in the village. But my outsider status did not stop the dog licking my face and this unexpected (very physical!) interaction is part of the everyday experience of existing in the landscape, however mundane it may be.

My role and position was something of which I was always conscious and the issue of how much to reveal of myself and my own life was always present. Ultimately, I believe that in building a rapport and developing good working relationships with participants it is necessary to reveal something of one's own life and personality. I believe this did make for better interviews and more rich data but the balance between revealing enough to gain confidence and build an authentic relationship whilst maintaining sufficient distance can be challenging to negotiate and I was under no illusions that I was seen as an 'outsider' in the sense that I was there for a purpose. Conversely, the life history approach has been criticised in that it "exploits" rapport for the purpose of research (Faraday & Plummer 1979, cited in Jupp, 2006: 240), that it uses the relationship which necessarily develops as part of the interviewing process in an ethically questionable way, and this is something of which I remained mindful.

My own identity as a (relatively) young woman was also part of how I was viewed. Anna Tarrant explores an example of this kind of situation in her article *Negotiating Multiple Personalities in the Interview Setting* (2013), in which she reflects on her research into the experience of being a grandparent. As an early career researcher she was a young woman interviewing older men, and this had an impact on how participants interacted with her and the information they shared. Tarrant describes how one participant acknowledged that his lack of participation in household chores and care of his young children may be seen as 'unacceptable' in a contemporary context and sought to explain this. Another censored himself to avoid subjects he considered were 'unsuitable' to discuss with a young woman (ibid.: 496). Participants necessarily bring with them a preconceived idea of the 'type' of person the researcher is and the kind of views they are likely to hold, which can impact not only on interactions between participant and researcher but also on the data gathered. Tarrant also recognised her own reluctance to discuss certain topics, particularly around sex and relationships, which she identifies as being part of a process whereby interviewees and interviewer came to relate to each other from the perspective of grandparent and grandchild. She notes that "rather than being positioned as an outsider in relation to my different age and gender, Jim recognized my similarity to his granddaughter based on our ages, and this was beneficial in terms of speaking across generational and gendered boundaries" (ibid.: 497). This tendency to fall into familiar roles is something I recognise from my own research and I tried to be attentive to these interactions and their impact on the research process.

I was also conscious of a duty of care towards participants. In the main the interviews focused on neutral subjects, but inevitably talking about the past did bring up strong feelings for some of the participants and there were a few occasions when people became tearful or upset when talking about the past. Ultimately my main concern was to be honest with participants about the purpose and outcomes of the research. I was very concerned to ensure that the research was a two-way process and did not feel exploitative in any way, and part of this was about managing expectations. I was very clear that I had no power to change things in terms of the LOI or decisions being made about it, but that I was interested in understanding the views of people living in the area. I have continued to try and stay in touch with

participants in a light touch way, for example sending links to blog posts I have written, to try and negate the feeling of 'being researched' and then forgotten about and to ensure that participants know what their data is being used for in the longer term.

5.5 Interpreting the material
5.5.1 Approach to understanding and analysing the research material
A key element of my approach to analysis was immersion in the data. I did not attempt a systematic analysis of any of the single methods used, although the approach I took to analysing the interview material came closest to this; rather I aimed to build a picture using a range of methods to create a nuanced understanding of the way memory is communicated within specific families and communities. I kept field notes to which I added after each interaction or event. After each interview I wrote a brief note of the circumstances of the meeting and my feelings about the conversation. This allowed me to remember and to some extent return to the state I was in when I did the interview. Wherever possible I tried to come back to recorded material quickly, usually within the same working week. This enabled the kind of continuous, iterative approach to coding advocated by Grounded Theory (GT) which involves a high level of interaction between researcher and data (Charmaz, 2006: 179). I then attempted to immerse myself in the material through listening to and watching the recordings several times. Generally, this involved an initial viewing/listening in which I made rough notes of themes and ideas but paid close attention to what was being said and what was happening rather than focusing on note taking. This gave me an initial list of themes on which I kept notes (what would broadly be defined as 'memos' in GT) (Bryman, 2008: 577). I then went back and listened more closely, transcribing key passages. Whilst I did not transcribe whole interviews there are large sections of transcription of the relevant sections. This was time consuming but put me very close to the data. I then sorted the transcribed and coded sections by theme, copying key annotated quotes with time stamps. I returned to the recordings often, avoiding relying on the transcriptions, to keep a sense of the nuance of the conversations and to enable new realisations and moments of insight.

Using this method meant I developed not a systematic understanding of coded material but rather an understanding of the breadth of material which encompassed "more intuitive forms of thinking through the meanings of ethnographic materials and experiences" (Pink, 2015: 142). Thus, Pink explains that whilst she does transcribe sections of dialogue from video, she is also

> interested in engaging with the video recording through the relationship between tacit, embodied and performed ways of knowing, and the ways that participants describe and verbalise these, or talk about their lives, environments and activities *in relation* to these actions. (Italics original) (Pink, 2015: 153)

It is not enough to simply engage with *what* people say, instead I sought to go beyond this to interrogate how what they say relates to the situation and place in which they find themselves. Pink therefore describes the analytical process as happening alongside the transcription process, not seeing them as two distinct phases (ibid.). It is in this iterative back and forth that I was able to find a depth of analysis which is not possible from transcription and coding alone. This process of analysis in some ways feels very abstract and almost like a creative process, and GT can provide a useful foundation to return to in order to give the developing analysis a foundation. As I began making claims and drawing conclusions from the research material, I returned to Charmaz's principles of credibility, in particular the need for comparison and a range and depth of observations; and perhaps most crucially the question, "has your research achieved intimate familiarity with the setting or topic?" (Charmaz, 2006: 182). GT provided a sturdy base on which to develop my analysis, preventing it from becoming untethered from theory whilst permitting space for creative methods and analysis.

5.5.2 Developing themes and codes
The coding process was very much based on familiarity with the data and deriving themes and codes from interview material. However, the nature of the conversations meant that there was a lot of extraneous material, where people 'padded out' their personal histories, and long sections in which I was trying to understand a specific

feeling or phenomenon but the conversation seemed to meander around the edges of it. I tried to be attentive to what these seemingly irrelevant elements could be pointing towards or saying, whilst also remaining focused on the key material which I transcribed and time stamped. Whilst the large amount of data generated meant I needed to focus on key material I was also mindful that I did not want to treat interviews as text - particularly walking interviews. For this reason, I returned frequently to the recordings, where I often found new insights or nuance from hearing the way stories were told. Elements like hesitation and tone of voice can be as revealing as the words spoken. Similarly, re-watching video of the places being discussed often gave a new or heightened perspective on what was being said.

Clearly, the process of defining 'emerging' codes and themes cannot be an entirely neutral act and the task was inevitably undertaken from the perspective of answering the research question at hand, but I attempted to be led by the data where possible. Tarozzi (2020) describes the 'initial' and 'focused' phases of coding within Grounded Theory. These phases are rooted in the data and largely descriptive, underpinning the crucial work of the third phase, the 'theoretical' coding which enables "a sophisticated conceptualization rooted or grounded in the data" (pp. 104). This is this approach I took, and as Tarozzi identifies, it often means an interaction between the initial, very open, coding process and the focused coding as insights and breakthroughs are made. This process was not so detailed as the type of open coding which Charmaz (2006) describes, which requires "naming each word, line or segment of data" (pp. 46) but the approach of being focused on the data and deriving codes specifically from it rather than beginning with a predetermined list reflects the aims of the GT approach outlined by Charmaz (building on the work of Glaser and Strauss, 1967 and Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Whilst I was keen to avoid treating interview transcripts as text, the use and analysis of video was challenging. Video was not systematically analysed in the sense of coding the visual, or the behaviour of participants. Rather, it was utilised to provide evidence of what is alluded to in the conversions and I have tried to capture some of this in writing up the results, both in terms of how the interviews are described and in using clips and stills from the videos. Clips and stills are used to highlight the key

ways in which walking interviews add depth of insight, for example the way a windy day can bring a new sense of the physicality of working in the landscape. They are also used to convey aspects of being in place which are challenging to describe - the way the atmosphere changes with the weather, or the change in tone moving from a busy, traffic filled street to a back lane, which is reflected in both the external surroundings and the ways in which the conversation develops and changes. Finally, running together clips from different sections of the same interview can serve to underline how being in place impacts on what is discussed and how it is talked about. The development of the conversation over the course of the walk can be traced by comparing different sections.

5.6 Conclusion

The main methodological challenge of this research has been to do justice to the material collected. The project is based in geography and I came to it from the discipline of heritage studies and with a background in heritage practice. As such, I found developing creative methods and working with participants to explore the themes of heritage, landscape and memory both enjoyable and rewarding. Having the freedom to utilise different methods and practices was of huge benefit to the project and resulted in rich and extensive research material. Paying attention to the variety and subtleties of this material and communicating its nuances has been the bigger challenge. I have attempted to do this through immersing myself not just in place but also in the research material. The idea of reducing it to mere pages of annotated text seemed not only a wasted opportunity in terms of understanding and exploring the topic but also would have felt disrespectful to the participants who generously gave their time. By combining an iterative, sensory approach to analysis with some of the principles of Grounded Theory I was able to pay attention to the sensitivities of the material while avoiding the pitfalls of an overly prescriptive approach.

The opening chapters have outlined the context of the research both in practical and theoretical terms, and the methodological approach has been laid out. The thesis now turns to the findings, with the following chapters setting out the results and findings emerging from the fieldwork process.

Chapter 6: Setting the scene: Places and People

6.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the people and places on which the thesis focuses. Chopwell and Winlaton are described in two short pen portraits and historic maps are used to illustrate the development and character of the two case study villages. Each of the research participants is briefly introduced, to set the scene for the findings chapters which follow.

6.2 Chopwell

Chopwell is a village on a hill. On the border of three counties, it is now part of Gateshead but once was in County Durham and in many ways it has much more in common with the pit villages of the Durham coalfield than the leafy places nestled in the Derwent Valley below it. Chopwell Wood is a managed plantation woodland with ancient origins, but the village itself only came into existence at the turn of the twentieth century. The pit was sunk to provide the coal to produce the coke which Consett Iron Company needed to run the Iron Works six miles down the valley.

The village was built around what became known as 'The Streets', a handful of terraces of colliery housing all of which were named after rivers. These streets are still a symbolic centre in the village and illustrate some of the more recent changes in Chopwell. As was common in mid-century towns and villages, street life was vibrant and busy, neighbours knew one another, children played in the street and there was a tangible sense of community based around proximity and shared experience. Since the closure of the pit in the 1960s and the sale of these houses, largely to absentee landlords, they have come to represent the decline of the village to many. 'Problem' tenants have been moved in, the housing stock has not been well maintained and there is a general feeling that The Streets have been abandoned. Yet there is a vast store of community memory based around life in The Streets and on the high street, Derwent Street, which was a bustling hub serving miners and their families.

If the The Streets loom large in the imaginations of former residents who have moved on to other parts of the village, Chopwell Wood is the other focal point in the

local imagination. Easily accessible from The Streets and from higher up the village, the Wood has been the playground of generations of Chopwell residents and a strong sense of ownership is felt by residents whose shared experience of play and exploration in the wood is almost a rite of passage, valued by many.

To the outside world, Chopwell is perhaps best known as 'Little Moscow'. The village Miners' Banner depicts Marx and Lenin, and the mythology surrounding the 1926 Lock Out marked the village out as a Communist enclave. Local legend suggests that the government had a gun ship in the North Sea trained on Chopwell in the 1920s as it was believed that if a Bolshevik Revolution was to happen, this was where it would begin. This mythology reveals something of the spirit of the village, the 'Chopwell exceptionalism' in which Chopwell is both othered and makes an other of itself. It was designated a Category D village in the 1970s (earmarked for managed decline), and there is a sense that this is something from which it is still recovering, but a significant amount of recent activity by community-led groups echoes the self-help cooperative spirit of the early village.
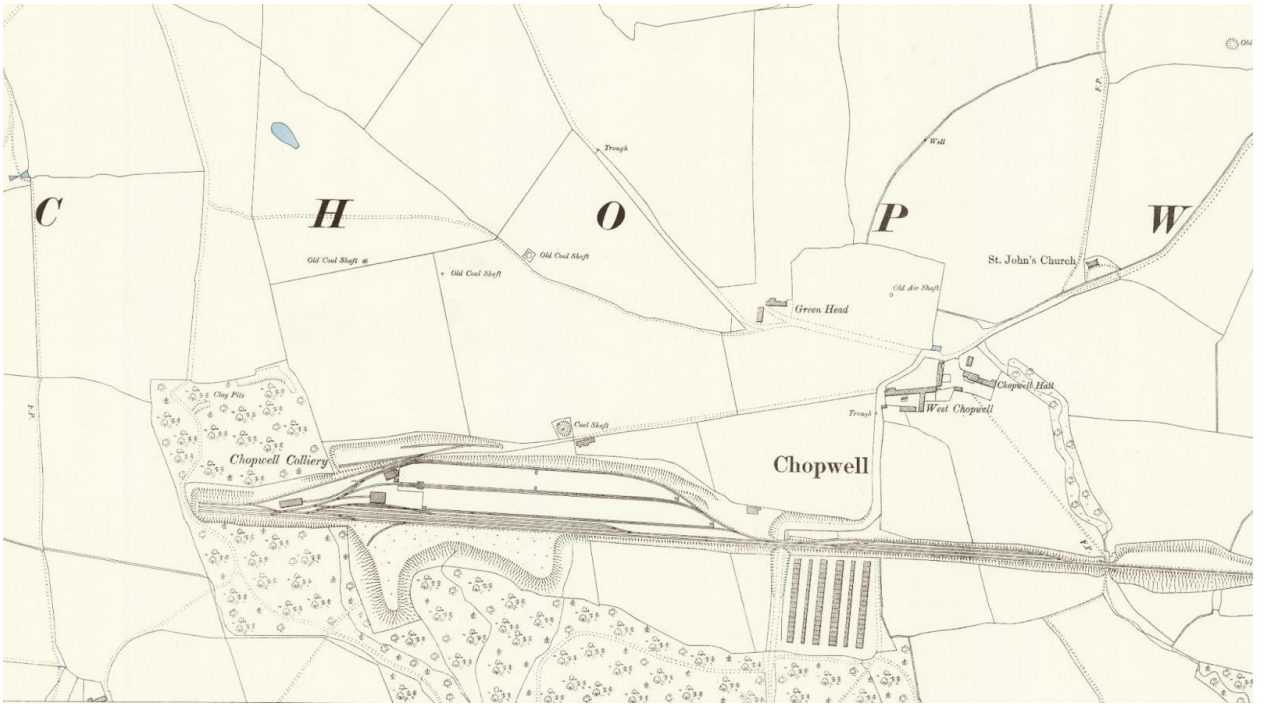
Figure 16: *Chopwell, 1896 (Ordnance Survey, 1896).*
In 1896 the village of Chopwell had just come into being, with the first of the colliery streets being built around the newly sunk colliery and the railways lines which served it.
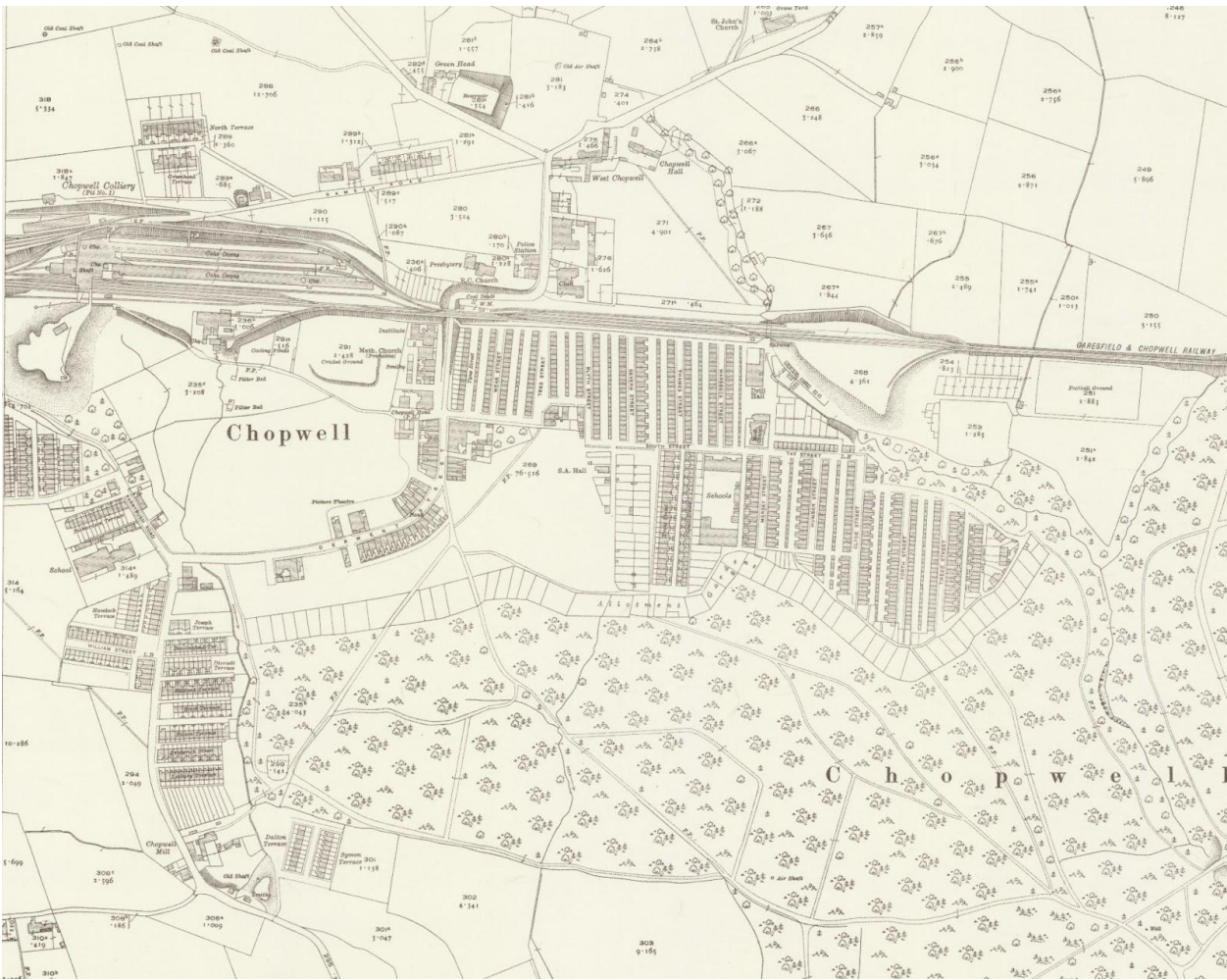
Figure 17: *Chopwell, 1920 (Ordnance Survey, 1920).*
By 1920 the village had grown significantly. Its layout is still recognisable today.

Figure 18: *Chopwell, 1920 (Ordnance Survey, 1920).*
This version of the 1920 map demonstrates the scale of Chopwell Wood in relation to the village.

Figure 19: *Chopwell, 1940 (Ordnance Survey, 1946).*
The 1940 map shows the large number of amenities available to Chopwell residents at this time including football and cricket pitches, tennis courts and bowling greens and a significant amount of land given over to allotments.
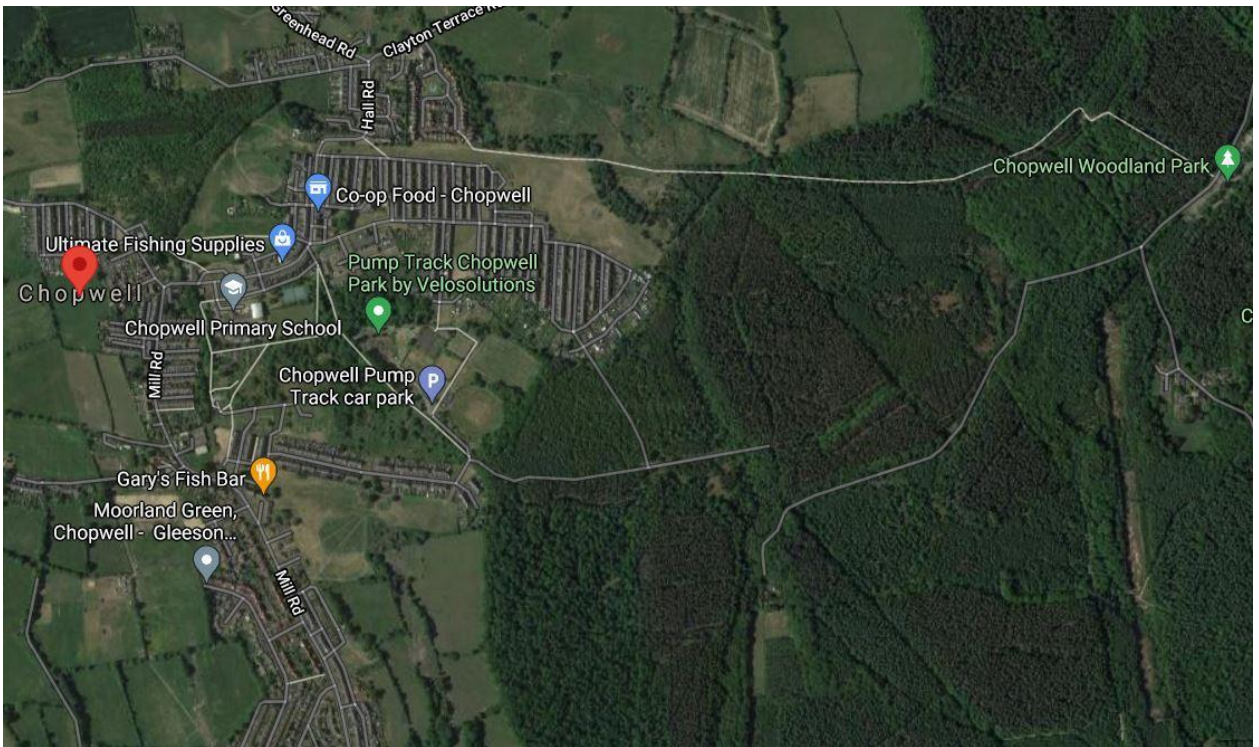
Figure 20: *Chopwell, 2021 (Google, 2021).*

The village retains largely the same layout as in the early 20th century although amenities are reduced (despite this, the relatively new addition of a Pump Track provides a new amenity).

6.3 Chopwell: The People

Julie (59) and Steve (64) are a married couple with three grown up children who all live outside the home. Neither was born or raised in the area but moved to the North-East to study and they have lived in Chopwell since the late 1980s. Both worked in professional jobs. Julie retired during the time I was completing my fieldwork and Steve is involved in local government. They live in one of the older houses in the village, but not on The Streets. Julie spends a lot of time in Chopwell Wood running, cycling and volunteering, and it is here that she takes me on our walk together.

Maureen (83), Sarah (45) and Chloe (28)
Although interviewed separately this group represent three generations of the same family. Sarah was the first to make contact with me (and is the 'middle' generation of the three). Sarah lives with her partner and dogs in a new-build house which was

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built on the site of the old infant school, the school which she attended. She has no children and works for herself from home. Her Aunt, Maureen, was her late mother's sister. Maureen's father was an important figure in the local Labour movement and is remembered by many in the community. Maureen is Chloe's Grandmother. Chloe followed in Sarah's footsteps and spent time working abroad in her early 20s but returned to the village and has settled in Chopwell where she lives with her dog in a terraced street. Despite time away all three have called Chopwell home for their entire lives. Sarah has a great affection for the wood, which she feels is 'her' place, and she takes me along on a circular dog walk which is one of her regular routes.

Margaret (79), Marie (52), Amanda (49) (and Kathy (age unknown))
Margaret, Marie and Amanda were interviewed together as a group at Marie's home. Margaret is Marie's mother and Amanda is married to Marie's brother, making her Margaret's daughter in law. During the interview I discovered that Margaret's husband was related to Sarah's family, Sarah's paternal Grandfather was his cousin. Whilst we sat at the large table in front of the fire in Marie's farmhouse style kitchen her husband and dogs came in and out, giving the room the feeling of being at the centre of busy family life. Amanda's teenage daughter also joined us for part of the conversation. All three live close to each other in the village, though not all of Marie's siblings stayed in the area. Kathy has been a friend of Margaret's since they were teenagers. She joined us when Margaret and Marie led us on a walk through Milkwellburn Wood.

Kate (58) has always lived in the village. I interviewed her in her bright and tidy kitchen, where we had coffee watched over by her dog. She lives with her husband. Her grown up children have both left the village to live elsewhere in the North-East, though she sees them and her young granddaughter regularly. Kate works in the village and takes an interest in community events, heritage and activism.

I met Brenda and her daughter Catherine (ages not given) in Brenda's cosy front room in Rowland's Gill. Brenda grew up in Chopwell and has strong memories of the village where her family ran a business. Her husband worked in the colliery and she later went on to work in the village. Catherine now lives North of the Tyne but spent

her formative years in the village and they both have a fondness for Chopwell and an ongoing interest in its heritage, despite no longer living there.

6.4 Winlaton

Like Chopwell, Winlaton is a village on a hill. It sits between two rivers, the Tyne and the Derwent. Despite the steep bank which once separated the two settlements, the boundary with Blaydon to the north has become hazy. Though Chopwell has near neighbours, particularly Blackhall Mill, into which it runs at the bottom of the hill, it very much feels like a self-contained place, a place apart both physically and in attitude. Winlaton on the other hand, has a much more fluid relationship with its surroundings. Though its residents can be clannish, they have been forced to mix much more closely with Blaydon, Winlaton Mill and Swalwell as changes in employment patterns and housing have created a more mixed and mobile population.

Winlaton's history has parallels with that of Chopwell, but similar stories played out 200 years earlier in Winlaton, which as a settlement has a much longer history. The Manor of Winlaton is mentioned in the Boldon Book and there are records of mining there as far back as the 1580s. It was at the turn of the eighteenth century however that industry began to have a significant impact on the village. Crowley's Iron Works came to the area in 1691 and he set up factories in Winlaton, Winlaton Mill and Swalwell. Much like in Chopwell in the twentieth century, the village became dominated by the company for which almost all men worked and this continued for a century until the Winlaton factories were closed. Again, much like Chopwell, the village became known for its radicals and at this time it was a Chartist stronghold.

The closure of Crowley's caused a period of hardship but there was plenty of work in the various industries on the Tyne and in the local collieries, and the village continued to grow. By the twentieth century many were employed at Derwenthaugh Coke Works which opened in 1928. Large scale house building and the demolition and redevelopment of the central shopping street changed the character of Winlaton and there has been more local migration in this area than there would appear to have been in Chopwell. A strong local identification with Blaydon, Winlaton and the

Tyne remains. Blaydon in particular is closely associated with the village as many families were rehoused in Winlaton as part of the post war slum clearances which saw the riverside transformed. The character of central Blaydon has been significantly impacted by the volume of traffic which cuts through its centre, whilst Winlaton, protected by its location on the hill, retains more of a village character.

Whilst there is no single focus within the landscape comparable to Chopwell Wood, the area around Winlaton has a very rural character, with the bigger housing estates backing straight onto fields. Additionally, the amount of local migration means that many living in Winlaton had Grandparents or other family members living in Blaydon or Winlaton Mill, opening up various shortcuts and routes across fields and denes and making walking the landscape a common activity.

There is a strong interest in local history amongst the community and Winlaton has a large and very active Local History Society. This is perhaps in part driven by the scale of change that happened in the village in terms of the demolition and redevelopment of the centre along with an interest in the more distant industrial past of the village which seems to have caught the imaginations of a significant minority in the community. Whilst Winlaton lacks the imaginative focal points that can be found in Chopwell, the sense of community and family is strong - the kitchen table and the matriarch are common features in local memory - though of the two villages perhaps a less overt place attachment can be found in Winlaton.

Figure 21: *Winlaton, 1862 (Ordnance Survey, 1862).*

Winlaton in this period was a clearly contained village, distinct from the neighbouring settlements of Blaydon and Winlaton Mill.

Figure 22: *Winlaton, 1896 (Ordnance Survey, 1896).*

By 1896 little had changed, with the Rose & Crown pub to the north; Hanover Square to the west; and allotments to the east still marking the extent of the village, with open fields beyond. Hanover Square (along with Hood and Commercial Squares) was one of the squares around which Crowley's original factories were built.

Figure 23: *Winlaton, 1921 (Ordnance Survey, 1921).*

By 1921 whilst the village centre remained unchanged, Blaydon and Shibdon Banks were beginning to be built upon, which was starting to have an impact on the sense of Winlaton as completely separate from its neighbours.

Figure 24: *Winlaton, 1940 (Ordnance Survey, 1940).*

By 1940 new housing around Blaydon Bank, Bleach Green and Shibdon Bank can be seen.
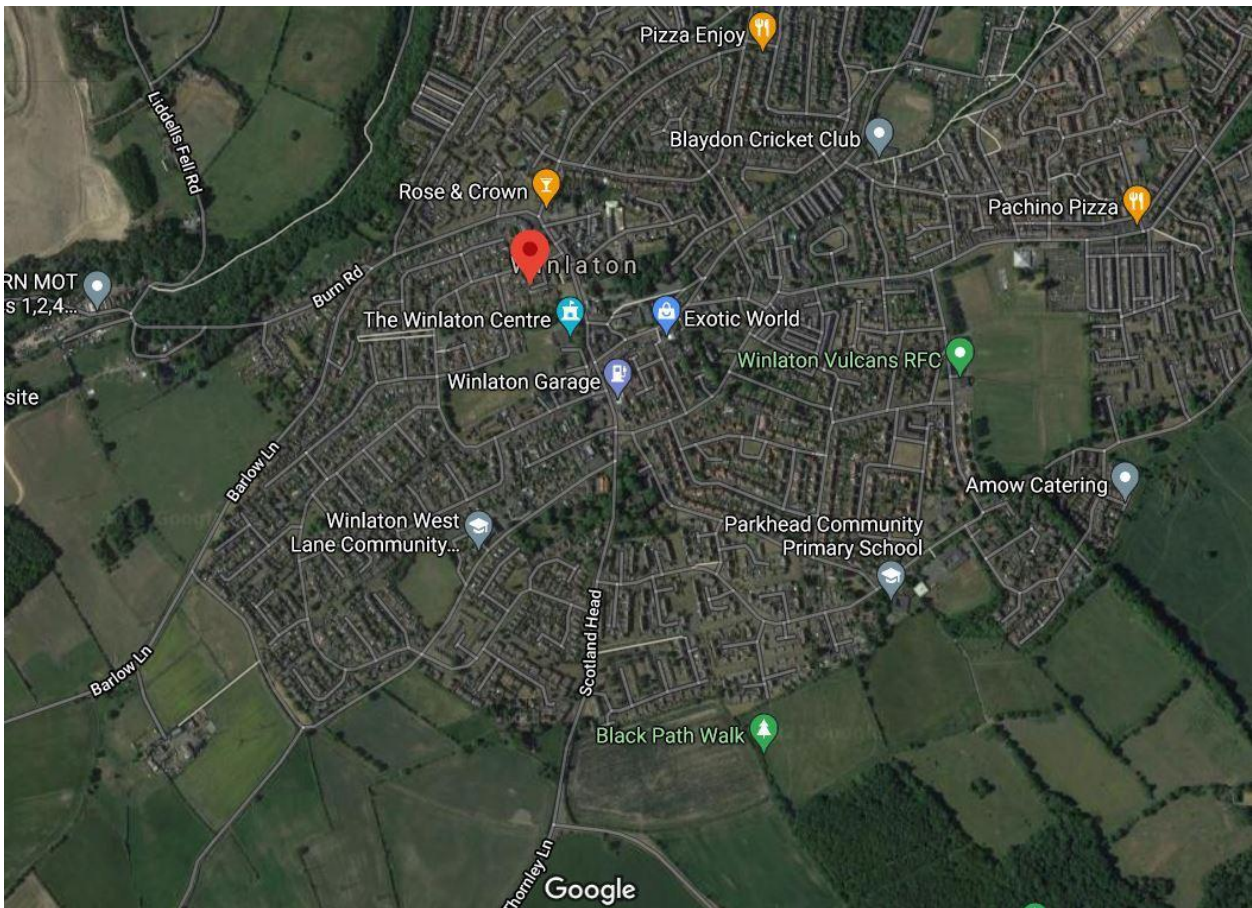
Figure 25: *Winlaton, 2021 (Google, 2021).*

This image shows that there is now no distinct border between Blaydon and Winlaton and the area to the west of the village has been extensively developed. The red pin marks the approximate location of Hanover Square (which no longer exists) and the area to the west of here and west of Scotland Head to the south was built on in the mid-twentieth century for new housing

6.5 Winlaton: The People

The memories Joan (age not given) told me span several places in the Derwent Valley. We met in the *Land of Oak & Iron* Heritage Centre at Winlaton Mill, and she told me about her Great Great Grandfather, who she never knew but who worked at Crawley's factory in Winlaton. She remembered her Great Aunt who lived in Winlaton and together we visited what was once the house of another Great Aunt in Blaydon. Her own memories are focused on Chopwell. She was born in the 1940s and she lived in the village throughout her childhood and into her late teens. We walked around Chopwell together and she told me her memories of childhood and family.

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John (76) has always lived in the Derwent Valley. He showed me the poetry he has written about his childhood in Whickham and Blaydon, in which his thoughts about place feature heavily. Sense of place is clearly a strong part of John's identity and something which he is keen to talk about. I interviewed John at his home in another part of Gateshead, his wife did not want to take part but came to say hello. He talks about the past with real warmth and emotion and a strong sense of empathy for his younger self. He has three children, two of them live locally with their own children and one has moved to the South-East of England.

Bill (90) and Jean (90) live in Winlaton, in the house they moved into in the 1950s when the Hanover Estate was brand new. Bill spent most of his childhood in urban Gateshead, and to him the countryside of the Derwent Valley was a place of escape. Jean, who came to the North-East from the East Midlands as a trainee teacher shares a love of the countryside with her husband and this is something the two of them have passed on to their numerous children and grandchildren, some of whom live locally, though others have travelled and lived across the world. Bill has played a very active role in local politics, focusing on preserving and protecting the natural environment, and the couple continue to spend a great deal of time outdoors in their allotment and on their plot of woodland.

Harold (74) and Val (65) also live on the Hanover Estate. Val has lived in the area since her early childhood, though she was born in Scotland, where she retains strong roots. Harold moved to the area in the late 1970s and they have lived in this house since the late 1980s. Some of their children live close by, though not all, one son lives in Scotland and others live elsewhere in the North-East. Despite living in Winlaton for over 30 years, Harold still describes himself as a stranger.

Mick (72) has always lived in Blaydon and Winlaton and he and his wife have been in their current Winlaton home since before his adult son was born. Mick has found himself more and more interested in local history as he has grown older and has researched his father's side of the family who lived in a community on the river in Blaydon in an area known as The Spike. He has a website on which he shares his

local history research. Mick is interested in music and the natural environment and this is something which dominates conversation when we take a walk in the countryside surrounding nearby Barlow village.

June (69) has always lived in Winlaton and started life in Hood Square, one of the squares first constructed by Crowley. The family later moved to Council housing elsewhere in Winlaton and after getting married June lived for some time on the same street as her grandmother. In the late 1970s she moved with her family to the Hanover Estate, which she had 'watched being built' from the school window. Her two children live locally - her daughter on the same street - and they now both have children of their own. It is clear June values the continuity of staying in the same place and building strong relationships with the people around her. She spoke of her older female relatives building strong bonds with neighbours and it is clear she has done the same.

Chapter 7: Memories of childhood: Shaping identity in the heritage landscape

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores and demonstrates the importance of memories of formative childhood experience in identity creation, as well as in ideas of and attachment to place. In the process, the potential for a present and future oriented understanding of nostalgic feeling is shown. Drawing on ideas from psychology and memory studies it is shown that memory fundamentally shapes how people understand place and landscape in the present. Further, we shall see that it is in the interaction between memories of the past and experience in the present that heritage value is located. In terms of how the research interviews were structured the richness of the material gathered is derived from the focus on memory rather than questions focused on heritage. Whilst concerned in many respects with a time that is 'lost' to participants, the values underpinning these memories speak to a continuity in the structures of feeling (William, 1977) underpinning the memories shared. This sense of continuity is a central feature of enmeshed heritage, which is transmitted via memories of the past which continue to influence the present and the future.

Section 7.2 is concerned with formative childhood experience. The concept of autobiographical memory is explored. The term describes foundational memories which enable individuals to create a positive self-narrative. Many memories shared by participants as part of this study demonstrate feelings about the landscape of home (both the literal home and the wider landscape) as a place of abundance and safety. This is true when participants spoke of both the natural and urban environment. The vignettes and stories chosen can be interpreted through the lens of the concept of episodic memory with key moments or themes being chosen by multiple participants - the fire at home and snowy days in the landscape being two key types of memory - to represent feelings about place in early memory. These formative memories not only tell us about the past but are revealing about value in the present.

In Section 7.3 the loss of intergenerational places of encounter emerges as a theme. Kin, place and labour were deeply enmeshed in the twentieth century working-class

village, and this comes through strongly in the memories shared. Again, safety and recognition are shown to be important to participants and a sense of abundance - this time in terms of the shops and products available in the villages - is communicated by participants. For some older participants this is part of a life review stage of memory but these sentiments are expressed by participants of varying ages, not only those in their later years. It is suggested, drawing on Assmann's concept of communicative memory, that the 'fixed point' around which this kind of informal memory coalesces is geographical not temporal, and that certain places act as a locus for memory even when there is ostensibly little of heritage value in evidence.

In Sections 7.4 and 7.5 an exploration of the idea of the 'widening horizon' and the physical geography of the village of Chopwell show how significance can be found in where the boundaries lie in the formative childhood world. Boundaries in the landscape are shown to be drawn both physically and mentally, conditioned by the ways place is experienced on a day-to-day level. Section 7.5 considers the more rigid and constraining elements of local landscapes and how they can act to 'other' certain groups or individuals, enforcing and reinforcing social status (or lack of).

The memories shared reflect the highly physical and sensory nature of experience in the landscape. This is closely related to their classed nature both in terms of the environment created by the industrial landscape and the highly physical nature of the work being done in close proximity to home life. Importantly, the sense of loss which runs through many of the interviews appears not to be primarily focused on the specifics of deindustrialisation. Instead, it mourns the passing of a way of life associated with thick kinship ties and a specific communal mode of living which is gradually being lost as the community moves further away from its industrial past. This process of managing the half-life of deindustrialisation (Linkon, 2018; see Section 4.3.4), or the ripples of the past in the present, is seen across all age groups. Even the youngest participants feel there is a need to hold on to the heritage of the industrial past, but often lack a sense of how to do this or even the language to articulate exactly what it means.

7.2 Creating a personal narrative: Autobiographical memory, the senses and nostalgia

Being in place is a highly sensory experience, and we tend to use all our senses as we make our way through the landscape. Smells and sounds can trigger unexpected memories and feelings. Many of those interviewed described experiences in the landscape which conjure strong physical images and sensations, and this often from a distance of 50 or 60 years:

> when I was a child me mam used to visit her mother on a regular basis and she used to take me by the hand and we used to go over the Butterfly Bridge and she knew her way through the fields, you know the shortcuts and all that sort of thing […] it was strange because everything was always in season, […] there was [?] farmhouse, used to sell apples and pears and green jacks y'know, and he used to let wer [us] eat the rhubarb for nothing […] so we used to always get a feed on the way y'know, you knew, basically, the way everything was…even in the farmer's fields there was the odd turnip y'know. 'Cos the farmers, wherever a path went through the field they used to always sprinkle a few more seeds because they knew that the crops would always get lifted by the pitmen coming home in the morning…stop people rammaging right out across the fields. (John)

The details of this memory: the touch of his mother's hand and the statement 'everything was always in season', the abundance of the different fruits, all read like a rose tinted cliché of the 'it was always sunny in my childhood' kind. All of these things contribute to the vitality of this memory; yet there is significance in the detail. There is a physicality in the way John talks about the pitmen literally 'lifting' the crops. This, and the word 'rammaging', are very active descriptions that evoke a physical action and a sense of a way of life in which everyday experience was deeply enmeshed within place and landscape. These memories which conjure strong physical images and sensations were described across generations, often innately connected with the landscape and relating to water or snow:

> We used to like going down to the river, er, swimming, even though it was probablys [sic] minging. Remember coming home from the river once just

soaking wet, 'cos you would just go in with your clothes on and getting back and there was a power cut so we couldn't get in the shower. [laughs] (Chloe)

All of wer [us] *went down to the River Derwent there was a place at Lockhaugh where the river was like a little dam and you could swim in it y'know? And she* [family friend] *would take wer all down there and I can remember I had mumps so I was sitting in a bonny coloured dress, summers dress with me cardigan and this big scarf round me neck and I was absolutely sweltering but me mother wouldn't let us take it off and I wasn't allowed to go paddling.* (Val)

So the pit heap went [...] *right along the top here, from* [...the…] *edge of the wood, right the way along, right the way along to Whittonstall, it was just all slag heap right the way across and that was me playground* [...] *It was the only place that I remember as a kid me mam saying 'you don't go up those heaps' because they were death traps really, d'you know what I mean? But as a kid, they were just brilliant, they were just like Disneyland y'know, but just black,* [laughs] *dirty. So, and most kids were the same and I mean we, we used to slide down them on* [...] *anything we could get wer hands on. Old shovels, I've sat on a shovel and slid down. I mean they were just huge, I mean they were absolutely…towered way above the houses and y'know, they were just brilliant, they were just fun. We used to slide down them, winter when they were snowy and it was icy, huh! Brilliant y'know.* (Kate)

These highly sensory memories of a lost time could be described as steeped in nostalgia. Nostalgia is not always easy to define or identify as it can seep into memories and stories, pervading everything about them, or it can pop up unexpectedly and be indulged or dismissed as those doing the remembering choose. But in general, nostalgic memories share some common characteristics. They are often sensory (Atia and Davies, 2010: 184); formative (often relating to childhood or another 'past self'); relating to a small, knowable world; and convey a sense of loss or yearning for something lost (Boym, 2001: 6; Bonnet, 2016: 7). The idea of loss in this context is complex. The tendency to try and 'diagnose' nostalgia, or indeed to

categorise nostalgic feeling into 'good' or 'bad' types of nostalgia (for example Boym's restorative and reflective nostalgias (2010: 41), see Section 4.4.2) is based in the idea that some types of nostalgia reject the present outright in favour of the past, often overlooking hardship or negative elements of the past and focusing on a rose tinted version which never truly existed. As such Atia and Davies write that "nostalgia is always suspect" (2010: 181) and this is indicative of the way both the heritage sector and the academy have traditionally viewed it. Atia and Davis go on to describe it as a "betrayal of memory" (ibid.), which suggests memory is reliable and nostalgia is not, something which is demonstrably not true. What is more convincing is the idea that nostalgia is a form of negotiation (ibid.: 184). An understanding of nostalgia as a negotiation between continuity and discontinuity is reflected in many of the memories shared by participants and the sense of loss and yearning expressed can be put to use in identifying what is of value. This enables those valued aspects of the past to be taken and carried forward, creating an active sense of the future. Understanding nostalgia in this way recognises the complexity of relationships with the past and places the negotiation of change or loss of continuity at the heart of the process of remembering. The vivid and sensory nature of these nostalgic memories is symptomatic of their personal significance.

Some of the older respondents spoke very vividly about the room at home in which the fire was always lit. This was the place the family spent most of their time, where the smells of baking and cooking, washing and smoking, would intermingle and form the basis of life at home. As Robertson notes, "houses, quotidian and vernacular, and the artefactual memories they embody, are one of the most important loci for the performing of heritage from below" (2012: 9) and this was reflected in the memories shared. In the following example the fact that John's Grandfather worked at the colliery meant not only the money to pay for their home and food, but also the provision of abundant coal to keep the fire burning. His work at the colliery therefore was central to the identity of the household and their comfort. The fireplace was the literal and metaphorical centre:

> *the fire never went out, the fire basically was the hub, the washing hung around the fire and the cigarettes were on the mantelpiece and everything*

was there, that was the centrepiece, cos there was no television. The fire. And it never went out. The kettle was always stuck on the fire and the oven was always there with a dish of hot water in and I always remember the dish going into the oven to heat the hot water as well like...and the oven basically was erm, something special. 'Cos it cooked the meal, cooked the bread, cooked everything. But like I say, that fire basically, me Grandfather worked in the colliery so he got his coals so we always had a coal house full of coal so we could always afford to have a big roaring fire on erm, and this is one of the things I missed when we moved to Winlaton Mill. (John)

All these vivid sense memories of childhood point towards the importance of early formative memory in identity creation. This is what psychologists term autobiographical memory and is essentially a process of creating a coherent personal narrative which locates the individual in time as well as place. More than just a process of telling stories or memories chosen at random, the memories chosen to be shared are indicative of the fact that autobiographical memory "moves beyond recall of experienced events to integrate perspective, interpretation, and evaluation across self, other, and time to create a personal history" (Fivusch, 2011: 560). Being able to create these strong personal narratives and locate one's identity within a place or community is accepted as being a crucial part of developing wellbeing in older adults (ibid.: 576). This process is also inherently social, something which will be explored further in Chapter Eight.

The strength and vividness of these memories was often spoken about in a way which was unmatched when speaking about life in the present, or even in talking about adult memories at a distance of decades. In a study drawing on experiences at a Heritage Centre based on themes of working-class heritage, Bella Dicks (2004) writes about the ways in which visitors react as they view exhibitions which offer perspectives of the past that encourage them to encounter specific versions of themselves as 'other'. The continuum she uses to represent the different self/other relations that can be set up by heritage are useful in this context:

self

- memories of the past adult self (adult-self)
- memories of the past child self (child-self)
- memories of stories told by relatives of *their* memories (ancestor-self)
- histories of the lives of ancestors (local and oral history)
- histories of other people and other cultures (public history)
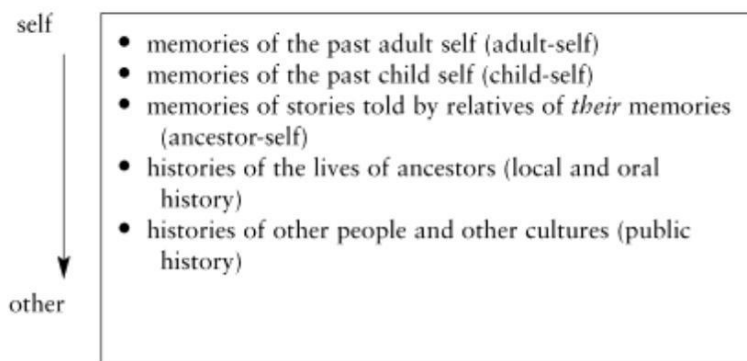
other

Figure 26: *Self/other visitor relations set up in heritage displays (Dicks, 2004:127).*

The child-self and ancestor-self are the two categories which participants in this thesis were most keen to talk about and reflect on, and what Dicks notes from her research is that in the setting of the heritage centre people viewing this type of heritage are the most demanding of authenticity and experiential detail. This keenness for a vivid experience is reflected in the ways in which people spoke about their memories, with a focus on detail and sense memory, and relishing in detail points to some of the hallmarks of nostalgic feeling. Dicks shows how these two viewpoints of the past (child-self and ancestor-self) are particularly well positioned to tap into "easy resonances with already formed imaginations" (Dicks, 2004: 129). Sensory experiences and knowable worlds are key parts of the framework of these imaginations: they become a resource from which people can draw to present memories which fit the overall narrative they have (to a large extent unconsciously) created (see Chapter 8.2 on deep memory and schematic narrative templates).

This links to the concept of episodic memory, which is defined as a specific memory of an individual experience. In contrast to semantic memory, the term which describes the ability for objective recall of facts outside of our own experience; episodic memory arises from our own experience of time and place, what Tulving refers to as "mental time travel" (1993: 67). The idea that autobiographical memory enables individuals to create a personal narrative of self suggests that the memories participants choose to share are not random, but hold significance in what they say about the life story and identity of the individual. They are episodic memories, highly detailed, conveying exactly the sense of mental time travel to which Tulving refers, as participants shared the vivid and sensory experience of being in place. Schacter

and Addis (2020) note that "episodic memory can produce memory errors that result from mis-combining elements of past experiences or confusing imagined or actual events" (pp. 112) and this is important to consider. In the memories of individuals three snowy days can become one hyper-real snowy day and this effect can be amplified by shared remembering. These stories can tap into and reinforce Dicks' 'already formed imaginations'.

Considering these highly sensory childhood memories as autobiographical memory or episodic memory demonstrates the importance of formative memories in identity creation. Adding the prism of nostalgia demonstrates the complexity of relationships with the past and how these understandings of personal and social memory influence feelings about the present and visions of the future. The importance of autobiographical memory as having a directive function, in that it enables "use of the past to make plans and decisions in the present and for the future" is highlighted by Bluck (2010: 115) and has direct implications for understanding nostalgic feeling. Writing about oral histories of childhood drawn from interwar Britain, Sally Alexander characterises early memories as revealing "the foundations of the conscious, continuous self in a mix of fantasy, bodily feeling, family story, and the local landscape - all figments of the imagination" (2010: 243). This points to the illusory nature of formative memories, no one can be sure that their memories of childhood are 'accurate' but they come to signify something about our identities both on an individual and collective level. What is remembered and how it is shared reflects the needs of the present and impacts on how we imagine the future. Whether these memories are considered nostalgic or not is based as much in the needs and wants of the present as in any fundamental characteristic or property of the specific memory. These formative sense worlds are remembered individually, but they also form part of the socially constructed processes and the formative worlds of childhood, shaped by the external facts of the landscape. The next section considers how the external landscape not only shapes our understanding of the world but impacts on how people relate to one another in place.

7.3 The loss of the urban environment and 'places of encounter'

For many of those I interviewed, the street was the first 'world' they knew, and this was the case in both Winlaton and Chopwell. The small, knowable world of the street was filled with 'street aunties', blood relatives, and children to play with. It was a world that relied on thick kinship relationships based on proximity and shared experience. People relied on one another because they had to, and it was something which could be taken for granted. Whilst this sounds like a cliché, for many it was true; certainly, for all of those I interviewed to a greater or lesser extent. Memories of this way of life were often linked to a strong sense of loss of the urban or semi-urban environment, particularly shops and the culture of the daily shopping trip. People spoke wistfully about the array of different produce that could be bought in the villages, and crucially, the social aspect of going to the shops, where you were likely to interact with many people you knew. This landscape of encounter would usually have included friends of parents and grandparents, as well as friends of one's own, with kinship ties being multi-layered and interlinked. There is a strong sense of loss attached to these memories, most of those who talked about this phenomenon felt it was no longer a feature of their life:

> In the Mill [Winlaton Mill], [sighs] it's completely changed now. When I was a kid it was a lively little village with plenty of shops, there was the Co-op there was a Post Office there was a butcher's, hairdresser's, there was a wool shop, there was a little corner shop, y'know, you didn't have to go out of the village to do your shopping and that's how I remember. (Val)

> Winlaton was Winlaton then. (June)

This feeling of loss of the urban landscape was also expressed in relation to other places, for example John talked about a recent visit to Newcastle, where he felt that "this isn't my wonderful city...this is not what it was meant to be". In the past he remembers the urban landscape as buzzing and exciting, a "wonderful adventure" now it is disappointing and shoddy, a pale reflection of what it once was. This mirrors the way others talked about the loss of Derwent Street in Chopwell and the

old centres of Blaydon and Winlaton which were redeveloped in the 1960s, which is a source of real sadness:

> *I was attached to the old Blaydon Town Centre that was all cleared in the late '60s, I think the locals feel sad about that. I think there was quite a move in those days to modernise and get rid of old housing and outside loos and all that but Blaydon was, it was quite ruthless really the way Blaydon was cleared but I have quite a lot of memories about the old town and the backstreets and shops here and there, terraced houses and the main shopping area, which was all cleared.* (Mick)

This idea of a 'ruthless' other, the local council, coming in and 'modernising' hints at a ruthlessness towards the people as well as the place. Things of value were lost along with the buildings and it was a process over which local people had no control. There is a way of talking about these lost urban spaces which is characterised by people listing the variety of products that could be bought there:

> *You used to have a baker's, used to have cobbler's, we used to have a drapery store, we used to have an electrics store. Could buy wallpaper and paints, there was a fish shop where you could get like fresh wet fish, there was fish and chip shops, there was about three butcher's shops.* (Kate)

> *This isn't my wonderful city...no shoe shops, no wallpaper shops.* (John)

> Margaret: *"We had the grocers, we had the shops, we had the Blaydon Co-op and the Leadgate Co-op, Annfield Plain Co-op, and there was a McCarnival and McAvoys (?), there was a Meadow Dairy, there was a Wanda (?) Wilson's, all those shops down the main street, there was a shoe shop, there was a drapery, and there was a shoe shop, electric shop... Wallpaper shop. All in Chopwell."*

> Amanda: *"And now you're down to three shops. There was a proper wet fish shop."*

Marie: "Yeah, two butchers, there was three butchers actually wasn't there?"

This abundance of shops and products conjures an abundance of experience, an abundance of memory, too much to be contained, more than can be described. In the minds of these participants the streets are rebuilt. There was something particularly vivid and sensory about the way these environments are remembered, and as they remembered, it was as if they were walking down the streets again, tasting the food - *"the fish was lovely, when you cut in it was slices of white fish, beautiful…but it's not the same now is it?"* (Margaret).

This type of remembering was for some of the older participants part of what has been termed a life-review stage in which individuals go through a process of coming to terms with the past in the last part of life. The idea of the life-review stage and its importance developed from the milestone work of Robert Butler (Kavanagh, 2000: 37). His 1963 paper on the life-review stage challenged the contemporary view at the time that reminiscence in older people should be discouraged. The work of Butler (1963) and Rose Duborf is credited with changing mainstream perceptions of the meaning of reminiscence (Bornat, 2012: 203), along with Erikson's influential concept of eight life-stages, including the late-life stage in which the individual looks back on the past as "a means of coming to terms with the life allotted" (Erikson, 1950; cited in Kavanagh, 2000: 36). Whilst this is not a universally positive process this tendency to reflect on one's life in later years is recognised as something many people experience. But the participants who talked about the loss of the urban landscape in this study were not all of the same age or generation and so this internal personal process of remembering may not always serve the same purpose. Whilst on the surface there is a sense of loss expressed for very specific physical elements of the landscape, this loss represents a wider loss of places of encounter, of social places where the village can come together and feel like a coherent place in terms of its community. The term 'places of encounter' is used to reflect the messy and unpredictable nature of the social interactions described and the fact that these interactions happened in geographically specific places. In these villages these

interactions happened as part of everyday life and they involved large networks of people simply by virtue of the fact they all lived in the same place. Much more than the loss of a shop or cafe for its own sake, the loss of places of encounter represents the loss of a communal way of living, another element of the industrial structure of feeling which is lost in the post-industrial era.

The once abundant shops are now gone, people shop differently and specifically in ways that reduce the kind of accidental encounters described by many participants:

> *Me mam was a notorious talker, she was just one of these people who - probablys* [sic] *like me, I've took after her - so me mam would go shopping cos you shopped in the village you didn't go out the village so she would go over the shops and it was just like the hub of the village so people would just be, there would be literally, you know when you see these old pictures of people just nattering on corners, that's kind of what they did, y'know. I've, me dad's actually sent me over, 'go and see where your mam's at, go and get her, she's getting me tabs and she hasn't brought them home' and I had to go looking for her 'cos she'd been gone like two hours y'know and she'd only gone to the shop for bread or something.* (Kate)

The supermarket/retail park and the car have removed the sensory experience of high street shopping and whilst people recognised this and acknowledge they do not use shops in the village there is still a great sadness around the loss. Further opportunities for social interaction were provided by the cinemas, dance halls and clubs which provided space - and crucially intergenerational space - to meet. Many of these venues have now disappeared and even the younger participants expressed regret at these changes:

> *The Hotel* [Chopwell Hotel]. *It used, well, it's a shame it's shut. I can remember going there as well and we had good times but that, and the Top Club, that shut before I was old enough to go out but I can remember like me Grandma and Grandad, me mam me dad, everyone went to the Top Club it*

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was like the place to be. I think that's where a lot of people met as well like a lot of couples. (Chloe)

All these places were very important in the social life of the villages, but the street was the central focus of interaction and social relations. For children in particular, the world of your own street was what mattered the most:

It [your social life] *was even contained to streets to be honest y'know like I was in Clyde Street and Forth Street was opposite and we were like called the Clyders and the Forthers* [laughs] [...] *and then there was Trent Street and they were the Trenters.* (Kate)

These worlds were felt to be inclusive (whether that was the reality or not), everyone in the street could be involved and in many ways the world of the street culture as remembered in these interviews was very intergenerational. One person remembered that some days *"you just played in your street with your, the people in your street, whatever age. So there could be 11-year-olds to 15, 16-year-olds playing cricket, or whatever"* (Kate). This again reflects the fact that these kinship ties were often built on relationships not just between individuals but on those of parents and grandparents. Whilst non-family kin were very important in the social make up of these places, individual family names and relationships were important markers. If you knew someone's brother or sister or cousin or mum then you understood they were part of the same system, you understood 'how things worked'. For example, during the interviews it became apparent that two of the family groups were related. When asked about this it took Marie's family group, collectively, some time to work out how they were actually related, although they knew they were. This represented a link between two fairly 'prominent' Chopwell families (in that the surnames were, and continue to be, common in the village). Others identified similar 'well known' family names in Winlaton. This idea that certain families are 'of' the place was explicitly articulated by one participant who described the family as "intrinsic" (Sarah) to the place: so enmeshed as to be inseparable. People's experience of place could not, in many ways, be separated from their relationships with the people in it, *"you called everyone Auntie and Uncle y'know. You knocked on anybody's door. And er,*

you played with everybody [...] *you knew everybody. You knew...your parents'*
friends, your Grandparents' friends" (June). You not only knew these people, you
also knew you could rely on them. To this end when June's family and their
neighbours were being rehomed by the Council, the two women refused to go unless
they were given houses next door to one another. They met when they moved into
their first homes, both at the start of their adult/married lives and they moved
together and remained neighbours until the end of their lives, "*they were next door*
neighbours the whole of their married lives" (June). Thus, what started out as a
chance relationship based on proximity became a close kinship relationship which
both women relied on and valued for decades.

In this setting the type of memory Jan Assmann defines as 'communicative' (as
opposed to 'cultural') is embedded; "a joke, a memory, a bit of gossip, or an
experience" (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 127). All become part of a tapestry of
memory which is not fixed in time but part of a bigger whole, enmeshed in a more
expansive 'past' where "memory and experience [do] not begin at birth" (Alexander,
2010: 244) but stretch back and forward between generations. Assmann asserts that
communicative memory's most important feature is its limited temporal horizon, "the
communicative memory offers no fixed point which would bind it to the ever-
expanding past in the passing of time" (ibid.). There is, to a greater or lesser extent,
an implicit value judgement within this distinction, a belief that cultural memory is
"more compelling" (Olick, 2011: 209) because of what it tells us about the values of
a society as a whole. This reflects some of the common critiques of oral history as
being too based in the parochial and not focused enough on society as a whole and
perhaps points to the undervaluing of informal remembering which exists outside of
more 'top down' cultural remembering. This criticism highlights the idea that a focus
on individual and personal experience obscures structural processes and de-
politicises the past. But this analysis perhaps misses the importance of the handed
down, everyday memories that Assmann terms 'communicative memory' in that it
does not recognise the potential for dissonance and resistance to the wider norms
inherent in 'cultural memory' (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 129). Assmann's fairly
dismissive consideration of communicative memory underplays its importance. Whilst
it may have less longevity it reveals something of what is happening beneath the

surface of what cultural memory seeks to communicate. There can be significance in the places where the two memory types rub up against one another. Examining what falls away and is denied admittance to the cultural memory 'store' and as such remains within a more folklore-ish, oral storytelling realm gives clues to underlying values which are marginalised in the narratives of cultural memory. The term communicative memory is useful when working with heritage from below as it reflects some of the vibrancy of the processes and interactions involved in creating memory, all of which are deeply enmeshed in the thick kinship relationships based on place and proximity.

Although this phenomenon has certainly changed over time and the thickness of these relationships has reduced, it is perhaps not such a complete transformation as most participants assume. The youngest person interviewed felt there is still a strong sense of community in Chopwell and that she knows many of the people in the village, though in a much-reduced way than her parents or grandparents experienced,

> *I think a lot of people work outside* [the village]*, so I see my neighbours like once a month if that, like you don't see a lot of people when you're working full time, so I think that's kind of, like me grandma didn't work full time, it's different times.* (Chloe)

Tellingly, this individual is a fourth generation Chopwell 'native'. It is unlikely that more recent incomers would express the same feelings about village identity, and even more tellingly, I was unable to recruit any recent incomers to participate in the research.

The tiny world of the street is extremely significant in the memories of many of those interviewed. However, the way that some of the participants talked about their childhood experiences suggests something of a contradiction. It includes both a sense of the smallness of a world which it is possible to master and in which these individuals felt completely safe and the boundless possibilities of play in a landscape in which they were given no boundaries. The world was small, but they had a lot of

freedom within it. They would walk home from school through woods or fields and be left to their own devices for whole days. Twenty-first century children and young people may have more varied experiences and travel further afield but they are likely to be accompanied or chaperoned as they do it. This tension between freedom and boundaries was at play in several interviews and this sense of freedom is frequently juxtaposed with the perceived negative experience of children and grandchildren now:

> *When I look back it was idyllic because we had wer freedom, whereas I wouldn't let my grandchildren do half the things I did. I mean climbing trees and things like that, boys should do that or girls should do that. They should be put into certain dangers so that they can learn. But you know the way the law is now you cannet do that.* (Val)

> *You would be out all day taking jam sandwiches, we used to play in the river, I wouldn't dream of letting my kids do that!* (Amanda)

June recounted a story about how she and her daughter had gone through a process of 'teaching' her grandson to get the bus to school, in preparation for starting Senior School. There was a certain disbelieving tone in her voice even as she told the story, like she could not quite believe it was something she was having to do with an 11-year-old, but she also recognised the challenge it posed for him. Highlighting the fact that in travelling by bus he would not even speak to the driver, instead simply using his electronic pass, she hinted at the reasons people feel such unease about giving children the freedom they once had. The safety net of reliable friendly adults - people you might know by sight, who might know your Grandma or your Auntie, to whom you might even be distantly related - is much less present in our urban landscapes than it once was, and that presents challenges for everyone, not only children. The two stories here demonstrate the change, first June's story of helping her Grandson followed by the very different childhood experience of the second respondent:

Me Grandson's 11 and he's going to Whickham School, he hadn't been anywhere without parents so in the six weeks holidays we did trial runs. We did ones where we took him to the Metro [MetroCentre] *and then it was this is the number you get, this is where you get off and he would be with me, and then his mam did one where she took him to the bus stop with his friend, she watched them get on the bus and then she went to the Metro and she was waiting for them to get off the bus, then we did one where I had to put them on the bus, I would get off at Blaydon and then they would be totally on their own. We did trial runs through the six weeks holidays* [...] *now they don't talk to the driver, they flash their card and things like that, you used to have to say if you were going to Blaydon, Blaydon please so the driver knew you would be getting off at Blaydon, they don't say anything now, you don't talk to the driver* […] *everything's different.* (June)

Marie: "*We went to St Thomas More at Blaydon and at that point the buses didn't come to Chopwell, so they used to stop at High Spen and you used to, well our school buses didn't...so you used to have to get a second bus from High Spen to Chopwell.*"

Margaret: "*An ordinary service bus.*"

Marie: "*An ordinary service bus, so we all used to get off at Hookergate and walk through the wood, and spend that bit of the money* [laughs]"

There is a perception here that children and young people have lost a mastery and understanding of the landscape which older participants were able to claim. Those participants who enjoyed wider boundaries as children are largely confident in the landscape as adults, for example, despite saying she drives everywhere and does not walk to the shops, Sarah is completely at ease in the urban landscape and in Chopwell Wood, saying *"I honestly feel there is nowhere I can't go."* The loss of places of encounter, and the thick kinship ties of street and village have paradoxically made the worlds of children in the villages smaller, as without the perception of a

community of eyes looking out for them, they are not considered safe to roam. For many participants, part of the heritage of the village is gained from spending time there unsupervised and coming to understand it through their own experiences in place. This is something that appears lost (or at least is perceived as lost) to younger generations, whose worlds are defined by cars and organised activities. The next section considers the idea of the widening horizon, the moment when we look beyond the home and the street, and how this experience can shape memory and ideas of place.

7.4 The world beyond the village: defining boundaries

The previous section demonstrated the significance of the small, knowable world as articulated by participants, often drawing on childhood experiences. Consciously or unconsciously these 'tiny worlds' lay down a blueprint for the ways that place is experienced, as well as conjuring vivid 'memory maps' for many of those interviewed. People remembered whole streets, vivid vistas of memory in which even the smallest details are imprinted on their minds. But the moment of the eyes lifting to the horizon and the world beyond home opening up is perhaps as important as the first tiny world of experience. How and when the wider world is revealed to us has an impact on the way we see the world and our place in it.

Two participants share memories that demonstrate different, almost opposite, experiences of the widening horizon in Winlaton. For John, Winlaton, and his grandmother's home in Whickham where he spent the first years of his life, hold a tremendous emotional pull and are vivid in his memory. He has written poetry about his feelings of connection with place in the Derwent Valley and the way he talked of himself as a child is very poignant, *"every morning at half past eight we used to stand outside the Co-op store and the two buses used to pull up and us little guys used to get on"*. This use of 'us little guys' betrays a sympathy for himself as a tiny person in a big world, he talked about his child-self as a fragile little person and seems to have strong feelings for the person he once was. In one of his poems he writes: *"on reaching five and starting school, was such a wrench and oh so cruel / I remember letting go of mother's hand, the teacher's word was now command."* The fact he chose to read this poetry as part of the interview demonstrates the

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importance of these memories and feelings to him. He explicitly articulates the literal pull of the land on which he lived (and continues to live), and the importance of this specific place in the landscape which exists 'between two rivers' in his poem of the same name: "*This is the land that we love…This is the air that we breathe / And the only stones that we've ever known are the stones of home…"* going on to say "*there's a strong sense of earthy belonging."* But despite this pull of home, he did feel drawn to the horizon, the same poem goes on to talk about how, as he got older, "*the picture was getting bigger, the stage was set / An appetite and hunger I'll never forget."*

In contrast, for Bill the Derwent Valley *was* the land over the horizon. He grew up in industrial Bensham and talks about the vivid war time memories he has of cycling over to the Derwent and surrounding area and spending time in the natural environment:

> *So I lived in Gateshead, Bensham, until about 1957, but I knew of this place, I knew of Lockhaugh because we used to camp, come up and camp during the war down by the river by Lockhaugh Farm. That was great, and I thought this is fantastic 'cos during the war you couldn't go anywhere, my horizons was the hillside I could see out the front door and Lockhaugh was a shangri-la miles away and I came up here and I thought it was lovely.* (Bill)

He ended up moving to and living his entire adult life on the housing estate in Winlaton that was built on the very fields where he used to camp. His experiences, in particular years of dedication to protecting the natural environment through campaigning for designations and opposing development on local sites, demonstrate he is very grounded in place, yet he describes himself as an explorer. He is interested in nature in and of itself and gives the impression that he would have become an activist and advocate for the natural environment wherever he lived. But he lives here.

For Bill there is a contrast between his being so rooted in one place and spending so much of his energy protecting it, with a sense of adventure and wanting to see as

much of the world as he can, which is something that can be traced back to his childhood and teenage years:

> *We always used to go roaming to Silver Hill* [...] *from Sunniside and Kibblesworth that area there. But I'd never been over the hill until I got a bicycle one Christmas and I cycled to Kibblesworth and I cycled beyond Kibblesworth and I saw a town - Stanley - a church tower* [gasps theatrically] *and the world…*

In many ways Bill and his wife express the least attachment to their local area of any of the participants, but he has an encyclopaedic knowledge of the woodlands and waterways of the Derwent Valley; he knows every designation, every planning application for 40 or 50 years. Bill's love of the landscape appears to come as a reaction to living in a densely populated urban area as a child, his rejection of city life to move to a more rural location being a conscious decision about the kind of life he chose to live. In contrast, John's feeling of connection to the landscape appears more elemental - he was born here, it is all he has ever known, and because of this connection it is inevitable that he will love and treasure it.

The boundaries of our worlds are shifting and changing and are based on different phases of our lives. This shifting sense of the 'size' of the world over time and generations is often related to schools. The oldest respondents I spoke to did all their schooling in their own villages, but as time went on the local village schools closed and children were required to travel further. There was a further split for those who attended Catholic schools. For some, the realisation that they did not 'know everyone' was a shock:

> *in my first class in the senior school at 11 year old there was people I didn't know which I couldn't believe, but they were from the Mill, and they'd gone to the Infants, Junior School at Blackhall Mill, so they come and…it was like, I didn't know them 'til they come to that school, which I couldn't believe 'cos I thought just, y'know we all knew everybody.* (Kate)

June's experience demonstrates the shift of boundaries over time as she describes a walk she would do as a child, and how this expanded as she became a teenager and was 'courting' and then expanded further to the pub in the village when she started going out drinking with her friends:

And you would walk round, it's er, literally when you go out of our lane you turn, take the left, follow the road round and then you take a right and you go slightly down a slope, so its left then right and then it's a hill, and you'll see all the fields and there's, just as you come to a junction, there's this big tree. And it's still called 'the big tree'. And you would get as far as the tree and then you walked this way home, which was past your school and down, you would go for a walk. Then when you were courting you would go further, so that nobody saw you [laughs] *yeah you would go further and you would go up Norman's Riding it used to be a TB hospital years and years ago, when you get to the big tree, they've built a housing estate you can just see it before they pulled down the hospital, it was a hospital, TB, and then it was a nursing home and me mam used to work there, and you used to go for a walk, up er, past Norman's Riding, along to Barlow and then down Barlow Lane and around and that was your further walk* [...] *If you missed the bus to go up to Barlow, we used to drink in the Black Horse when we were 18, 20, 22. So we used to walk up to - summers nights we'd walk up, winter you would jump on the bus y'know we used to walk up here, cut through the go over*

But the world expanding is not just about the widening horizon and the individual looking (or exploring) outwards, but also about who is allowed in. When June bought a house on the Hanover Estate others in Winlaton expressed concern over who she would be living amongst - "*this estate had a bit of a reputation with people in Winlaton because there was lots of people, not just Winlaton people, people from Newcastle and all over.*" Not only was June's world bigger but even Winlaton itself was becoming bigger and less knowable, the thickness of the kin relationships was being diluted. And of course, as people arrive, others leave.

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This issue of people leaving is felt by many to have become more pronounced as time has gone on. All those I spoke to had friends and family who had moved elsewhere across generations and time but there was a general feeling that children are more likely to move away than they used to, often for university, and may well not come back. There is a class element to this which was hinted at in one of the interviews with two long-term, but incomer, residents:

"Some don't go away though."

"Some don't go away, quite a lot…"

"Cos we've had a bit of a joke about this, about the Chopwell population, I mean some of our daughter, our youngest daughters' friends have never been to uni or anything and they're really happy just to stay here and do what they do…"

The phrase 'we have a bit of a joke about this, about the Chopwell population' is quite loaded. The idea that the 'indigenous' population are happy to stay in the village in contrast to the perhaps more mobile, less place-attached (more affluent?) offspring of incomers is considered worthy of comment. Without meaning to be unkind to the participants - this was not a remark made in a mean-spirited way - the fact it was felt to be worth mentioning is revealing. In contrast, their own children have found careers that have taken them away from the village - *"they, y'know, they love the North-East and they love the Derwent Valley but Chopwell itself, they won't come back."* This can be contrasted with what Chloe (daughter of parents and grandparents from Chopwell) says about her reasons for staying in the village,

I think people from Chopwell think it's like a really lovely place to live like it's so close to everything, we've got, it's like rural, like you've got the wood and stuff and you've got like 20 minutes away from the Metro [Centre]*, from town, like it doesn't take long to get into bigger places with more facilities.*

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Rather than seeing it's rurality as a negative, she thinks its location is convenient and it has the further benefit of being beautiful, a beauty that comes at least in part from its remoteness. Both Chloe and Sarah, her aunt, had the benefit of going away and coming back, which they both found to be a positive experience, but neither one of them found it difficult to reintegrate on their return. It is worth considering whether the children who 'won't come back' will still find the influence of the places they lived as children eventually come to shape their ideas about where they want to live as adults. Sarah and Chloe came back to the village where they spent their childhoods and whilst not everyone who leaves will do the same, perhaps, like Julie, the echoes of those places will draw them to somewhere similar. Julie spent part of her childhood in a rural village and gravitated back to a similar 'type' of place saying, *"I'm a country girl at heart"*.

Much of what is valued about the landscape by participants is the chance they have to move freely in place and spend unstructured time in both the urban and natural environments. But not all parts of the landscape are welcoming, and some are actively designed to create boundaries and keep people apart. The final section considers some of the ways the geography of the village can work to enforce social structures and limit horizons.

7.5 The landscape as an expression of social status: how place creates insiders and outsiders

The preceding sections have shown how participants remember their interactions with place in their formative years. This has demonstrated changing perceptions of place and complex feelings of loss and yearning for the past. This section is concerned with the ways that places can exert control over the people who live in them. This can be subtle or obvious, but the shape of the places we live - the street layouts, topography and location - moulds the way we exist on a day-to-day level and how we see ourselves 'in place'. It gives us a sense of what is possible and what landscape is 'for'. The memories shared in both Chopwell and Winlaton demonstrate that place can be an intrinsic part of identity and that the qualities of places can be reflected in the thoughts and feelings of the people who live there.

John: "*He* [dad] *was from Swalwell*"

Interviewer: "*Do you think there was lots of movement between, I mean now it's all kind of merging into one place isn't it, but they would have been proper villages in those days?*"

John: "*Oh that's right.*"

I: "*Was there lots of movement between them?*"

John: "*And them villages had their own identity.*"

I am quite conscious that it's very insular, really insular [...] *It's very small here, really small, er, and I do think it has an effect on you, not good or bad, but of course it does if you're brought up in a small village as opposed to a big town. I definitely have more of a sense of belonging, from here, than I think I would of if I'd ever been brought up in a town, I can't imagine what it must be like if you don't know people* [...] *I look out of here, in this street and y'know, I know half the people, I've known half the people here all me life. So...which is a bit weird...I know it's not normal.* (Sarah)

Many of the participants interviewed were born and have lived in the same place all their lives. In the two villages this means something slightly different; Chopwell is more contained than Winlaton in the sense that, being a relatively 'new' place, most residents moved there to work in or around the mine and never left. There is some movement between Chopwell and Blackhall Mill just down the hill, but in the main, those I spoke to had moved around within Chopwell but not much further; their lives and personal histories are fully enmeshed within the village. In Winlaton new housing was built to replace older poor-quality housing, first at Parkhead Estate which was Council housing, and then in the 1950s the large (private) Hanover Estate was built and the village became home to larger numbers of people from (slightly) further afield. People moved there from old fashioned and unmodernised housing not just in Winlaton but also Blaydon, Winlaton Mill and the surrounding areas. As the

quotes above suggest, both places, and the people who live in them, are perceived to have qualities which are specific to them, and the experience of living in those places in particular plays a role in shaping the identities of the people who live there.

The 'newness' of Chopwell and its specific purpose as a village created to service the pit make its physical layout a map of its function, and this has a specifically class-based dimension. One participant took time to explain the layout. This particular individual is a long-term resident, but an 'incomer', giving them a specific perspective on the geography of the place, with significant insider knowledge but some of the objectivity of an outsider:

> *These were the River Streets, where the pitmen proper lived* [blue on the map]; *down here in West Chopwell I suppose and a bit of Whittonstall which is this bit up here was where the craftsmen lived, the electricians, slightly better houses, just slightly better, and they're sort of later* [green on the map]; *and these are the Council houses so erm, those were in the '20s when those were built you know, hence the Marx Terrace and Lenin Terrace and things like that* [orange on the map]. *So, erm, there's social stratification so it may be that the social stratification was still there, is still there in some people's minds*
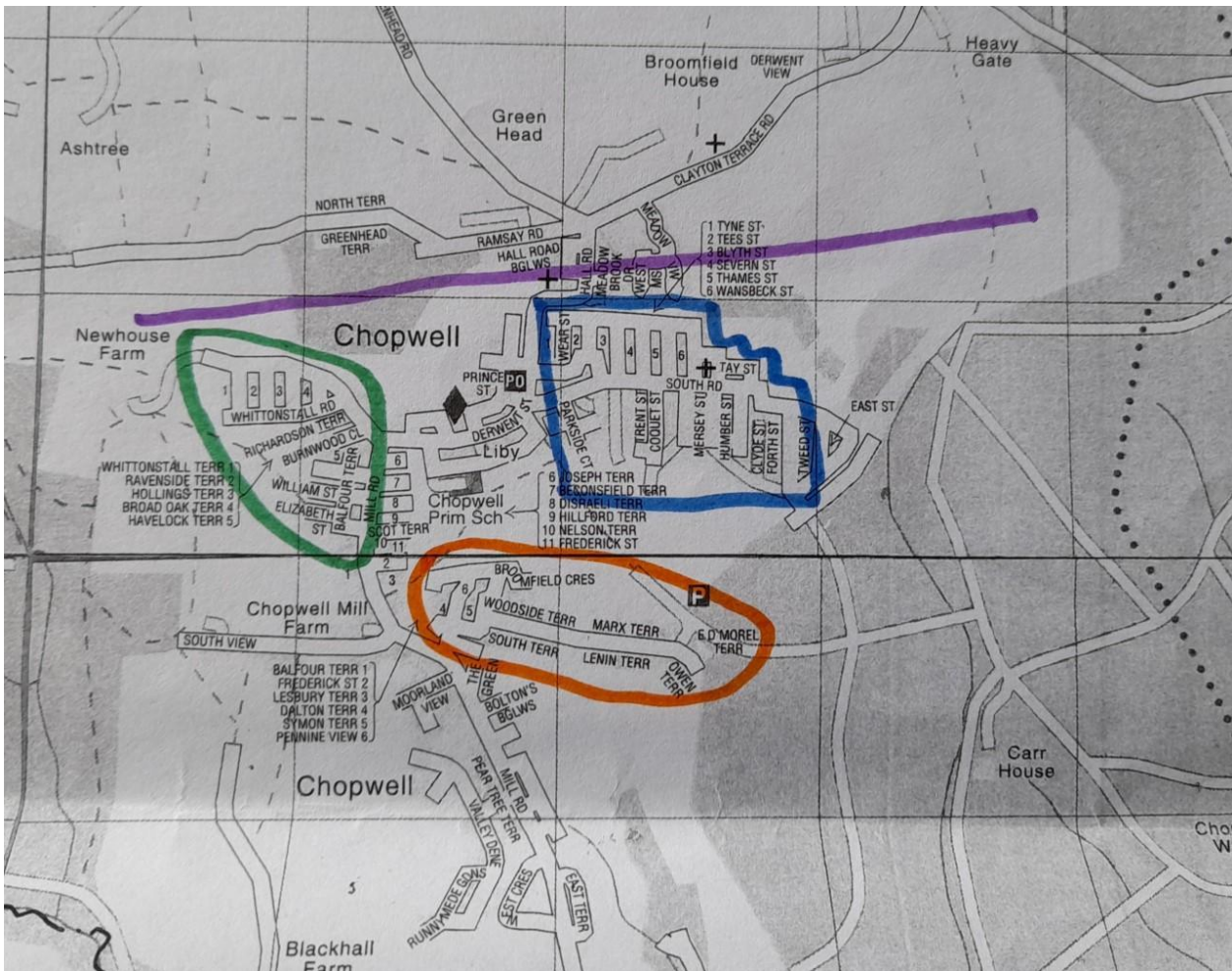
Figure 27: *Chopwell with housing types as described by Steve.*
The colliery streets are marked in blue; craftsmen and artisan homes in green; 1920s
council housing in orange and the route of the colliery railway marked in purple.

The purple line on the map shows the approximate route of the railway line and the
pit heaps which bordered the north end of the colliery streets. Above this line, on
Ramsay Road is the Chopwell Officials Club, or The Gaffers as it is known. This was
the social club for the managers of the colliery and it was at this end of the village
the 'bosses' tended to live, literally on the other side of the tracks. These boundaries
separating 'types' of people and 'types' of housing persist. The colliery streets hold a
central place in the mythology of the village and could be described as an example of
what Margalit (2002) terms 'shared' memory. Margalit distinguishes between
'common' memory, which is merely an aggregation of individual memories and
'shared' memory, where these memories reach a kind of 'tipping point' and begin to
be more standardised. The Streets have taken on such a symbolic role in the village
that certain tropes are repeated, which leads to a kind of smoothing out of the edges

of memory, where people focus on key narratives or stories which consolidate a fixed view of the place in the past (Margalit, 2002: 50). Everyone interviewed who had grown up in Chopwell had lived in what they refer to as 'The Streets' at some point in their lives, some in multiple homes. However, all of them had moved elsewhere, either to what is described in the above quote as the craftsmen's housing or to new build houses. The Streets have come to be symbolic of the decline of the village, with much discussion of the 'issue' of The Streets, where absentee landlords and 'problem tenants' are a focal point for discussing the decline of the village.

The status of The Streets is explicitly linked to ideas of working-class heritage and a strong work ethic, reflecting the way place, class and community are deeply enmeshed through a shared past. The strong link between The Streets and the working-class culture of the village is demonstrated by this comment in which the participant rejects the neutralisation of the connection with the mine, she talks about the

> *Colliery Streets, people call them the River Streets, I never knew them as the River Streets that's a new thing to me, we always called them the Colliery Streets or the pit houses, that's what they were as we were brought up.*
> (Kate)

The perceived decline of these streets is therefore given a moral meaning, symbolising for many the decline in the morals and the work ethic of those who live in them. There is a distinct othering process here, with people keen to express their disapproval of those being 'brought in' who are blamed for allowing the decline of the area, these people are not 'from here', they are 'strangers' and this is used to explain their disregard for the village. However, anecdotally it was suggested that more of the people living in these properties are 'Chopwell natives' than most would be keen to acknowledge. One respondent said that having talked to someone who knew the area well he was told he knew the parents and grandparents of most of the 'troublemakers'. There is a complex process of othering and inclusion at play here which is used to legitimate not only the perceived decline of place, but also negative feelings felt towards those 'to blame'.

In terms of Chopwell's place in the *Land of Oak & Iron*, or in the wider county, the village's location contributes to a complex sense of identity for those who live there, allowing it to other itself whilst also feeling itself othered. Its location on the border of Gateshead, Northumberland and County Durham has allowed the development of a perception of Chopwell as being out on its own. Village identity already included a streak of outsider angst, a perception of the village as somehow hard done by or an underdog, first being considered 'too radical' (with the mythology of the 1926 Lock Out and the Little Moscow nickname) and later being designated for destruction. In 1951 Chopwell was designated a Category D village by Durham County Council (Smith, 2020), which essentially meant it was earmarked for natural decline (although of course the process was anything but natural). Over 100 newly categorised villages were denied investment with a policy of rehoming communities elsewhere and effectively destroying (predominantly ex-mining) villages and their communities. The consequence of this policy was that "communities became highly self-conscious and defensive" (Pattison, 2004: 312) and although the policy was later abandoned its lasting impact can be seen in the attitude of Chopwell residents to this day. The sense of being 'not wanted' was only exacerbated by the village being transferred from County Durham to Gateshead Local Authority in the 1970s. This sense of being badly treated fosters a sense of what might be called Chopwell exceptionalism, the idea that Chopwell is simply 'better' which both Chopwell natives and incomers expressed in various forms during the interviews:

> Julie: *"Everybody perceives it to be a crappy place basically...the history of Chopwell is so fascinating with the mining history and then what happened with the banner and all of this and the strike, it's brilliant...and I really believe that people should know about that and I think it's so, it's better than some of the other pit villages…"*

> Steve: *"I know, much stronger."*

This othering process is not unique to Chopwell, and those who moved into the new estates in Winlaton had to deal with these processes as new identities were

negotiated based on old loyalties. Old riverside communities had specific identities, one such example is The Spike, which was a tight-knit community directly on the Tyne riverside with a strong identity and a somewhat dubious reputation. The housing there was cleared in the 1960s:

> *My friend who I'm still friends with, she moved into the village and I met her, she said she was from Guildford but she hadn't been, she was from Blaydon but her mum was from Guildford. She didn't want to say she was from Blaydon because it was The Spike. I think she felt shamed about it because it was a really….it was a rough area wasn't it?* (Val)

Interestingly another of the participants whose parents were both from The Spike now takes a strong interest in local history and despite never living there has done a significant amount of research into The Spike. This lost community which once could be seen as a source of shame is now seen as having a strong local identity and something to be proud of, perhaps reflecting the loss of strong community identities and a desire to recapture some of that strong community identity of a place that was "*sort of part of Blaydon but apart"* (Mick).

These loyalties and cliques were also evident in Winlaton, John talked about how they related to what he described as 'the pecking order' in school:

> *Winlaton basically was a very clannish place, on top of the hill, y'know* [...] *At Swalwell, 'cos a lot of people used to pass through Swalwell coming and going the whole of the time but Winlaton, everybody went around Winlaton for whatever reason* [...] *Winlaton was split up as well because there was Blaydon Burn just opposite, well at one side, Bleach Green at the other side and Winlaton at the top itself.*

Whilst the village has a less easily readable geography than Chopwell as it has been subject to more development and change and a more mixed (i.e., not single industry) population, strong local identities are still evident, and the word 'clannish' is used often to describe Winlaton. This is possibly a remnant of Crowley's factories,

long gone, but specifically organised to ensure that industrial life permeated every part of the workers' existence. Like Chopwell before the pit was sunk, Winlaton before Crowley arrived in 1691 was "a small hamlet" of "a few miners and their families" (Flinn, 2019: 233). Like turn of the twentieth century Chopwell, much of the workforce appears to have migrated to the Derwent Valley from elsewhere in England and the rest of the UK (ibid.: 237). This, coupled with a particular type of factory layout, designed around squares to keep work and home life in close proximity and as such exert a high level of control over the behaviour of employees, encouraged a close-knit community (evidence of the squares layout can still be seen in Winlaton (ibid.: 240)). It is possible that we see its remnants in the 'clannish' behaviour of present-day residents.

Earlier in this chapter it was demonstrated that formative experience and the ripples of industrial structures of feeling through memory and time have influenced the ways people relate to place and form their own identities in the present. This section has demonstrated that the geographical facts of place, designed for the social and economic expediencies of the past, can continue to exert control over senses of place and identity in the present. In this way the past and present are deeply enmeshed with experiences of the landscape still shaped by class identities. All these factors are part of the way memories of place contribute to identity.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored the formative memories shared by participants and demonstrated how the boundaries of place shape understandings of the landscape. Memories of childhood (particularly highly sensory memories) often play an important role in this process. Considering these findings in relation to the definition of enmeshed heritage (see 4.2.2) exposes the nature of the interaction between enmeshed heritages and the AHD. Specifically, in these memories we find a sense of heritage that

- encompasses embodied action or practices based in continuity, often between generations
- is a social practice but it plays close attention to the individual
- is based around landscapes of the familiar or landscapes of home. Ideas of home are often formed in childhood, and people look back on these memories

of place (both consciously and unconsciously) as idealised or model versions of what home 'should' be.

What emerges from these interviews is a distinct construction of heritage - enmeshed heritage - that is place specific, based around landscapes of the familiar or landscapes of home, and that operates between generations. The importance of attending to the affective experience of place and how this shapes both individual and personal memory and one's sense of place is clearly in evidence here. These memories are often highly sensory and vivid.

The chapter also speaks to the fact that autobiographical memories enable people to build a coherent narrative of their own identity and are complemented by episodic memories: key vignettes, often drawn from childhood experiences, come to represent something important about identity or place. Examples include the often-repeated stories of when school was closed and all the children in the village went sledging, or the trope of playing on the pit heaps despite them being specifically off limits. In combination, they are extremely potent in shaping how people understand their own identities, their communities and their place in the wider world. Whilst in one sense it is the case that these memories could be shared by anyone who grew up in an industrial village in the mid-twentieth century, to untether these memories from the specific place in which they occurred would be to misunderstand their potency; they are markers of territory and belonging.

The memories shared capture a sense of place which the AHD struggles to accommodate. They are undoubtedly nostalgic in tone, yet they are not empty of meaning. Rather than being hollow idealised versions of the past, the stories chosen are significant; not simply picked out at random, but often representative of key values or meanings which serve to affirm the values of the present. The memories shared here serve to illustrate the classed experience of participants in place; they are often highly physical and sensory in nature. The texture and specifics of the stories told are important and revealing about the specifics of the place involved. They also speak of an intergenerational experience which encompasses family and kin. If museum visiting can be described as a form of intergenerational

communication (Dicks, 2000; Smith, 2021), then the memories shared here can be seen to represent a similar process, with parents, grandparents and kin remembered in the keeping and the telling of the memory. This remembering acts as a reaffirmation of the values derived from early childhood memory.

Enmeshed heritage expresses continuity rather than a sense of disruption or break between what is past and what is present: the concept of linear time does not hold a strong influence over enmeshed senses of heritage. This can be seen in the memories explored in this chapter, using which participants create and recreate sense of place and sense of identity by building on memories and experiences of place starting in childhood. This process accretes a sense of continuity alongside dealing with what has been lost. The power in these memories is found in the values which underpin them. This is something that AHD or official heritage projects struggle to capture - the social movements and values that are invisible but which flesh out these memories and which continue to shape identity and place. The AHD values time depth: it places the past at a distance, as discussed in Chapter Three. Its tendency to create a 'gap' between the 'then' of the past and the 'now' of the present can be alienating for those who lived through that gap and continue to feel its repercussions. Whilst it is easy to recreate a mid-twentieth-century front room, with hearth and dining table, baking smells, and washing drying, it is less easy to convey the meaning and social implications of the experience of the everyday in working-class communities. The room may be gone but the values often remain and are sedimented in the memories shared by individuals in community with others. The memories shared convey the richness and complexity of industrial life which is often absent from official narratives of working-class heritage. Such enmeshed senses of heritage are not static, they change and evolve, and crucially they are social. The next chapter explores the way that remembering together as a social process can influence the ways in which we think about and identify value.

Chapter 8: Remembering together: Memory as a social practice

8.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with active social remembering. Memory as an everyday social process of meaning making is explored from the perspective of family and social groups as well as within generational groups. In the context of Chopwell and Winlaton, there is a socially and regionally specific nature to the memories shared, rooted in class background and industrial structures of feeling. Bound up in these memories is a form of enmeshed heritage which originates in the intangible elements of post-industrial life. Whilst official heritage represents industrial working-class heritage in various forms, industrial structures of feeling are less tangible, and not easily conveyed in conventional presentations of the industrial past. By their very nature, these expressions of heritage from below are representative of marginalised or subaltern views of the present. As Robertson identifies, this type of heritage can resist hegemony (2012: 23). Communities in the present can put the past to use in creating visions of the future through a process of locating value in elements of the past which have been marginalised or ignored.

Section 8.2 explores the process of remembering in family or social groups, showing the co-constitutive ways that people think and talk together to understand and extract value from the past and to reaffirm social identities. Group identity can also arise from values and perceptions that are common to a generation or cohort effect. In Section 8.3 generation as a group identity is explored, with respect to the sense of security associated with locating one's own identity in a group which is perceived to have 'the same' experiences as each other. The memories shared reaffirm the idea of a community in which it was possible to feel 'the same' as everyone else and for the communal to be central to everyday life.

Finally, in Section 8.4 it is shown that sharing memories can be a form of sharing values across generations. In repeating the values of the past, participants bear witness to the experiences of their families and communities and reassert the importance of these values. The complexity of the lives and experiences of working-class people is reflected in a way which acts as a counterpoint to the reduction of

industrial life to empty buildings or the processes of industrial labour. Though expressed in an emotional, potentially nostalgic way (something which the AHD views negatively) this vision of working-class life contrasts with dominant heritage narratives and points towards the subversive potential of nostalgic feeling.

8.2 Remembering with others: Collective memory as constructed in the present

Whilst the majority of participants were interviewed individually, some were interviewed in couples or groups. Two interviews were with couples, one with a mother and daughter, and one was a group interview with three people - a mother, daughter and daughter-in-law. In addition, a community event was held in Chopwell attended by people of a range of age groups (the majority were aged over 50). The group interview and community event provided interesting insights into the way people remember and reconstruct the past as a group, showing the co-constructive ways that people think and talk together, almost to rebuild the past (and the places of the past) through a process of affirmation and negotiation. This is a phenomenon highlighted by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, whose writing from the 1930s was re-published in the early 1990s and has played an influential role in the development of what has been described as the 'memory boom' of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. What Halbwachs termed autobiographical memory does not directly correspond with the definition used in psychology, but has much in common with what Assmann terms communicative memory. Defined in contrast to 'historical memory' Halbwachs' autobiographical memory is "memory of events that we have personally experienced in the past" (Coser, 1992: 24). What is crucial in Halbwachs' definition is that "autobiographical memory is always rooted in other people" (ibid.); it is inherently social. Seeking to establish whether such a thing as 'collective memory' exists Halbwachs writes,

> Most of the time, when I remember, it is others who spur me on; their memory comes to the aide of mine and mine relies on theirs...There is no point in seeking where they are preserved in my brain or in some nook of my mind to which I alone have access: for they are recalled to me externally, and the groups of which I am part at any time give me the means to construct them. (Halbwachs 1992: 38)

This process was in evidence across all participant group interactions. The following exchange shows how place can be remembered as a group, with Margaret's family group each chipping in and adding detail to rebuild a picture of the place they are describing:

Interviewer: *Any other places that you would say would be important?*

Marie: *Chopwell Park. Actually the Green...*

Margaret: *Aw the Green opposite er,*

Marie: *Outside...in front of the council houses and the back of Bolton's Bungalows there's a massive stretch of green and we used to just play on there so...*

Margaret: *There was swings at the top.*

Marie: *Swings at the top, four swings, you wouldn't think four swings could entertain so many kids but everybody congregated to the swings just, and the fish and chip shop was right next to it and erm, you used to play rounders on the green and cricket and the lads played football and …*

Amanda: *I played there sometimes, not too often, being Blackhall Mill I played at Blackhall Mill Park but I remember the Rec at Chopwell Park, that was...*

Margaret: *We used to call it the Rec, the recreation ground…*

Amanda: *And er, that was brilliant. The plank...It wouldn't be allowed now, it was just a big plank of wood that went like that…*

Margaret: *I've got photos of you, J and everybody on that plank.*

Margaret: *It was a plank of wood and you could sit half a dozen people on it and it had sort of…*

Amanda: *Grips, iron bars.*

Marie: *And all it did was swing like a chuggy boat but if you had two strong lads you could get it so it was almost horizontal, it had everybody screaming.*

There was also significance in the repetition of certain stories, some of which I was told more than once, such as Margaret's story of having to get out of the ambulance with a new-born baby and walk the last part of the journey home because the snow was so deep. Passerini (2015: 77) identifies this phenomenon as part of the performative element of memory, noting that in interviews she was often told anecdotes that had obviously been repeated many times in different situations. There was much bound up in Margaret's story: the spectacle of the extreme weather, her own sense of self in 'just getting on with it', the central role of her children in her life and the remoteness of the place she calls home. All of this is reaffirmed in each retelling of the story. Other people told stories of place and said they had recounted the same stories to other researchers or as part of other heritage projects. So even where there is no 'official' heritage organisation to mediate heritage narratives, individuals and groups nevertheless continue to standardise and canonise certain memories and visions of the past. Memories become standardised and can incorporate elements of official or AHD heritage, becoming enmeshed in the wider cultural memory whilst simultaneously subverting parts of its narrative. This could be described as a tendency which comes from what Wertsche describes as "deep memory"; a phenomenon in which members of specific mnemonic communities fall back on "schematic narrative templates" which act to uphold and affirm qualities which are intrinsic to the group (Wertsche, 2008: 139). Characterised as inherently conservative, schematic narrative templates are upheld by specific narratives which evolve and change over time while supporting a consistent overall schematic narrative template (ibid.). Wertsche was writing about state level identities

in the former USSR. Perhaps this formulation is more relevant to what Assmann would term 'cultural memories' rather than the informal, communal memories being considered here, but it is relevant to consider the underlying assumptions about identity and place which underpin these shared memories. When deciding to share memories with strangers there is a subtle appeal to these schematic narrative templates. They are utilised to test out whether it is 'safe' to share and to establish whether the individual will be responsive to the specific narrative. This was demonstrated by observing participants at a community event held in Chopwell Community Centre. The event had been organised to collect memories and encourage interaction between people and it was based around a small exhibition and mapping activity. The event had been advertised on Facebook and with leaflets around the village, meaning that a mix of people attended, mostly in small groups of friends, but the group as a whole was not known to one another. The first notable behaviour was that when people arrived, they almost always spent some time checking out who else was there. This included acknowledging friends and acquaintances but also consisted of a process of sounding people out with comments and questions such as: 'I feel like I recognise you', 'did you live in Tyne Street?', 'I think I know your brother'. Decades old acquaintances were re-ignited and these were often built on deeply enmeshed kin or family relationships rather than direct personal knowledge. For example, one person knew the brother of another at school, someone else knew someone's Grandma. These are all relationships which allow a process of recognition, the reassurance that this person spoke a mutual language and establishment of a feeling of safety.

Wertsche's (2008: 150) analysis of collective memory (as opposed to formal history) identifies "links the past with the present" and "denies 'pastness' of events" as two of its key features. Though there is an implication that these features are troubling, somehow ahistorical, they are not inherently so. They are important characteristics of enmeshed heritage, and this lack of 'pastness' was evident in the conversation within Marie's family group. Margaret repeatedly spoke to her daughter-in-law as if she would remember things which happened long before she was born and this became a joke amongst the group as the interview went on. This represented how remembering together prompted almost a collapsing of time, where time was

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flattened out and images of the past were not presented in a linear or chronological order but as part of a selection of snapshots or vignettes from which we could pick and choose to discuss. Considered in this way, past, present and future become inseparable, enmeshed in a process of making and re-making place and community. This is part of a process of remembering which highlights continuity. It does not reject history or historical fact; it draws on its narratives and details but exists somewhere beneath the radar of official heritage and the AHD.

8.3 Generational groups as a locus of memory

One of the key focal points of community or group memory amongst those interviewed is the generational group, based on shared experience of play and school. This is a direct result of the 'small world' of experience, in particular the school system of the mid- to late- twentieth century. With most children attending schools which were very local to them, people felt they 'knew everyone' and the system of thick kinship ties was perpetuated through generations, with siblings, parents and even Grandparents all attending the same schools which were often very close to home. While this is less common now it still happens:

> *Ours was the same school so you had Infant, Junior and Senior all in West Lane. So that school around the corner, Grandma went there, mam went there, I went there, me son and daughter went there and now me Grandson went there, he's just moved, we had five generations went to that school.*
> (June)

Many of those interviewed felt very much that everyone was 'the same' and this commonality of experience seems to signify something deeper which facilitates a sense of a shared past. Again, we find this sense that people are able to identify others who 'know how things work', learned from a shared starting point based on going to the same school in a similar period. Whilst this fosters deep feelings of belonging, on the contrary it of course also excludes those not deemed to 'fit in'. These voices were largely silent in my fieldwork. The absence of voices of dissonance, of those who reject the existence of these social bonds, reflects the fact that the data sample was self-selecting. People volunteered to be interviewed

because they felt they had something to say about place and heritage and those who neither feel part of the place nor value the heritage are conspicuous in their absence.

One Chopwell resident spoke at length about this generational feeling of closeness based on shared experience of school, going all the way back to Infants and Junior School:

> *Yeah,* [I] *went to Hookergate Comprehensive which is High Spen, which is just the natural progression, there was no, like, option of going to any other school, that was just where everyone went. So you know, I'd gone through Infants, and then Juniors with, like the same people, the same year group everyone, er we had a little bit of a combination of schools when we came to Juniors, Blackhall Mill combined, er so there was like new people, y'know. I would say like at school we were all really close, like in the years and then in the years closest to you. So when we went to Hookergate, er, obviously you meet new people and I did meet people from Rowland's Gill who I've still got as very close friends but I think you still have a really, I feel like a strong connection with everyone I went to school with here* [in Chopwell]. (Sarah)

Sarah spent some time working abroad and when this was over decided to return to the village. She spoke about feeling a closeness to people of her own generation but also a strong bond with people her mother was close to, the 'kin' of her mother's generation also being a touchstone in her life.

> Interviewer: "*What was it you missed?*"
>
> Sarah: "*Erm, having people around you that you like, that you, yeah, so I had a great time when I was away, I mean I was around the Caribbean, I was around all over, it was brilliant. But you...I felt meself surrounded by a lot of people that I wouldn't choose to be with, and it sort of, erm, really very much made us realise I wanted to be around people who I liked to be around with. So when I came back, erm, as I say I got very much back into going out round here, and it was just brilliant, I can still remember how, the feeling of*

being back here and seeing people you knew. Seeing people who, you knew their family, it just felt safe. Totally safe and comfortable."

I: "*Do you think there's a specific thing about being from Chopwell...do you think people from Rowland's Gill feel the same way?*"

Sarah:"*No I don't.*"

I: "*What's the difference do you think?*"

Sarah:"*I've always thought this...when I see people - and I'm in me forties - who went through that* [growing up together]*, I feel really close to them, even if I'm not.*"

I: "*And you think that's quite a Chopwell thing?*"

Sarah: "*yeah cos they don't do that in other places yeah* [tearful].*"*

This exchange shows a complex relationship with both place and community, which is obviously an extremely important part of Sarah's life, she became emotional talking about it. She describes the community in Chopwell as being 'the people she would choose to be with', as opposed to the people she works with who she has not chosen, when in fact the opposite is true, the people she knows in Chopwell are people thrown together by place whereas she made a conscious decision to go and work abroad. Yet the bonds are so strong with the people she lives amongst in Chopwell that she chose to return after a long period away. And this applies not just to people she knows directly, but also their families: she is safe amongst the people she grew up with and their kin. They grew up together, they "went through that" as a group and as such she feels at ease both in community and in place.

Even more interestingly, she feels that this is something which is particular to Chopwell. People in Rowland's Gill, people who are also her long-term friends and live close by, cannot understand because they are not from the village. Whilst she

expressed this feeling in the strongest terms, she was not the only person to talk about it. Similar feelings were described by participants both in Chopwell and Winlaton with memory of shared generational experience relating to school, play and activities for young people:

> *Teenage years you went to the Youth Club. And the Youth Club was still in the village, er, it was called the Mary and Bessie [...] that was your Youth Club and it was the people from school that you went with, you stuck with your classmates y'know. I mean I started school the same day as me husband. We went all the way in the same class, all the way through school. You went to the Youth Club in a group and there, I mean, then you started when you were old enough to drink, we would all go out and go for a drink together and then, I married me husband out the group and me friend at the time, best friend Brenda, she married Ronnie out the group.* (June)

For June, the group of friends she made at school provided her social life outside school and eventually her husband and the friendships she maintained into her married life. This was not uncommon and the idea that 'everyone was the same' is expressed frequently and in various contexts throughout the interviews.

> *It was a case of, you got up in the morning and if you weren't at school it was just like 'get out the house' go out and play, there was no, y'know, there was nothing, there was no TV through the day, there was nothing, so you went out. If it was raining, you put your wellies on, or you put your anorak on or your, whatever you had on, your duffel coat and you went out and you got wet. If it was snowing you went out and you got cold, you come in, got warm, went out again, and that's me memory, ask anybody in the village and they would probablys* [sic] *have the same memory. And we used to go down the wood and play.* (Kate)

This idea that you can "ask anybody in the village" and they would share the memory is significant for many of those interviewed. Some of these shared experiences relate very directly to places of play and a shared knowledge of the

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natural landscape. People from both villages talked about 'tatty picking' (potato picking):

> *There was poppy fields and there was also, they used to put potatoes in and there was some people whose mams - maybe and dads, I only remember the mams - and you would come for a walk and all the women and whoever it was, picking potatoes and they would have their pinnies, their hairs tied up and they'd pick potatoes and put them in a sack. That was spare time jobs you know.* (June)

Older men in Chopwell spoke about going tatty picking themselves, taking a bucket and walking long distances to pick potatoes all day, then bringing a bucket home for themselves and struggling to carry it on the bus. One man mentioned this at the Community Centre event in Chopwell and it provoked a torrent of memories from various people who shared similar experiences from their childhood. It is as if revealing this shared memory held the key to being part of the group, to feeling part of the enmeshed landscape and community, and the repetition of the stories acts to reaffirm the group's existence and the place of the individuals within it. These shared experiences in the landscape, which were often experiences of play, show a detailed knowledge of place based on impromptu landmarks and natural features. 'The big tree' in Winlaton was mentioned by more than one participant and the 'three hills' in Chopwell Wood were mentioned frequently, though no one was able to give a very detailed description of what or where this referred to. Instead, it was a topological feature that people recognised in a very physical way - they knew where it was, they could navigate the way around it, but it was not something they could necessarily describe in detail other than that it was three small dips and peaks in the land in one section of the Wood.

These memories are part of creating the past as a 'knowable world', the feeling that 'everyone was the same' was just that - a feeling - and this sense of inclusion for what may have been the majority necessarily created 'others' who were excluded. This exclusion is hinted at to some extent - the children who were not in the group because they went to the Catholic School for example. This is more explicitly stated

in relation to the present and the following excerpt shows a complex relationship with the past, the present and feelings around insiders and outsiders in the community. Kate explained that she was still friends with people she knew at school and although not all of them live in the village they often continue to have links through family. Asked whether she feels it's the same now for younger people or whether it's changed she went on,

I think it's changed, definitely. I don't think, I don't think it'll happen very much now to be totally honest with you, not here, I don't think. I think…[sighs]…I don't know because I suppose, it's, there's some when I look on Facebook and that and I some and there are some still friendly from a lot younger generation to me but I think like my generation and there's some in their 40s that still do it but I'm not sure going beyond that, I think it's fizzling out and I think because Chopwell has such a lot of strangers in the village now…that doesn't allow that to happen, and they don't mix the way, they don't wanna mix,[sighs]…I don't wanna, it sounds awful because some of the people that have moved into the village are…are good people. Decent normal people. But we have got a lot of dross moved into the village and it's, you can tell, you can tell, they don't have that - they don't care, they don't care about their next door neighbour, they don't care if their dog barks all day, they don't care if their yard's full of dogs…y'know. They're just not bothered. And I don't know whether it's, whether it's they're like victims of how they were brought up and it's just the snowball effect that goes on, y'know half of them don't know how to look after their kids, they don't know how to look after themselves never mind their kids y'know, so I, I think, I think that will die, I think that will, that what, what we had, and it's funny I always say I think I was born at the best time, I feel like I was born at the, I had the best time, but when I talk to B, the guy I was on about before who's 75, he thinks he was born at the best time, and yet his time was a lot harder than my time, so I don't know, erm…but I just look at, no. I don't think it'll, I don't think it will.

There are many complex feelings at play in this excerpt. Kate later talked about what she hints at in the final sentences, the idea that everyone thinks they grew up in the

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'best' time and that this is a fairly common consequence of getting older, this is a common feeling of nostalgia for a perceived 'better' time. But there is a palpable sense that something has been lost in the way the community exists together, and this loss is based in a lack of care. This is an intangible concept but it has tangible impacts on everyday life: the village looks a mess or people are bothered by noise or anti-social behaviour. The idea that there is a group of people, the 'dross' that Kate refers to, who are to blame for this change was expressed by many people. This feeling was particularly focused on The Streets, with the idea that 'problem' tenants have been dumped there also frequently expressed. But to many, these people are unknown. Kate hedges her bets, saying she is sure most of the people moving into the village are decent, but there is this unknown quantity, the 'strangers' who represent decline. Strangers is an interesting word to use, and it was used in Chopwell frequently. It speaks volumes in terms of what this outside influence represents: a discomfort, a lack of safety, a different way of doing things. This is particularly unsettling because it is happening in The Streets: the symbolic heart of the village where many participants started their lives in homes which hold many happy memories. This undefinable other becomes a symbol for the problems of the village, but its unknowable nature makes finding a 'solution' impossible. Chloe, however, identifies that in practice the real reason for these intangible changes may be a lack of time spent in the village rather than a lack of care for it - something which is common across the whole community as the vast majority now work and spend their leisure time outside the village. She still sees people she knows from childhood, but on a much less regular basis.

> Interviewer: "*So do you feel like, are you still in touch with people that you went to school with from the village, do you still know them?*"
>
> Chloe: "*Yeah, not a lot but, there's a few still live in Chopwell and I would say hiya if I was passing, I'm still best friends with one of the girls I went all the way through school with*
>
> *...*
>
> *I think a lot of people work outside, so I see my neighbours like once a month if that like you don't see a lot of people when you're working full time, so I*

think that's kind of, like me grandma didn't work full time, it's different times, you'd go out and see people, you would shop in the village, like, whereas you might bump into the odd person in the Co-op now like, you can't do your shop there."

The particular memories that participants have chosen to share hint at an underlying set of values which are signified through remembering. The re-sharing of experiences through memory represents a community in which it was possible to feel 'the same' as everyone else and for the communal to be central to everyday life. This is something that is neatly demonstrated by the village trip. Over the school summer holidays there would be trips organised by local people to the coast, commonly Whitley Bay or South Shields, and 'the whole village' would get on buses and travel together for a day out. The men who worked together every day in the pit, the women who shopped and chatted together every day on the street, and the children who went to school and played together every day chose also to holiday together:

> *And then Chopwell had lots of trips y'know, there was like, y'know literally the village would leave and go to the seaside for the day y'know. There would be just buses lined up across the top, there used to be the paper shop used to run trips through a bus company, so you could go to the paper shop and book your tickets and get your tickets and then everybody would just go, pile off, pile on these buses and get to Shields or wherever and come back and, you know so that happened, probablys* [sic] *a few times a year, in the six weeks, like in the six weeks holiday and things like that y'know, that's my memory of it anyway.* (Kate)

Underlying all these memories is a highly classed sense of the past, based in working-class, communal social structures. The passing of these ways of living based around industrial life not only remove the overt social organisation (the village trip and the Leek Show) but also the space for places of encounter. Research done in 2008 into social capital in the North-East suggests that the region, particularly in terms of the experience of older people, is a "place of strong communities" and is "exceptional in terms of being a sociable place" (Schmuecker, 2008: 4). This

conclusion is based on the fact that people living in the North-East are more likely to meet or visit relatives regularly and are more likely to speak to their neighbours than in other English regions (ibid.: 6). In this sense it could be said that enmeshed heritages are particularly strong in former industrial communities, as a communal ethos was a feature of working-class life. The experience of the miner was deeply enmeshed both with the other pitmen, his marras who would ensure his safety at work, and with the landscape where he spent his days at the coalface. But more than this, the social life of the whole community was bound up in industry which was deeply connected to the landscape, be it coal mining or metal production. The social lives of people across the community were enmeshed with industry, the landscape and the physical communities of place, and this culture does not simply disappear with the closure of a pit or steel works.

These factors could be described as elements of industrial structures of feeling, or part of the process of the half-life of deindustrialisation. Pattison (2004) comments on the lack of regard for this specific regional, classed way of life when discussing the designation of pit villages across the Durham Coalfield Durham County Council's as Category D (designated for managed decline, see Section 6.2) in the mid twentieth century. It was, he writes "a top-down imposition on a system that had survived for generations on a strong and federated sense of mutuality" (Pattinson, 2004: 328). He goes on, "no serious consideration was ever given to the social and cultural formations within the settlement structures. Planners invariably saw the built environments of mining settlements in negative terms" (ibid.: 329). Changing patterns of work and leisure have not found new ways to accommodate the kind of informal communal life to which many of the memories shared by participants speak - indeed in Pattison's characterisation these things were barely even considered, and no effort was made to accommodate them. The desire for these kinds of spaces can be seen to be part of the process of the half-life of deindustrialisation. Positive change in terms of improved living and working conditions (for many but not all) did not and do not negate this desire for a more communal way of living and many of the memories shared by participants reflect this.

8.4 Remembering as a process of sharing values across generations

Alongside a palpable sense of loss, in several of the interviews there was a clear sense communicated that remembering across generations was almost a form of bearing witness. This was expressed in terms of acknowledging the struggles and hardships that previous generations went through to secure a more comfortable life for their children and grandchildren, but also in acknowledging that the people who went before were more than just that one thing; they were more than the two-dimensional image of 'miner' or 'housewife'. They were people who played musical instruments, who won boxing tournaments, who grew prize roses. Sometimes the characterisation of working-class life presented by participants was unexpected. Whilst talking about the decline of industry post-Thatcher, John expressed sorrow at the loss of a time when people were able to express their talents. Rather than a sense of entrapment often presented in narratives about working-class life - that there was little choice, if your dad was a miner, you would be a miner (and I certainly heard examples of frustration at this kind of experience) - John felt that the organisations of working-class life gave opportunities for people to develop and utilise their talents, opportunities which are now gone. When asked about whether there were things that were passed down to him that he thought were important it was clear that the values of his childhood remained profoundly important to him: "*Yes. I think the values and doing the decent thing and try and leave it better than what you found it* [are important] *...and so yes it did, it did more than rub off y'know, it stuck and I'm pleased.*" These values were often explicitly about hard work and struggle and this is felt to be part of what has been passed down and what is important to recognise and remember. When speaking about these values they were often juxtaposed with a sense of loss, a feeling that they are being diluted or lost altogether. Joan talked at greatest length about these types of feelings, going so far as to say that: "*For me, Chopwell, now more than ever, I go back to it as a reference point.*" She spoke at length about the values which she summarised as "*work hard and you'll survive, stick together, the family*" which she feels she inherited from parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles. There is an interesting interplay between 'going' and 'staying' and what that means in these two extracts:

[Joan's father's] father had gone down the mines and he must have had an expectation, well J, you'll go an' all and he must have thought, no I want something better than that. And he travelled the world [in the Merchant Navy]*, and it was interesting because Chopwell, like any village, but I think Chopwell particularly, not many people left it and there was a vision of the universe that…it stopped at Chopwell. He got out and he loved the place and he came back tonnes and tonnes of times but he'd seen something else so y'know I just think that that made such a difference. But erm, Auntie G had that shop for ages and it was an obsession with her and again y'know she had girls from the village, she always employed people from the village, and it was very successful and they lived above that shop for years*

[…]

When I go back sometimes - and there are fewer now - I've been in the Community Centre for a meeting or something and somebody's come to me and said 'Is it Joan' and I've said 'yes', 'I thought it was!' and I'm thinking 'eee I don't know', 'I remember you and your mam'. They never forget. But I think it, I don't know whether you've done this but, the colliery particularly, powerful, really powerful in terms of community. Not just the risk to life and limb but as a movement

These extracts touch on many of the complexities around memory and place attachment. Whilst clearly feeling very strongly about Chopwell and its place in her family history, Joan is unsentimental in that she left the village and expressed no regrets about moving away and losing the strong link with the community there. She was like many others in the mid-twentieth century, a child of working-class parents who took advantage of new opportunities and became a teacher, moving away from Chopwell both physically and to a large extent mentally. Others were not so fortunate as to have been given these opportunities. One person I spoke to told me of their bitter regret at being stopped from staying on at school at 14, after a teacher had encouraged them to continue and suggested a possible career path for them. Instead, they were forced to leave school to start work and this clearly remained a

terrible disappointment decades later. These stories represent a push and pull both of social and class expectations but also a negotiation as to the boundaries of the world *"there was a vision of the universe that…it stopped at Chopwell",* as Joan put it, which was often a generational struggle as parents sought to widen or narrow the boundaries of the worlds in which their children lived. She may have left, but immersion in that world, having a place in it and being remembered, is still important to Joan. Her and her parents were part of a mesh of thick kinship ties and that cannot be undone. It is still important to Joan that her aunt employed local girls and that her shop was part of the community for years. She was, and on some level still is, deeply embedded in Chopwell as a physical place. The reference to the pit and the structure of life associated with it as a "movement", a 'change of position or location' is significant, hinting at the idea of place as a state of mind, a unique mental location which cannot be replicated.

There is a strong association between these values and a way of life that is distinctly working-class in structure. Most (though not all) of those who were interviewed, whilst describing their backgrounds or childhoods as working-class, could not be described as 'traditional' working-class anymore (although this is a difficult comparison to make, see Chapter Five) and those who completed the GBCS class calculator (see Section 5.3.2) were more likely to be categorised as 'established middle-class' than working-class. The tensions shown in the extracts from Joan's interview above highlight the push and pull between value systems and place attachments in a fast-changing world where strong feelings about place were increasingly dismissed as parochial or old fashioned. This push and pull between the past and the present and what it means for the future is a central theme in all the interviews and is a key part of the process of meaning making through heritage. All of this is innately linked to the development of the debate around heritage and the complexities of deindustrialisation (see Section 3.2). The 'heritage-ization' of the industrial past has often involved the marginalization of its politics and values, as described by Smith and Campbell (2017: 616). They trace a process whereby communities "can and do use nostalgia to envisage new futures in which their own forms of social values, particularly around organised labour, matter." Yet the very nature of these nostalgic feelings is de-legitimised by a heritage sector which is

suspicious of affect and emotion which therefore fails to recognise or understand the link between emotion (in this case nostalgic feeling) and the process of engaging with heritage (Smith and Campbell, 2017: 614). This leads to what they describe as a "wilful dismissal of the legitimacy of class history and social experience" (ibid.: 624).

Returning to John; he feels that in the past, people had more opportunities to express and utilise their talents. This goes against a commonly held assumption that in the context of the industrial past individual workers were often de-personalised and treated only as expendable manual labour. We see in the following extract that the structures of community built around places of work were felt to be highly nurturing and productive. It is in the essence of this that John found meaning, both in terms of the community and in shaping his own identity. This is exactly the kind of sentiment that Smith and Campbell reference (ibid.). His use of the word 'thin' directly demonstrates the loss of the 'thick' kinship ties which filled his early memories. The profound sense of loss caused by the decline of this structure of living, which was so deeply enmeshed with place, is clear in his words:

> I was fortunate in that sense that the bar was set reasonably high in the standards basically y'know. Cos once again I was fortunate to be brought in at a time where people got a chance to express their talents. Virtually every factory had its sports and social clubs and men were good organisers in them sort of things, in the village hall and that and the women basically would do their bit as well and set things up on open days. We used to have lots of open days and lots of village parties and this sort of thing but the men basically, the job place, the workplace allowed them basically to be good organisers with leek shows, flower shows and arts and crafts and this sort of thing and there was a good platform there for that sort of thing. Sadly, that was dismantled in the 80s when Mrs Thatcher did her demolition job and we lost all them skills [...] we lost the factories and we lost the pits and all that but it came down too quick, it collapsed. She collapsed the whole lot and I think when you take something down it's got to be replaced with something but it's been such a void and I think sadly, two or three generations basically have missed out

y'know...er...it's not all doom and gloom y'know but you cannet just create them skills overnight again and I think as a result of this local communities have lost because they've lost them skills, we've lost them in the community centres we've lost all that support and that sort of thing and I find that pretty sad like y'know. That legacy that we should be leaving, y'know, which has been left, is no longer.... it's very very thin. (John)

In this example we see John working through a process of belonging described by John Tomaney. In *Parochialism: A Defence* (2012) Tomaney describes belonging as "a task that requires an individual working to maintain a sense of unity or integrity while engaged in ongoing, dynamic and developing interactions within the physical, historical and social landscape of their being" (pp. 664). Calling for a recognition of the importance of dwelling in the face of cosmopolitan "condescension" (ibid.: 659) and "disdain" (ibid.: 658) towards a rootedness to place, he highlights the fact that parochialism is not static, "not an end state but one of becoming; we are always becoming native" (ibid.: 668). This was demonstrated at the event at Chopwell Community Centre, where it became clear that talking about a version of the past that is strongly rooted in place was making a tangible difference for some. One group of older men had come along together after reconnecting with one another at a different heritage event held locally. Some still lived in the village, others had moved slightly further away, but after bumping into each other they began to meet on a regular basis. What to others could seem like a group of people meeting to reminisce in a maudlin way was creating new opportunities for all of those involved and using the past as a way of taking their lives forward and improving their everyday lived experience. The events were empowering individuals to make change in their own lives through remembering.

8.5 Conclusion

The social senses of memory explored in this chapter evidence a key feature of enmeshed heritage; it is a social practice. An attention to intergenerational transmission of memory and senses of generational familiarity and solidarity are an intrinsic part of this type of heritage. The memories explored in this chapter are also shot-through with feelings of loss and the relationship between enmeshed heritage

and loss is complex. Whilst the AHD tends to coalesce around sites and objects which are perceived as in need of management to minimise risk of loss, enmeshed heritage tends to be more informal and to coalesce more around continuity. Remembering together is necessarily a process of continuity, as re-remembering and re-creating the past together affirms and re-affirms what is of value - what is worth remembering - in the present. Whilst people do feel a sense of loss about individual buildings or places this is superseded by the sense of loss expressed in relation to social structures and communal experiences. Feelings about knowledge and safety are referenced repeatedly, in terms of both a physical knowledge of place and an immersion in the community of kin relations.

This chapter has explored the ways that remembering together acts to reaffirm social identities and help individuals to locate themselves in time and place and within their communities. This is often a highly emotional process in which nostalgic feeling plays an important role. The sense of loss of thick kinship ties and informal places of encounter which features heavily in these memories are more than sentimentality. They are nostalgic in tone, which is exacerbated by the highly physical and sensory nature of many of the memories shared as a vivid picture is created of a shared but unobtainable past. Yet it has been shown that memory, particularly remembering together, can be productive and future oriented. Nostalgia can "call us back to meaning" (Bonnett, 2016: 6), it is part of a process of remembering which enables individuals and groups to focus on what is of value. This presents opportunities to create future imaginaries, facilitating continuity and allowing people and communities to make progress whilst maintaining a sense of identity. For participants in Chopwell and Winlaton, value is often located in hard work and community; values drawn from the industrial working-class past. In this context sharing memories can be one of the few available ways to practise continuity and can be described as part of the process of the half-life of deindustrialisation. It is also part of a process of finding safety. Through sharing memories individuals can establish shared values and ideas, but this process necessarily has the potential to create division as new or unfamiliar groups can become focal points for unease or dissatisfaction. This is evident in Chopwell in perceptions of residents of The Streets. The memories shared also demonstrate that

this process is not new - in Winlaton residents of The Spike were othered and suspicion of 'outsiders' was shown as people relocated onto new housing estates.

This chapter and Chapter Seven have shown that memories of place are often vivid and sensory and they play a key role in identity formation and senses of belonging. Heritage from below expresses a sense of place identity "made meaning *full* by landscape...crucially, it is a landscape of activity" (Robertson, 2012: 2) and so much of the heritage shared in the interviews is deeply enmeshed in place, in habit, in acts of care. As I continued with static interviews, I grew increasingly frustrated, feeling that they did not do justice to the places and landscapes described, creating a 'gap', both in terms of experience (as a researcher I could not fully appreciate what was being remembered as I did not experience the place being described) and language. Participants not only found it challenging to talk about place in detail, but I also often sensed they found the mundane everyday details of place were not even worth describing. Additionally, they generally found it much easier to talk about what *was,* than what *is*, creating a false separation between past and present. In an attempt to overcome this, I embarked on walking interviews, the results of which are explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 9: Mobility in the landscape: Walking, doing, and sharing in place

9.1 Introduction

Chapters Seven and Eight explored the ways people remember through stories told and shared, a process based in the spoken word and images of the past reconstructed in the present. Whilst this provides important insights into enmeshed senses of heritage, it does not give a full picture of how people remember in these contexts. It underestimates the processes of memory, as it does not fully take into account the character of how we mentally rebuild and reconstruct places through remembering. This can be almost a physical process: closing our eyes and smelling, touching, hearing the past in a vital way. More than this, viewing memory as purely a thought exercise makes invisible the daily practices of memory which shape and cement our views of the past in the present, creating an enmeshed experience of being in place. Walking interviews offer the opportunity to explore 'doing' and 'being' in place as a form of memory. The repetition and refinement of habits, rituals and everyday practices which become a form of memory in themselves as we move through the landscape are influenced not just by the realities of the present but also memories of the past. When conducting traditional static interviews I would often find myself 'on the edge' of a better understanding of how participants interact with place through memory and repetition, but the format struggled to accommodate this wider sense of memory. The mundane details of interactions with place and the past can be challenging to articulate or are not considered worthy of mention, and even with encouragement, people found talking about this kind of detail difficult. Talking about how things have changed is easy, we immediately notice change in the landscape as it draws our attention. It is more challenging to pay attention to the unchanging, continuous ways we interact with landscape and how those long-standing practices influence relationships with place and the past over long periods of time.

Section 9.2 explores the physicality of being in and interacting with the landscape. This physicality is particularly conveyed in the memories shared during walking interviews because being in place not only acts as a memory trigger but also serves

to incorporate new layers of memory into the landscape through repetition. Taking a specific route, walking a particular place, or repeating a familiar task or practice rewrites the relationship between individual, place and memory with each interaction as each element becomes more deeply enmeshed with the whole. Paul Connerton's concept of 'incorporating memory' is used to draw out this sense of memory and anthropologist Tim Ingold's work on walking is explored as a means to flesh out understandings of place gained from spending time with participants in the landscape. In analysing the memories participants shared whilst walking it is possible to see a collapsing and merging of time as the importance of chronology is superseded by the significance of meaning. The passage of time is muddled by the landscape which acts as a container of the past, allowing participants to wander freely, pulling out memories at will. The myriad events and interactions between people and landscape play out as they are remembered and recreated.

In Section 9.3 the nature of knowing is examined. As people move through the landscape they are able to 'know' it in a very specific way which is difficult to express in a static interview. Walking interviews allow the sensory, intuitive ways in which people know place to be expressed, untethering memory from the need for language. This is challenging to capture in a text-based thesis and video, audio clips and still images have been used to try to capture some of the essence of this form of knowledge.

Finally, Section 9.4 explores the ways that spending time in the landscape underlines both the gendered and classed understandings of place expressed by participants. Deindustrialisation has in many ways completely changed the nature of interactions with the landscape as it moved from being a place of labour (as the location of the extraction of resources for heavy industry) to a place of leisure. This is highlighted by the seemingly contradictory heritage 'themes' of the LOI: the industry which exploited the natural landscape with little regard for the consequences is juxtaposed with the 'beauty' of the natural environment and foregrounds the conservation of habitats and species being undertaken as part of the heritage project. In the working-class past (mostly) men interacted with the landscape at close quarters and

dealt with elemental forces and danger on a daily basis. Their jobs were highly physical and so too were many of their hobbies, whilst women often had a very different, more constrained experience of place, which is explored in this section. The consequences of this are explored, demonstrating that the intertwining of landscape, industry and gender has a significant impact on how people physically situate themselves in place both in the past and in the present.

This chapter includes video links. To view the videos go to
https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1XYmOoAxktJN_PUzpO5BpdUDhkgu0oi13?usp=sharing
Videos are numbered and referenced in the text at the appropriate points.
Access to the videos has been limited to protect the anonymity of

9.2 Walking the landscape: incorporating memory, placeness and the meaning-*full* landscape

Figure 28: *Still image taken from walking interview (author's own image).*

Figure 29: *Still image taken from walking interview (author's own image).*

Figure 30: *Still image taken from walking interview (author's own image).*

Figure 31: *Still image taken from walking interview (author's own image).*

These images demonstrate the varying atmosphere and 'placeness' that is communicated by a range of factors such as the weather, position in the valley, or tree cover in the woods. Being 'in place' brings an immediacy to the ways place is remembered and understood.

Figure 32: *Still image taken from walking interview (author's own image).*

All but one of the walks I took followed a route which was very familiar to the participants. For them, internal navigation took over, there was no need to think or mull over which way to go, it was instinctive. In the ways participants interacted with place we see a sense of 'placeness'. This is a 'thick' experience of being in the landscape, where place is "something to be perceived, apprehended, experienced" (Elkin, 2016: 21), but more than this, the mutually constructing nature of being in place can be perceived. In *Gathering 'Dreams of Presence': a project for the cultural*

landscape, Rose (2006) takes as his starting point the idea that landscape and individual are mutually constructing, asserting that the landscape is not something that is already there to be seen, instead it "initiates rather than constructs" (pp. 538). Drawing on Derrida, he aims to

> reorient the study of landscapes from analysing landscapes as *systems* of presence to exploring them as *dreams* of presence; that is, as intimate collections of material sensations where other dreams of presence (dreams of who we are, of where we belong, and of how we get on with life) are consigned. [my italics] (ibid.: 539)

This understanding emphasises the ethereal quality of remembering, and to conceptualise this as dreamlike is to capture the ways in which the past can seem to float in and out of the consciousness when spending time in the landscape. In this understanding of landscape, we see that the concept of 'places of encounter' can move beyond interactions between kin and community to encompass ongoing 'thick' emotional encounters with the landscape. Thus, the importance of chronology becomes subordinate to the significance of meaning: to be in place is more important than facts about the history of a place or its individual physical elements. This has variously been described as "dwelling" (Ingold, 1993), "immanence" (Stewart, 2007) and "flirting" with space (Crouch, 2015). All of these terms focus on the landscape as a place of action. Rose's expansive concept of dreams of presence also gives the use of the landscape a future facing character; in the landscape our dreams are not just of the past they are also of the present and the future.

Figure 33: *Signage and way markers (author's own image).*

Figure 34: *Signage and way markers (author's own image).*

On the walks, signage and way markers became superfluous as the internal navigation of participants, who had walked these walks multiple times, took over. Even the dogs knew the way.

One of the most unselfconscious ways of being in and of the landscape is experienced by children playing, and participants spoke of their own experiences of play in the landscape as they walked. Those who spoke of spending unstructured, unsupervised time in the landscape as children have a detailed knowledge of place which was not born out of purpose. Certainly, they might know useful footpaths and shortcuts, but more than this they often have an innate sense of the topography of place, a kind of sensory feeling for places which comes from intimate knowledge and exploration for its own sake. There is a physicality to the knowledge of place which comes from the way children utilise what they find. The Windy Fields, for example, was a popular place to play for Winlaton children just on the outskirts of the village and the games that were played were associated with the physical properties of the place, so

> *you used to play round there in the Windy Fields, which is the field at the bottom of here, lots of people used to play on the Windy Fields. It was flat to an extent and then there was a deep slope, we used to call it roly poly so you all used to go and you used to roll down the field.* (June)

Similarly, in Chopwell Wood several people spoke of the 'Three Hills', an area which provided opportunities for various games based on the form of the landscape, such as natural hiding places.

Others spoke of knowledge of natural landmarks learned as children or from their own children. Features which acted as way-finders and navigational tools for children continue to be useful in understanding and moving through the landscape in adulthood. Chopwell and Winlaton participants both spoke of their own 'big tree', the tree in Winlaton was mentioned by multiple participants.

> *The big tree - everyone knows the big tree in Winlaton, it's one great big tree on the corner of the estate and it's still called The Big Tree.* (June)

> *Yeah we used to come along here when the kids were little on their bikes 'cos if you go straight down this line we used to come to 'the big tree', there was a massive tree that had collapsed and we used to drive up, cycle, and have a picnic, it was like a thing we used to do. The Big Tree.* (Julie)

This reflects the importance of habit and repetition in memory. Whilst play was unstructured and children were able to roam freely, certain routes were taken regularly and became part of informal rituals, becoming more enmeshed in memory and place with every journey. This way of understanding landscape is described by Paul Connerton as 'incorporating' memory (Connerton, 1989: 73), a term which relates to physical practices, limited to the moment in which they take place. Further defining this category he identifies "ceremonies of the body, proprieties of the body, and techniques of the body" (ibid.: 79). Connerton emphasises the importance of habit memory in these practices, it is a type of remembering which "without ever advertising to its historical origin, nevertheless re-enacts the past in our present conduct. In habitual memory the past is, as it were, sedimented in the body" (ibid.: 72). This definition of memory works in the context of this study because it places memory firmly as part of a process and reflects the co-constituting nature of remembering in the landscape. Both the individuals and the place are constantly being re-created by experience; memory is a process of incorporating the past into the present and as such is inherently forward looking. And so, both actors in the landscape and the landscape itself become 'full', they are constantly brimming with being. This is described by Stewart as the "surplus of meaningfulness vibrating in a... cultural landscape" (cited in Rose, 2006: 549).

This idea of the 'full' landscape is reflected in memories of the landscape as a space of play and leisure for adults as well as children. A sense of joy and playfulness across all ages is revealed in the memories shared. For example

I love going through the wood when it's snowing, I remember there was one year, me sister lives at Hall Farm, Blackhall Farm [...] *which is just through the bottom of the Burn Wood and erm, she decided she would walk, it was snowing, she couldn't get the car out so she's decided to walk up to our house with me daughter and her daughter. Well they didn't turn up! Two or three hours, they still hadn't turned up and it was an absolute blizzard outside. So S thought right, we got wer clothes on, got ready, S got ready, got himself all kitted up. And here they come walking down the drive, and hadn't they just made themselves a slide halfway up and they were just playing. You know, you do it, carrier bags and just got caught up sliding in the snow!* (Marie)

One of the fun times when [...] *my youngest was little, she used to go to* [a sports club] *with a friend of hers and they'd cancelled it one night because it was so rainy it was dangerous on the track, so I mean it was absolutely, y'know, pelting down. So, the three of us came here, we had a little run in the rain it was* [inaudible] *you know muddy and ...oh but it was such fun and I took B's friend back to her mums* [laughs] *I'm sorry! But we've had a lot of fun!* (Julie)

Elkin uses the word "placeness" to describe the feelings evoked by walking and being in place (Elkin, 2016: 21) and this can be felt in all the walks taken as part of this study. She is writing about the city, but her sense that "walking is mapping with your feet... [there is] always companionship, you are not alone. You walk in the city side by side with the living and the dead" (ibid.) also applies in a rural setting. Elkin highlights the ways that new understandings of place can be gained through walking and the fact that it helps to develop a focus on noticing one's environment. This does not only apply to urban landscapes and human interactions; the rural and the non-human can have a similar impact. The relationship with place gets stronger the more

one walks and it is an interaction not a one way pull. Although all the journeys undertaken in this study were done on foot, many types of mobility were described as we walked, reflecting the myriad different ways people move through the landscape: in coal trucks; on ponies, bikes and prams; running, strolling, and skipping. Being in the landscape forces interactions which go beyond the exclusively human.

Figure 35: *Some of the human and non-human interactions which took place whilst walking (author's own image).*

Figure 36: *Some of the human and non-human interactions which took place whilst walking (author's own image).*

Similarly, time can be thought of as mobile when moving through the landscape. This can be seen in the way events seem to float around and bubble to the surface at random and in this case was exacerbated by the longevity of the research relationship. All of those I walked with had been interviewed previously and in some cases there was a significant gap between meetings which meant that participants naturally reflected on changes in their lives. Julie had retired, one of Sarah's dogs had died, different things had happened over the intervening period, serving to underline the changing nature of what memory and place represent.

Anthropologists Ingold & Vergunst (2008) utilise the concept of route to demonstrate how walking in the landscape reflects and influences the journey through life. The walking interview is a close relation of immersive ethnography as it sits somewhere between a created research encounter (such as a social science interview) and a classic ethnographic observation. The term 'go along' (Kusenbach, 2003) captures something of this more organic scenario. Ingold has written extensively on walking as an anthropological practice and highlights that it is both under-valued and under-

studied, although this is perhaps less accurate in the late 2010s due to a surge in interest in recent years. Ingold & Vergunst write about walking in similar terms to Connerton (see Ingold, 1993: 157), here comparing walking to the whole life cycle and considering its relationship to both the past and the future:

> the long walk of life is not an undirectional progress from start to finish, or from cradle to grave. It does not go from A to B. With no discernible beginning or ending, it rather goes around A, B, C, D, E and any number of further places, in a circuitous movement. Leaving any place, in such a movement, is a part of the process of returning to it...Since to follow a trail is to remember how it goes, making one's way in the present is itself a recollection of the past. Thus every move forwards...takes one back to old haunts and pathways, the past and history. (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008: 17)

This raises a number of questions around the routes taken as we walk, particularly if walking is viewed as an expression of or a part of memory. It hints at the collapse of linear chronology in remembering and articulates Connerton's incorporating memory explicitly: "to follow a trail is to remember how it goes, making one's way in the present is itself a recollection of the past". It goes further, suggesting that there is no way forward that does not involve returning to the past. But the very idea of 'returning to the past' implies that time is a retraceable 'straight line' from A to B. The way participants spoke about the past and their memories points back to Ingold and Vergunst's assertion that life is not a straight line but a circuitous movement, and similarly memory and landscape cannot be 'read' or understood as a single chronological narrative. Time means different things to different people at different points in their lives.

Figure 37: *The view of the valley from the old ambulance track, along which we walked from Marie's house to Milkwellburn Wood (author's own image).*

I walked with Marie, Margaret and Kathy from Marie's house, along a path over fields towards Milkwellburn Wood. From the vantage point of the pathway, an old railway line looking over the valley, we get a sense of surveying the whole place, of gaining understanding through being able to see the whole vista. And Margaret and Kathy recreate the landscape of the past in a way that conjures all the senses. As they talk about Chopwell in the time of the pit we feel the chaos of the passing engines and the processes happening around us, and there is a sense that this busyness never stopped - the siren kept going around the clock and everyone heard it. And in the present, we look out over the peaceful valley, no longer a place of action. But to Margaret it is all part of the same thing, it is still the same place. I asked if she thought it was beautiful even back then, when all the industry was in progress, and she brushed aside the question *"aw yeah, and I was born just over on the other side of the Valley…"* it is her place, in some way it has always been the same to her despite all of the changes, ever since she was born. Margaret has a habit of forgetting the age of the people she is talking to, of assuming they were present at events which happened long before they were born. The pace of the conversation and the quick switches between then and now and everything in between seem to

have the effect of making it all become part of the same thing, in one chaotic moment.

Walking with Julie gave a sense of the landscape as brimming with the past in a different sense. Whilst walking with Margaret, the past felt like layers of barely concealed memory draped over the landscape, but for Julie memories of the past seem to leap from the landscape almost at random

> *And this is what we call the midgie camp on the left these trees, the children used to play when they were little, lots of the village children, and the trees were about* [motions height]*, y'know they've obviously grown we're talking, 30, 20, 30 years ago* [laughs] *but it is, that's the midgie camp* [laughs] *so that's where they used to go and play.* (Julie)

Time here becomes an undifferentiated 'past', it was *"30, 20, 30 years ago"*, it's all the same. Whilst making time a confusing and sometimes disorientating concept, these random memories sparked by place can also serve to mark time. Julie's family always do a Christmas Day walk, it is a family ritual. She also shared this memory of a fixed point in the history of their family:

> *The trucks* [old National Coal Board coal trucks have been set in the landscape as a feature - it is not clear if the intention is decorative or commemorative]. *Can't remember how long they've been in. Got a photo of me family when my daughter was going to university...we came for a walk and we all climbed on* [laughs]. *There's a picture of us all, 'cos she went to work for Network Rail so we thought it was quite appropriate.*

As memory can merge past events and defy chronological time, so it can take us from night to day and season to season. This was another story that left me with an incredibly strong sense of the experience, not just a mental picture but a sensory feeling of the cold clear night and the quality of the air and atmosphere after snow which was gained from being in-situ as we talked.

We once came, aw it was the most beautiful thing, in the winter it had snowed, and it was really thick snow and we decided, a few of us, to run. And it's dark, there was a full moon, we had our head torches but we didn't actually need them, and it was just, it was in the evening, there was nobody here and you know when you - we're going round over the bridge - you know when you're the first to walk in snow [laughs almost disbelieving] *we just had the most fantastic time.* (Julie)

The trees in the sunlight revealed something of the trees in the moonlight and expressed something of the place that could not be gained without being there.

Joan's walk was explicitly a kind of meander through the past. It took place in two locations, firstly in Blaydon, where she had memories of visiting her aunt and uncle, and secondly in Chopwell where she has a great many memories of her own childhood and various family members. The first part became almost like a treasure hunt as we searched for evidence of a house she remembered but could not locate.

Figure 38: *Searching for a 'missing' building with Joan in Blaydon (author's own image).*

Figure 39: *Searching for a 'missing' building with Joan in Blaydon (author's own image).*

Figure 40: *Searching for a 'missing' building with Joan in Blaydon (author's own image).*

Figure 41: *Searching for a 'missing' building with Joan in Blaydon (author's own image).*

Joan spent some time looking out across the road and exploring derelict buildings trying to reorientate herself and work out where the building could have been in relation to her aunt's house, which we located easily. The newer care home building and wide road disrupted Joan's sense of geography and scale and she became convinced the building must have been demolished. We later found it on Google Maps using old Ordnance Survey maps to cross reference the buildings.

After we had given up and gone home, I did some research and was able to send her some historic Ordnance Survey maps and she eventually found the buildings using Google Earth. In Joan's memory this place was much closer to her aunt's house, which we found easily. Part of this interruption or dislocation of memory was caused by the huge widening of the road which cuts across the area, which was disorienting and meant she struggled to place herself. This hints at a need for physical reminders to keep memory of place strong, suggesting that physical dislocation from the past can play tricks with and distort our perspective in much the same way that single events can come to dominate a narrative of the past. Writing

not on memory but on forgetting, Connerton asserts that memory "depends essentially upon a stable system of places" (Connerton, 2009: 5) without which we can find ourselves 'lost' both in place and in time.

In Chopwell it appeared that Joan found little to challenge her memory or disorientate her from her perception of the past. Walking the village consolidated her memory of her own childhood and the people who featured in it. We wandered the streets and she pointed out the house where she was born, the places she and her family lived, her aunt's shop, where the cinema was, and on and on, the reminders of small details sending her memories off on tangents. Small details can reveal the illusory nature of memory. For example, Joan talked about the location of an ice cream shop, Figliolini's, which had operated in the village in her childhood. In Joan's telling, the Italian family who ran it "*came after the war,* [in the context of the conversation this implied the Second World War] *I think they were refugees"*, but in fact they had lived in the Derwent Valley for many years previously. The business was listed in the 1914 Business Directory as operating from Derwent Street (Kelly's Directory, 1914: 553) and the same family had a shop in Consett. It appears that three brothers came to England from Northern Italy in around 1910. Rather than Chopwell providing a safe haven for the Figliolini family, stories passed down within the family suggest that they faced abuse and even internment during the Second World War (Pears, 2012). Joan's reading of events slots into a narrative of Chopwell as a place of community and safety and was either told to her or assumed, but her relatives would have known the shop for many years before the Second World War began (she was born in the 1940s). This could be described as a story which enforces one of Wertsche's "schematic narrative templates" (2008), acting to uphold and affirm qualities which are seen as intrinsic to the group and which are fundamental to Joan's own sense of formative self (see Section 6.2). For Joan a walk in Chopwell is like returning to a touchstone (she articulated it this way herself - *"for me, Chopwell, now more than ever, I go back to it as a reference point"*), it grounds her and reminds her where and who she has come from. This was not a familiar walk in the sense that it is not part of her everyday experience, but it was a familiar walk in-terms of how she understands herself and her place in the world. Wandering the village helps her to reaffirm her identity in a very specific way.

This section has demonstrated that memory can extend beyond thoughts and feelings about the past to encompass acts and habits in the present which re-affirm and re-inscribe value. This understanding of memory binds place and the past together in a way which defies definitions of landscapes as mere sums of their parts. Experiencing the landscape is integral to knowing it and the following section further explores some of the ways in which people can 'know' place, with a focus on sensory experience.

9.3 Ways of knowing and noticing in the landscape

The landscape meets people's needs in different ways at different points in their lives, and through exploring this interactive relationship, it became clear that many participants have an innate, enmeshed understanding of elements of the landscape to which they have become attuned in the time they have spent there. Sarah Pink writes about the importance of this sensory understanding and the idea that "knowledge [is] not simply something of the mind, but that 'knowing' is embedded in embodied practices, and cannot necessarily be expressed in spoken words" (Pink, 2011). There is a deep sense of knowing that comes through time spent in place - a sensory, felt knowledge that does not fit easily with ideas of heritage and value based on designations. Participants expressed how beautiful they feel these places are but beyond this sense of aesthetics there is a more nuanced understanding of place and changes in place over time, which comes from an intimacy with specific sites. Places reveal themselves over time as individuals give more of themselves and their time to place.

This manifests in different ways for different people. Julie for example spoke passionately about the trees in Chopwell Wood (see a clip of the conversation: Video 1)

> *I love trees, I love the shape and I mean it's just the branches and y'know the, I don't know, I just think it's so beautiful the shape of them and everything but er, I am an enthusiast but I don't know a lot about it but I think they're very beautiful things. I wouldn't be afraid to hug one or anything*

but I'm not really that extreme! [...] Look down there, again, isn't it lovely?
The colours and the straightness of the trees, I just love it. It is beautiful [...]
I love this bit it's got loads of beech trees but it's very root-y, I really like it.

She goes beyond expressing a generic beauty to connecting with the specifics of shape and colour and differences between species. There is also a practicality to these feelings, a sense of stewardship and groundedness in the practices of the everyday. Julie talked eloquently and almost romantically about the shape and appearance of the trees and her feelings about spending time in the wood whilst also recognising that this was not a completely 'natural' environment. We spoke about how the wood had always had a 'purpose', specifically relating to how the forest was utilised for building ships during the Tudor period. There was also little romanticism in how she approached the management of the site, having talked about how beautiful the wood is, she spotted a dead tree and her thoughts immediately snapped to her role as a volunteer - *"Oh that's a dead one look, we were talking about that yesterday, that needs to be removed."*

The affective qualities of being in place are foregrounded by the process of walking together. Weather, pace, mood, all have an impact on the experience of place and influence the memories shared. Walking together necessitates a certain ethic of care as we check up on each other, making sure the other walkers are comfortable or able to manage the terrain. Similarly, the quality and length of the silences is different in a walking interview than when static. This clip shows the changes in pace across the walks, demonstrating that that terrain and pace can impact on the mood and atmosphere of the walk and this in turn can influence the memories shared: Video 2. The feeling of being in place has many elements. As well as the immediate feelings and atmospheres of place the sense of being 'somewhere' specific is important. As we walked Mick repeatedly pointed out landmarks and places in the distance, literally situating us in the landscape at various points. He appeared to take satisfaction from the fact that a 360-degree view of the surrounding landscape was available over the course of the walk as can been seen in Video 3. As the bike whips past at the end of this clip we get a sense of the active nature of the landscape, the constant movement and interaction of people and place, and the fact that the

unexpected is never far away. We are not just talking about place; we are part of place.

Being in place draws attention to the ways in which the qualities of the landscape can impact on mood and atmosphere. Walking with Sarah, it was jarring to step out of the Wood and suddenly find myself on a golf course. She guided us across the green and straight back into the undergrowth via a path I would never have noticed.

Figure 42: *Sarah and her dog guide me across the golf course and back into Chopwell Wood (author's own image).*

Figure 43: *Sarah and her dog guide me across the golf course and back into Chopwell Wood (author's own image).*

In the following clip we see the change in atmosphere as Joan and I walk from the busy main street, down the lane and out into Milkwellburn Wood. The changing mood reflects the conversation, it almost feels like we are walking further and further back in time along a path she has not travelled for 50 years: Video 4.

A montage of material taken from a section of walk, in which Julie and I made our way from her house to Chopwell Wood (Video 5) reveals much about the qualities of the walking interview and Julie's experience of place. We travel down a cobbled street, passing buildings dating back to the early years of the village and the War Memorial which formerly stood outside the now demolished Village Institute building, but is now surrounded by a new housing estate. Julie greets a passing acquaintance and we chat about the passage of time: how long I have been researching in Chopwell, how old my daughter is. We turn a corner and the terraces of The Streets are revealed with the valley spread out below. We leave the path and follow a desire line across the grass towards the wood, Julie reminiscing about the games the

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children used to play here. As we continue the grass gets longer and the path more overgrown and eventually, we reach the Wood. This conversation veers from the personal to the public, between the past and the present. It gives a sense of the physicality of the past in the present and the vitality of Christine's experiences in the Wood. As we enter and she exclaims *"and we're in!"* it feels like an event, but this is something Julie does almost every other day.

Spending time in the landscape enables people to develop the art of 'noticing', something which is gradual and of which it is hard to get a sense in a traditional interview. Marie commented on the flowers and plants she saw as we walked, capturing the kind of detail not often afforded significance or specifically articulated as memory, yet these details reveal something of how people interact with landscape on a day-to-day level. Both of the following excerpts demonstrate the recognition of human intervention on landscape and a detailed 'noticing' of what is usual or unusual in these places which are so regularly walked

> Marie: *"Have you seen the red-hot poker* [plant]*?"*

> Margaret: *"Someone must have chucked some out or something"*

> Marie: *"Have you seen also, I saw another one, where'd I see it...? I think it's on the ? Road somewhere"*

> Kathy: *"It's amazing how they…"*

> Marie: *"Spring up"*

Here we see a knowledge of what kind of plants you would expect to see on a specific walk, the comment locating a sighting on a specific road fixes the geographic location and subtly expresses an intimate knowledge of place as well as an attitude of care. In noticing, they express that it is *worth* noticing. They care about the place and what they find within it. In the same way Mick has noticed the same thing over a long period of years, and was inspired to find out more about what he saw:

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You'll not see them at this time of the year, but I found some plants here growing in the, just on the edge of the tarmac, and in the spring the tiny little mauve flowers, thousands of them but the flowers are just like, size of a pinhead. Few years ago I discovered these, and eventually, by looking through the books and taking little bits home I found out it was a little plant called pearlwort and it's a seaside plant, and it's the salt. Salting the roads. In fact, if you drive up the A69 you know from Tyneside up to Hexham in the springtime and look on the sides of the road there are huge clumps on the side, of this sort of mauve plant, mounds of it everywhere. (Mick)

Figure 44: *Mick took the time to point out and name various plant species as we walked (author's own image).*

Figure 45: *Mick took the time to point out and name various plant species as we walked (author's own image).*

Some participants specifically identify that the art of noticing is dying out. Whether this is true or not it indicates the perceived importance of paying attention to our surroundings and attending to the natural environment for some participants. Only by walking with people in place is it possible to discover just how much people notice and take in about their surroundings, and it is something which is very personal and specific to place. Mick was one of the individuals who expressed this kind of view

I think it's a strange thing the way society is now, that people just walk past these things, don't even blummin notice them. They're so beautiful y'know? Even if you're not wanting to be an expert just to have some familiarity with

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them, they're sitting there right in front of your eyes just saying look at me y'know. (Mick)

Yet, Mick had admitted earlier in the interview process that he had taken little interest in the local area as a younger man and that it was something which had developed with age, so perhaps this is another factor which comes into play in terms of the 'art of noticing'.

Mick talked extensively about the different plant and animal species he encountered on his walks, as well as talking in detail about the farming calendar, all knowledge of which he had picked up from observing the farmers at work in the fields. He notices and is knowledgeable about specific bird and animal species

> *You get quite a lot of wading birds up here over winter, big flocks of peewits in these fields here, and huge flocks of finches as well gather in the winter, they seem to gather for safety in numbers, so even through the seasons there's quite a lot to see*

As well as plant species

> *that's scabious blue, the insects and butterflies loves that, it must be quite rich in pollen*

Figure 46: *Mick pointed out a field of spring wheat as we passed and talked about the processes involved in growing the crop (author's own image).*

But more than this he takes an interest in the interactions between people, landscape and nature, recognising the skill and knowledge of the farmers and the landscape as a place of interaction, where things continue to happen and change is constant

> They're just mowing now, the wheat, then they'll be ploughing the fields, then sowing the ...it's called Spring Wheat I think but they actually sew it in the autumn. I don't know if you've noticed that but I think a lot of farmers do the same with arable farming they plant this spring wheat in the autumn and actually it gets a hold and the shoots are through, you can see the shoots maybe three or four inches high before the really bad weather comes and then that checks it but it doesn't kill it off so it's sitting there waiting, it's got a hold, and then come the spring time when the temperatures ease a little bit [...] it takes off you know. Erm, that seems to be the more regular way to plant now, than planting...you would expect them to sow the seeds in the spring time wouldn't you. (All Mick)

These comments demonstrate both the importance of interaction between natural environment and individual - he clearly gains a great deal from noticing and learning about the plant and animal species he encounters on his walks - and an appreciation of the interrelationship between people and their environment. We see a negotiation between people and place in terms of plant species reacting to human behaviour and finding new environments (such as the pearlwort on the roadsides) and people utilising the landscape for agriculture. There is also a sense of wonder and curiosity in the processes he describes, for example how the cold weather can pause the growth of the wheat until the warmer weather.

Figure 47: *An 'accidental encounter' with nature on my walk with Mick (author's own image).*

This enmeshed relationship between people and landscape manifests itself in different ways in the walking interviews. This selection of clips from the walk with Marie demonstrates much about the immediacy of being in place in the present (Video 6): the interactions between people, animals and place; the sense of taking care of the landscape and the people and animals in it; and the perils of being in the world, from the lost ball to the dangers of picking flowers in an area frequented by

dog walkers. At other times when walking with Margaret I felt I could almost see the ghosts of the people she spoke about moving through the landscape, her memories were so vivid. We walked along an old track which had been the route of a wagonway from Chopwell to Whittonstall Drift and as we walked, different memories came to her, building a clearer picture as we went on. As we set off, she told us,

> *the men who worked at Whittonstall Drift, they used to get on a little train, just down below, down below here, they'd come along, they used to meet up on this track and go along to Whittonstall. You know how there used to be kids trains at the Coast, they had seats and tops on but it was all open on the side... do you remember them?* (Margaret)

And so, we started to build a mental picture of this track and the men who used it, drawing on other memories. For me, when she spoke of the 'kids trains at the Coast' I imagined the train in Marine Park in South Shields, somewhere I spent a lot of time as a child. For the others in the group this may well have conjured other images, and so we were all drawing on our own store of memories, pouring our own pasts into this other version of the past, the past as Margaret understands it.

We walked further along the track which is high up on the slope of the valley, so is fairly exposed. When the sun clouded over, the wind was cold and on the recording it can be heard whipping around us as we walk. It allowed a more sensory understanding of the men who worked in this environment, of the physicality of interacting with the landscape in such an elemental way, day in and day out and it reminded Margaret of the track to Whittonstall Drift (watch the clip: Video 7).

Kathy: *"It's changeable, isn't it?"*

Marie: *"It is, isn't it? It's lovely when the sun shines but it's pretty exposed when it doesn't."*

Margaret: *"1962, the bad winter 1962, the track* [muffled] *this must be the actual railway track I think it came up...up onto this one and along here, this*

was all covered in snow and the men they couldn't get along to Whittonstall
Drift and the miners had to dig it all out, your dad, it took them two days, oh
yeah."

I had heard this story before, but standing where it happened, feeling the landscape all around me, even on a mild day brought a new understanding of how unyielding this landscape could be.

At one point Margaret and Kathy look out across the landscape and describe it as they remember it in the past.

Figure 48: *Looking out over Chopwell towards Whittonstall village (author's own image).*

Margaret: *"See these houses just here?"*

Marie*:*   *"That's little Whittonstall."*

Margaret: *"And we used to live there. At the top of the street, you were straight in among everything that was going on at the pit, there was the shaft and there was the ovens, can you remember the ovens? The brick ovens?"*

Kathy: *"I can and I can remember…"*

Margaret: *"There was the coolers, the water coolers and the siren used to go y'know for the change of shift, shift change, the first 8 o'clock shift started at 8 o'clock and then there was the night shift started at, that was 4 o'clock I think, and the shift started at 1 o'clock in the morning and the siren used to go …"*

Interviewer: *"So you would have been right in the thick of it if you were standing here?"*

Margaret: *"Yeah we just used to walk through it, I mean you had to watch what you're doing cos there was engines, y'know trains going, taking the er, coal down to the Derwenthaugh Coke Works. Cos there was a direct line, along, y'know...the line through Chopwell Wood and that…"*

In this vivid description of being in place we see the vitality of a place which now feels sleepy and quiet. It also underlines the contrast between the 'beauty' of the 'natural' landscape and the realities of industry. Walking with participants also drew attention to the more mundane experiences of being in the rural landscape, acting as a reminder of the realities of life for people who actually live in these places rather than just using them for leisure. We passed through 'in between' spaces where cars were parked and improvised buildings stood, we saw abandoned farm equipment and Marie talked about fly-tippers and joy riders who dumped cars on country lanes. These are the realities of rural life as much as the beautiful views and peaceful walks and spending time in the landscape acted as a reminder of that.

Figure 49: *In-between spaces in the rural landscape (author's own image).*

Figure 50: *In-between spaces in the rural landscape (author's own image).*

Walking in the landscape also called attention to the proximity of the rural and the urban. In Chopwell industrial terraces overlook the valley and the wood. All the walks were done from the homes of participants, not remote cottages but houses on estates with shops and amenities close at hand. This proximity confuses the culture/nature dichotomy and disrupts senses of place which distance the rural from urban life.

Figure 51: *Setting out from Barlow into 'the countryside' on my walk with Mick (author's own image).*

These moments shared with participants demonstrate there are a variety of ways of knowing a place. Undoubtedly I, as the researcher, knew these places much better and in more nuanced ways having walked them rather than simply talking about

them. But I also felt I knew the participants better as well. I had shared an experience with them, they had shown me something of their everyday lives. Finding a way of knowing, and articulating that knowing, that does not privilege words and text is challenging, but in undertaking walking interviews I felt I had grown closer to that aim. Walking in place also draws attention to the privilege of being able to move freely in the landscape - to have the mobility and social and cultural opportunity to do so, something which is not available to everyone. The final section of the chapter considers mobility in relation to gender and class and the impacts these factors can have on experiencing and remembering place and landscape.

9.4 Freedom to roam? The role of gender and class in experiencing the landscape

There is a complex relationship between place and mobility demonstrated across this study. Many of the fondest memories and positive feelings shared about the landscape have their foundations in the ability to move freely in it. This freedom in the landscape is closely linked to feelings about the community and the freedom (or lack of) that individuals have within it. Whilst it is clear that many participants value a sense of community, whether that be in the past or the present, they also expressed that this can also have negative associations. Sarah voiced this most explicitly,

> *it has its ups and it has its downs, something happens, everyone finds out about it in a flash and it's like urgh. But then the opposite, if you want news spread quickly you know who to tell, y'know, so it's good and bad.*

Throughout many of the interviews people spoke about having the freedom to move relatively unhindered throughout the landscape, which provides a kind of counterpoint to the sometimes-oppressive sense of community in the villages. Mick expressed this clearly in his need for a lone walk to clear his head, but it was also apparent in Julie's running and cycling trips to Chopwell Wood. Beyond this, the memories people shared of being children in the natural landscape point towards this desire and space to slip away from view. Much writing on walking and anonymity focuses on the city, for example in *Walking Through Social Research* (Bates & Rhys-Taylor, 2017) the "centrality of walking to city life" (ibid.:3) is asserted to justify the

focus of the volume on walking in urban landscapes. However, the memories shared in this study show clear evidence that the natural landscape can provide a cloak to enable people to traverse the landscape in an unobserved, anonymous way, although this is not a privilege which is equally available to all.

The physicality of the landscape is linked to the gendered and classed experience of place, and industrial structures of feeling play a key role in how people relate to landscapes. In the past the community was dominated by highly skilled men who relied on their trades to make a living. In many cases their expert knowledge was a matter of life and death. One participant commented that when the pit props had been made of wood, the men could tell by the creaking if there was likely to be a collapse. When metal props were introduced, this ability was lost and as a result many felt they were in more danger. And death was ever present, as evidenced by the throw away comments such as "*me Grandad had died when I was born, erm, pit related*" (Kate) and this was not just the case for the miners, all the related industries going on in the Derwent Valley at that time were dangerous to a greater or lesser extent. And so it became the job of the women to wait at home.

> *Me Grandma was a pitman's wife basically...me Dad was one of five...it was a pretty tough life I would imagine....*[I remember] *me Grandma talking about it...and she said one of her memories was when the hooter went you know, you kind of knew, so long after that you were waiting for your husband to come home cos it was like, he's survived that day type of thing, and you know it was...you cannet really relate to it.* (Kate)

For Kate, herself in her late 50s, it was already such a distant way of life that she could not imagine how it felt to live with that constant threat. At the time these roles and feelings were almost built into the landscape of place, they were so ingrained through repetition. This vicarious memory has clearly had an impact on Kate, who explicitly describes her value system as built upon the working-class principles of graft and respect that she learned from her Grandparents and parents. This is Linkon's half-life of deindustrialization in practice.

Several people remember the skills their family members possessed with admiration and in a highly detailed way (both men and women) and whilst they were not all so elementally linked to the landscape as coal mining, again the proximity of home and work allowed a familiarity with workplace skills which would be unlikely in today's highly segregated way of living.

> *There was part of Chopwell called Whittonstall* [...] *Where the River Streets where you couldn't see Whittonstall because of the pit heap, it was huge, and the little horses going round the bottom* [...] *And my Grandfather had a huge workshop at the top...we used to go up on a Friday and brush all the shavings up, put all the little nails in the boxes and it was beautiful, he had every tool you could think of, every tool had its place, rows and rows of chisels and screwdrivers, everything. And he used to make the wheels...he did every part of the wheel. He had the spoke shapers, the spokes weren't just straight, they were shaped, they were beautiful...and we used to love it when he were putting the wheel together because they had to put the hot metal band round and then put it in the water to cool it and it would hiss, and that was magic, seeing that done. And then the wheel actually worked! It was great.* (Brenda)

The proximity of home and work made these men highly visible in the landscape,

> *you went to the top of Tyne Street when you were a kid and you would hear the clip clop of the studs and the ones going out were all nice and clean and puffing away having their last cigarette before they went down...and then the other ones coming back was black as the roads.* (Brenda)

There is a sense that they had a mastery over the landscape both at work and on the street, this highly visible, highly respected form of masculinity gave them a certain freedom. Kate spoke about her dad's career as an amateur boxer:

> *He trained and he amateur boxed and...he would go to work in the pit and then* [...] *it was nothing for him, if there was a fight it would be over Monkseaton somewhere* [a 40 mile round trip]*, he'd come off a shift, get*

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changed, get the bus, get the train, go to fight, get the train, get the bus, come back, have a couple of hours sleep and then go back to work. Men were men [laughs]. (Kate)

'Men were men', this is what they did, they were out of the house, interacting with the world beyond, moving constantly through the landscape unhindered. This phrase was used in a knowing, ironic way, but there is an underlying truth which cuts to something which is hard to express, a specific way of 'being a man' which is lost to Kate now, but which underpins her formative understanding of the world.

Both Winlaton and Chopwell have pasts shaped by heavy industry. This is precisely the reason the *Land of Oak & Iron* exists - ostensibly to celebrate these lost industries, whilst seeking to move on economically and regenerate in the long wake of their decline. The memories of those I spoke to were therefore heavily influenced by memories of industry and by the gender roles of the industrial communities in which they lived. This revealed some interesting detail about interactions with the landscape. The pit and the coke works were the big employers in Chopwell and Winlaton respectively in the mid-twentieth century and it is in this context we see some of the senses of masculinity which emerge in the data. Tim Ingold's concept of 'taskscape' places not just activity, but *interactivity* at the foreground of understanding landscape (Ingold, 1993: 163). There is a deeply interactive relationship between human and landscape in the life of a coal face worker, whose body is literally shaped by the coal seam. Kate said of her father "*he looked like a pitman me dad, he had the little scar on his nose with the blue dust in and y'know just pitman scars and things*" and described his uneven shoulders, caused by years at the seam.

The role of women in these memories and their place in the landscape is complex. Unlike the menfolk who were expected to undertake dangerous physical jobs, women were often 'protected' from certain types of work, for example Kate's brothers would not allow her to work in a factory, but shop work was considered acceptable. Maureen's dad stopped her taking a job at the hospital after her sister who worked there contracted TB and instead she kept her job at the Meadow Dairy

where it was perceived she could come to no harm. However, Brenda was required to do difficult and dirty work at her family business, and many would agree that the work of keeping a household of numerous children and a husband in a dangerous and physically demanding job was more challenging than any of the paid work available to them. So, whilst outwardly these boundaries appear to be drawn to protect women from difficult or dangerous work, there is an element of placing controls over the freedom to move freely in all these examples. Warned off factory work, Kate got a job in a shop in the village, and whilst Maureen's job took her to Consett it was still just a short bus journey away (although despite this proximity "*it opened up a new life*" for her due to the new friends she made). Brenda's job was hard and unpleasant, but it was practically domestic, it felt to her like less freedom, not more.

> Interviewer: "*Do you remember much about* [the work you did]?*"*
>
> Brenda: "[Sighs] *How could I forget it? Yes. It was hard work. Really, really hard work and we were all involved from being little. You got your brush and you had to brush.* […]*... I started working when I was 11. And I was allowed out one night a week: Monday. Back for quarter to ten. Where can you go on a Monday?!*"

Some of the women remembered by participants turned this idea of the need for protection on its head - Joan's entrepreneurial Great Auntie took on her own business and made a success of it, building her own living from virtually nothing. This is an interesting inversion of the high street as part of the woman's role, instead of shopping she owned the shop (a drapers, so a trade particularly suited to stereotypical female roles), thus achieving success in a way that was not challenging to the gendered roles of the pit village but placed her firmly in a position of power and authority. Her shop was remembered by many as a landmark of the village. Maureen and her sisters are an interesting example in that they have spent their whole lives engaging politically and being highly visible within the community. They did this by becoming part of the movement to support and protect the miners and in the process have become important matriarchal figures in the village (one woman

described them as 'heroes'). They took a lead in this activity from their father who was a prominent Trade Union figure and so acted almost as a gatekeeper to their activism initially, although they went on to have recognition for their work in their own right. There is an interesting to and fro of visibility and acceptability in both examples, a trade-off between pushing boundaries and working within 'acceptable' limits which is constantly in play. It should also be noted that there were boundaries placed on men in these kinds of close-knit single industry communities - moving from manual work to office work was not acceptable in some families for example - but these boundaries appear to have less implications for visibility and agency in the physical landscape.

Others I spoke to saw the landscape as a place of escape, a chance to continue to play even as adults, and this is something which can be seen in both Marie and Julie's accounts of how they use the landscape in the present. When asked about her memories of the particular route we had taken, Margaret, who is a generation older than Marie and Julie, remembered

> *We'd come to pick blackberries along here, me and ER, when your Dad was at Newcastle football match, aw we're baking aw we'll have to go and get some blackberries, we'd come along and walk up here.* (Margaret)

This idea of a walk as an escape is contrasted with the traditionally masculine pursuit of going to the football but crucially it still had a purpose that served the household. It was play masked as work which made it more acceptable. Other accounts of women in the landscape include tatty (potato) picking.

The idea of time for play and leisure for adults seems alien to the older participants in particular. When asked, very few said they would spend free time in the landscape with their parents as children, instead they would be sent out to play with other children while their parents 'got on with jobs'. For women this generally meant housework, unskilled labour as it would be viewed at the time; for men this often meant tending allotments or gardens. Many men spent very little time at home, working long hours and spending much of their time at the weekend either engaging

in hobbies or in the pub. Marie remembered *"the menfolk, I mean they went drinking all weekend, Friday, Saturday, Sunday...the men used to go home, have dinner, see the families and then come back out drinking again on a Sunday"*. For June the garden was

> *me dad's domain, it was just roses and flowers...I can picture roses and the edge of the garden where, you know when you get a brick and you tip it on edge so you have the points, they were all lined like that at the edge of the garden, I can remember that.* (June)

But even these ostensibly private pursuits were often undertaken for a public purpose as men would participate in competitions using what they had grown, such as the annual Leek Show.

John explicitly tells me that he mourns these opportunities to display talent, as he termed it, he

> *was fortunate to be brought in at a time where people got a chance to express their talents. Virtually every factory had its sports and social clubs and men were good organisers in them sort of things, in the village hall and that, and the women basically would do their bit as well and set things up on open days.* (John)

This reflects the fact that due to the nature of the gender imbalance at work the display of *men's* talents was always at the forefront and the women in the community are characterised as helpers. This is not to disparage any of the individuals involved but to demonstrate that the visible, active nature of the very masculine work at the heart of these communities had an impact on the availability of the landscape - both urban and rural - to women.

For a surprising number of participants, the consequence of this for some of the women in their families was a complete retreat from the landscape. Two people used

the word agoraphobic to describe women in their families who simply did not feel they could leave the house.

> *Yeah, Grandma never really went out a lot. Now it would probably be classed as agoraphobic but as far as she went would be a neighbour across the road or a neighbour at the end of the street. She didn't used to go to the shop* [...] *Grandma just stayed at home.* (June)

> *I remember when I was about, I would say I was about five, six, I started doing the shopping and I didn't realise that me mam had getting, what do you call it when you're terrified to go out the door? Agoraphobia. She had that. Whether it was a bit of depression as well we don't know.* (Val)

Two themes seem to come out of the stories of these women. The first is around proximity to friends, family and familiarity - perhaps the opposite of Elkin's 'placeness'. Some of the women in these kinds of situations were in part suffering from the isolation of displacement. Val's mother had moved to Winlaton from Scotland, the family following the promise of jobs at Derwenthaugh Coke Works. Val describes her mother's need to 'learn different ways', when even going to the bakers became a learning experience, as she did not know the right names for the items she wanted to buy. Others described female relatives being struck with homesickness (often when offered homes on new council estates), in one case having only moved a few miles down the road.

> *Me mam and dad first got a council house when I was by then about three or four years old, they were married in '45 after the war, I was born about a year and a half later, '46 I was born, December. '51, '52 they managed to get a council house, until then they'd lived with me grandmother, me mother's mother. They got a council house in Winlaton. Well we had no car, didn't have a phone in those days, early '50s, it was like miles away and me mother wanted to be near her mother, they were very very close. So we moved back down to Blaydon, got a swap, so were just a couple hundred yards from her mother at the house where I was born. I was born at me Grandmother's*

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house. So y'know Rowland's Gill was a million miles away in a way. But saying that the miners and factory workers would easily walk a mile or two, an hour or more to get to work in the morning and back again in the evening. So, depends which way you look at it. (Mick)

Here we see this contrast markedly. Mick's mother found living what was probably a distance of about two miles away from her mother unbearable, yet the men who lived around them (possibly including Mick's dad who was a labourer) would walk that distance or further twice a day to get to work. This speaks to a feeling of isolation amongst these female relatives, a lack of placeness. Yet for others this enforced domestication seems to have been the opposite, that they were so integral to place that they themselves became a landmark, a constant in their specific place to be relied on and possibly even to be paid tribute to. June went on to describe her Grandmother's day-to-day routine.

The tea man, me Grandma's house was the stop house, so the Rington's tea men [...] *used to come to me Grandma's house on a Friday. They all used to go and get their fish and chips, and then they used to come to Grandma's, she'd have the kettle on and they would all sit round the table, eat their lunch and Grandma used to give them their cup of tea they would have a natter between themselves, chat to Grandma, they came to Grandma's for years, even when I got married they used to come to Grandma's on a Friday. There used to be two vans when they got into vans, but prior to that it was the horse and cart and* [...] *they used to come to Grandma's for many years, Even when they got married they used to bring their wives to show them to me Grandma* [...] *and they came to Grandma's funeral y'know, it was this tie, this bond that she had.*

These relationships with place and home are complicated and diverse but demonstrate a strongly gendered relationship with the landscape in the memories of participants. Exploring ideas of placeness and walking from the perspective of the flaneuse (as opposed to the flaneur), Elkin highlights the anonymity afforded to women by walking in the city, contrasting this with the home where "we are

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surrounded by the objects that make us who we are: things we have chosen and arranged, which 'express' and 'enforce' our identities" (Elkin, 2016: 87). These matriarchal figures appear to relish in the domestic spaces which express and enforce their identities, and many of the participants expressed a longing for the homes of grandparents or parents where a matriarchal figure ruled, and the family gravitated to the dining table to be fed and spend time with family. In many cases these formative experiences provide a strong sense of identity and shape the way participants feel about family and place.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that being, doing and sharing in the landscape makes place real. This is a very different way of understanding place to the AHD approach of management plans and strategic documents, and taking a walking approach added huge value and richness to the research process. Returning to the defining features of enmeshed heritage, walking in the landscape not only provides insights into embodied action and practices based in continuity; additionally, it focuses attention on the everyday purpose of the landscape. This type of enmeshed heritage is not interested in economic outcomes or outputs and is not performed for an audience of tourists or visitors. As such it serves as a corrective to the AHD concern with visitor numbers and the tourist gaze which often sees local residents and their use of the landscape overlooked by official projects designed to encourage new visitors.

Recognising the multiple types of knowledge gained from spending time in the landscape allows place to become more than just an idea, acknowledging the lived experience of communities and their interactions with place. Walking interviews provide a means of opening up these different senses of what place is and what it does, giving voice to manifestations of heritage from below which are often neglected or ignored by top-down heritage projects. Recognising time spent in the landscape as a form of incorporating memory opens new avenues of understanding and the memories shared by participants reveal a nuance and depth of understanding about place gained from familiarity and experience. In this understanding, landscape is more than just a collection of individual features or

things, rather it is an ever-changing entity, interacting and evolving with the people who are part of it. The human and non-human are all part of the same whole.

Spending time in and moving through the landscape with participants allowed me as a researcher, to have an embodied experience of place and share in a social and embodied sense of the landscape with participants. But the understanding of place went further than this, reflecting not just the enmeshed relationship between people and place in the present but also the embodied experience of place in the past. The way that people experienced the landscape in the industrial past revealed itself as shaping their understanding of it in the present, and this reflexive process was not limited to former industrial workers but can be seen in the way all participants view and experience landscape. Paths which formerly had uses for pit and coke works, old railway lines and the way people interact with natural landmarks all show the residues of the half-life of deindustrialisation. The landscape is a place of physicality and in a former industrial area this has a particularly gendered and classed nature. Access to the landscape (both in the past and the present) is not equal and the ways that people use and spend time in the landscape has changed over time, revealing wider processes of social change.

Spending time in the landscape serves to further highlight the continuities expressed by enmeshed heritage, as the mundane experiences of place which are challenging to articulate and often considered not worthy of mention are exposed. This is a kind of knowing which has no immediate purpose but rather is part of an ongoing process of place and identity formation. As people and place interact they become part of a continuous process of evolution and change, and actions in the present express and reaffirm the values of the past. However, when the pace of change is too fast - when place is suddenly and drastically altered - this can serve to dislocate and disrupt memory. A walk in an unexpectedly changed place can be jarring and confusing, as was demonstrated by Joan's walk in Blaydon.

The walking method used in gathering the material for this chapter developed as part of the research process. I did not plan to do walking interviews at the beginning of the PhD project. It became clear that spending time in place with participants

would be the best way to understand both the people and the places. Ultimately, this is the most important conclusion to be drawn from the research. To truly accommodate wider senses of heritage, the AHD must get closer to places and their communities, and methods of research must be open to adaptation and change. In Chapter Four, Tim Ingold's (1993: 155) metaphor of the surveyor is used to illustrate the difference between place and space. Like Ingold's surveyor who sees the landscape as space to be understood as if from above, mapped and charted in an abstract way, AHD understandings of value: lists of designations, special characteristics and heritage at risk, fail to see place as a whole. By contrast, taking a flexible approach to research methods that develops in concert with the material offered by participants has helped to draw out richer, more enmeshed senses of heritage in order to understand places where meaning is gathered from the world, not spaces to which meaning is attached (ibid.).

Chapter 10: Drawing conclusions: understanding enmeshed heritage in the Derwent Valley

10.1 Introduction

When I began the PhD, I had little knowledge of the communities in which I was working. I expected to find communities shaped by industry and the expression of strong feelings of loss in the wake of deindustrialisation. But instead, I found something much more complex. The places in which I spent time were shaped by the industrial past, but I found people who expressed that legacy in a much more nuanced way than simply through a discourse of loss. In these places I found very little nostalgia for the realities of the pit or the steel works, but instead a sense of longing for the social structures which previously framed industrial life. The natural environment was very much a part of that framework and for many of those I interviewed, the landscape of home has always included woods, rivers, and fields. To separate the industrial and the natural landscape makes no sense in this context.

I found a group of incredibly generous people who were willing to give their time and energy to my project, for which I am extremely grateful. I am fascinated by the detail of everyday life, and the people I interviewed had rich and unexpected stories to tell. These are stories that deserve to be told, and for which official heritage projects often do not make space. Alternatively, when they do, they are categorised as 'community heritage', and as such they are excluded from the dramatic narrative of a national or global story.

In this concluding chapter the research questions are first revisited, including a discussion of the issues of power intrinsic in the relationship between the AHD and HFB. Understanding the complexity of this power dynamic is crucial in understanding how HFB and AHD interact within enmeshed senses of heritage. How the power of HFB and enmeshed heritages can be accommodated and mobilised by AHD structures and organisations is also considered. This is followed by an outline of the contribution of the thesis to the disciplines of geography and heritage studies and a summary of recommendations. Finally, a case is made for why enmeshed heritages matter.

10.2 Revisiting the research questions

My initial research question asked:

How do memories across generations shape understanding of the Derwent Valley as a heritage landscape and as a local landscape?

It is important to recognise that for the people living in the Derwent Valley the industrial past is not simply heritage. It is part of their everyday experience, making up the structures of feeling around which their lives are shaped. It has been demonstrated that memory, landscape, and identity are deeply enmeshed in the Derwent Valley. In Chapter Seven the significant impact of place on formative memory was explored, followed in Chapter Eight by a consideration of the importance of remembering together in shaping how we understand and experience place. In Chapter Nine, the mobile memory was explored, demonstrating how being in and experiencing place as part of the process of remembering evokes a new perspective. One important aspect of the interview material was a real sense of the physicality of working-class life. It seems obvious to say that the coal-face worker was elementally connected to the landscape, a cliché even, but the conversations and walking interviews gave a real sense of the affective relationship between participants and the landscape. This was not simply an echo of the lost industries, it was expressed in many ways: childhood knowledge of the topography of obscure and hidden places, knowledge of walking routes and cycle paths, throwaway comments about farming practices or plant species. One of the most important conclusions to take from the research is that the best way to find out what people value about heritage and place is not to ask them, but rather to spend time with them in the places that matter to them.

This is reflected through the generations. The age spread of participants was wide: at the time of interview the youngest participant was 28 and the oldest days away from their 90th birthday, but the average age was 67 (60 in Chopwell and 76 in Winlaton). Whilst the distribution of participants skewed to the older end of the scale, every participant spoke about how they experienced place in the context of family and community. It is clear throughout the research that place understanding relies heavily on intergenerational transmission: through shared walks, stories, habits and practices. The social foundations of memory make this inevitable.

The importance of the landscape cannot be reduced to the natural; there is a constant interaction between natural, cultural and industrial heritage. Whilst people often spoke about the positive changes deindustrialisation has brought to their local environment - reduced pollution and nicer places to walk for example - there was also a huge sadness and sense of regret around the decline or destruction of what could be termed the more urban elements of the landscape. In Winlaton, several participants expressed sorrow at the loss of the old Blaydon centre, and in Chopwell the decline of Derwent Street and The Streets was a constant theme. In these communities the legacy of deindustrialisation is not (for many though not all) hardship in the way that many former industrial communities in the North of England have experienced. It is rather a loss of social experience, of places of encounter and the perception of safety and continuity in their own communities. This was experienced to a greater or lesser extent by almost all participants and is part of an industrial structure of feeling which is neglected by the values of the AHD.

The main research question above prompted several sub-questions:

    a) How do people's everyday experiences of place shape how they feel about where they live and what they value about the past?

    b) What is the role of doing and sharing in the landscape in this process (both in terms of memories shared and habits or rituals conducted together within the landscape)?

    c) How does this understanding of what is valuable about place relate to more formal understandings of heritage and value?

The third of these questions came to be more significant in the research than expected at the outset. Questions a) and b) were explored in the findings chapters and it is clear that everyday experience and doing and sharing in the landscape play a significant role in how participants think about the past and their heritage. More than simply shaping how people feel and what they value, heritage can also act as an impetus to action. For some, the role of heritage in how they act in the present is implicit and unarticulated but for others it is self-conscious and part of an active rejection of official heritages. This is explored further in Section 10.4 below.

In attempting to respond to c), the term 'enmeshed heritage' became key in depicting what emerged to be the deeply interconnected nature of 'formal' and 'informal' heritage. In chapters 3 and 4 the 'problem' for heritage projects like the *Land of Oak & Iron* was set out. It was shown how AHD-influenced processes of heritage have created a particular scenario in UK heritage policy which constrains and limits the definition of what heritage is and what it can do, even when the organisations involved specifically want to implement change. Within the literature, heritage from below has come to be used as a shorthand for all the AHD is not, and whilst it is not the intention of scholars to create this oppositional relationship it can be hard for HFB to escape this dichotomy. In exploring the understandings of heritage found in the Derwent Valley, the term 'enmeshed heritage' has been used to capture a type of HFB which is deeply intertwined with the AHD but exists outside of its parameters and narratives. Is it possible, or indeed desirable, for the AHD to accommodate these enmeshed senses of heritage? What might that involve?

As the project progressed, this issue became more and more significant to the overall thesis and the question of how official projects (or the AHD) can better accommodate more expansive understandings of heritage is something I have been preoccupied with throughout. The key difference between AHD heritage and heritage from below is that the AHD is in possession of power. This power dynamic, and the way power is exerted by individuals, institutions and structures is central to understanding the relationship between the AHD and HFB and their enmeshed nature. The first part of the chapter considers some key questions about the power dynamics of heritage raised by the concept of enmeshed heritages.

10.3 Enmeshed heritage: the complex power dynamic between AHD and HFB

It is clear that the relationship between 'formal' and 'informal' heritage is complex and interwoven. The AHD has both the power to constrain heritage from below whilst also, in the right circumstances, being able to act as an enabling force for HFB. The following example of Bill and Jean's experience demonstrates that it is impossible to neatly separate out the different senses of formal and informal, official and unofficial heritage. Crucially, it shows the significance of power relations in how heritage is experienced and practised and the ways in which the AHD can exert

power in different ways on different individuals depending on their skills and experience.

Bill and his wife Jean have lived in the same house in Winlaton since the 1950s; they are deeply enmeshed in place and their understanding of heritage weaves in and out of the AHD and HFB. At the time of interviewing, they were both about to turn 90. They have children and grandchildren, some of whom live within walking distance although their children have lived across the world. Throughout the interview they communicate a strong sense of their curiosity about the world, something which seems to be shared by their children and grandchildren - *"we wanted to always go to different places, see what's over the other side of the hill. I think that's been the general sort of spirit"* (Bill). Bill grew up in urban Bensham and moving to Winlaton, a place where he has strong formative memories of discovering and enjoying the rural landscape, was part of affirming his identity: he is a countryside person, not a town person.

Bill and Jean engage in what could be described as a subversive or marginal heritage activity in the form of 'guerrilla' tree planting: *"anywhere that anybody's left a bit of spare land we go and plant trees"* (Jean). The couple have rented a plot of woodland from the Council for over 50 years and have a large allotment. They spend time growing large numbers of trees, saying they have 'hundreds' of saplings at the allotment. It is not clear whether the trees were grown for the purpose of planting around the area, or the planting developed as a solution to having grown so many trees, but Bill spends a significant amount of time planting saplings on patches of land around the Derwent Valley. The way he talks about it, not entirely clear of the legalities himself, serves to emphasise the marginality of what he is doing:

> Jean: *"The police stopped you once, thought you were digging for rabbits! For badgers!"*

> Bill: *"'Had a report someone's digging for badgers'. I said I'm planting trees, he said alright carry on* [laughs] [...]"

Jean: "We've got trees everywhere all over the country."

Bill: "But the idea is to plant them on the roads that you use, now we often come back from the MetroCentre, round sort of Swalwell and that there's a big long bit of land on the other side of the bridge, the motorway bridge, when you go through the motorway bridge, by the side there there's quite a lot of land there and you might see some trees sprouting there 'cos that's the next place."

Jean: "You have to go when it's dark."

Bill: '[…] You're not doing anything wrong, not really but technically you might say you're trespassing you know. Good well we'll go, anyone stops you then I'll just say, not bothered."

It came as a surprise to hear a well-educated, professional, elderly gentleman talk about how he goes out in the dark and covertly plants trees and the glee with which Jean spoke about this activity made it seem more incongruous and subversive. This activity is part of an inter-connectedness with the landscape, but also an innate sense of power to act upon the landscape and a belief that they have the authority to be changing the place they live. Their own destinies and the destiny of the place where they live are enmeshed in a complex relationship.

This is seemingly in contrast with Bill's experience in local government and as an activist, fully immersed in the processes of the AHD. Over half a century he has played a central role in preserving the woodland of the Derwent Valley, exploiting opportunities and new forms of legislation and designation along the way. The following excerpt shows that Bill was able to use the increasing opportunities for designation and conservation which were introduced over the late twentieth and early twenty first century, including the introduction of greenbelt designation, to advance his goals as a conservationist. Ultimately the way that Bill spoke about his experiences of local politics and activism demonstrates pragmatism - he was able to quickly learn and understand the shifting rules of the official heritage process and

use them effectively. This was a theme throughout the interview as Bill saw opportunities through new forms of designation, notably the ongoing decommissioning of industrial sites and Local Authority restructures. In the process he describes here his identity is fluid: at once a Councillor, member of the Derwent Valley Protection Society and resident, he uses these different roles to maximise the chance of success.

> One of the things was that the greenbelt, when the greenbelt was established, it was designated some time in the '80s it must have been, I was on Gateshead Council at the time and the Planning Officer recommended that we just have the greenbelt out to about Rowland's Gill and I argued the case - well I argued the case but I didn't make the case in the Council, but I made the case through the Derwent Valley Protection Society - to have the greenbelt right up through Chopwell right up to the county boundary. Because my argument was that the other side of the county boundary on the Northumberland side was designated as greenbelt. Cross border changes in planning policy, the inspectors didn't like that. And I couldn't go to the Public Enquiry to argue the case because I was on the Planning Committee anyway, I'd be arguing against me own recommendation [laughs] but I sent one of the lads. He was clever, I think he was a solicitor up the valley there, and he went instead and argued the case for the Derwent Valley Protection Society and the Inspector agreed because you couldn't have a greenbelt ending just past, about Rowland's Gill and then a lot of what they call white land I think beyond that with no designation and then a greenbelt on the other side of the boundary.

Bill used his insider knowledge about the preferences for greenbelt designation, as well as his position on the Council to inform the strategy. Through effectively using the system and sending a 'clever' member of the Derwent Valley Protection Society, the greatest amount of designation was achieved, therefore preventing the greatest amount of development possible. Bill gave multiple examples of situations like this where a particular type of designation was invoked along with pressure from activist groups and/or the public to prevent development or press for designation. He is

clearly very skilled at working the system strategically and using his different roles and identities to achieve this, his knowledge and professional expertise have given him the confidence and ability to do so.

In a sense Bill uses the power of the AHD to protect heritage from below. His work to secure designations and protections for the natural environment has enabled people (himself included) to continue to use the landscape - to practise heritage from below - uninterrupted by development. Bill and Jean spend significant amounts of time on their woodland and in their allotment engaging in practical landscape-based activities together and with their children and grandchildren. This is a form of enmeshed heritage, as their own lives and the lives of their families are experienced in the woodland they love and on their allotment. They both spoke about how much they enjoy spending time outdoors doing practical tasks but are to a large extent unconcerned with the outputs, for example often not bothering to harvest the vegetables they grow:

> Jean: I'm not very keen on cabbage I don't know why we grow it, we can just let it go.
>
> Bill: We had a fantastic crop of red cabbage [...] and 100 leeks, they were that big and 100 onions and we had some broad beans and peas, the peas have been eaten by birds.
>
> Jean: Yeah we've pigeons, the pigeons have had a good time I think.

All these activities express a deep interaction with the landscape but one which is not instrumentalised or performed with any particular output in mind. Bill and Jean feel a strong connection with the woods of the Derwent Valley on a personal level; just spending time there is enough. Talking about their own plot they describe the time they spend there and how they value the embodied nature of the experience,

> Jean: "It's a wonderful place"

Bill: *"It's so lovely to be there, we go there, we cut wood, we've got the wood burning fire. The last four or five years I think we've had enough trees to start thinning the trees to get timber, decent timber, so we've enjoyed that, we've enjoyed that a lot."*

This is a tangible connection to the future of the wood. They are maintaining the trees to keep the woodland intact and they enjoy spending time there with their children and grandchildren; but it also provides a connection with the past. The process of sitting around a fire, spending time in the woodland, and taking pleasure in its continuity provides an embodied connection with the past as well as the future and is an expression of continuity.

Bill and Jean demonstrate the complexity of the relationship between heritage from below and official heritage. Learning to exploit the processes of the AHD has benefited them (and the landscape) in that they have taken satisfaction in preserving something that is important to them. It is not clear whether the power and authority they feel to engage in their tree planting activities derives from the legitimisation of their wider aims by the processes of the AHD. Does the success of their activist activity in a sense endorse their less conventional conservation tactics? This example also shows the significant power that official heritage processes wield over the landscape and its use. If Bill and Jean can exploit the system, so too will others who have less benevolent aims. The survival of many forms of heritage from below relies on structural and societal change which is largely out of the control of individuals or local communities, and this is clear from Bill's experience.

Whilst Bill and Jean appear to switch seamlessly from unofficial to official senses of heritage in ways that subvert a binary split between HFB and the AHD, there is still a power dynamic at play. The couple are relatively affluent - they have the means to lease their woodland from the Council, and despite their apparent lack of concern about the legalities of their tree planting, as relatively powerful actors in local life they are unlikely to face any adverse consequences. For others with less power the act of guerrilla tree planting might feel a riskier strategy. Ultimately, Bill and Jean feel they have the power to effect change both through official and unofficial means,

through their participation in local government, their understanding of heritage management processes and their confidence that their less conventional interventions will benefit the natural environment. They have learnt to navigate the system. Whilst others may understand that there is a system in place, they are often less able to see how to navigate it, and as such they may tacitly accept the constraints of the AHD. In the process they de-legitimise their own senses of enmeshed heritage because they do not fit easily into the structures of the AHD.

10.4 What is legitimate heritage? The power of the AHD to endorse or de-legitimise heritage from below

Some of Kate's responses support the idea that the wider 'non-expert' public have internalised what can be legitimately acknowledged as heritage and have as such filtered their own sense of what heritage can 'be'. At the time of interview Kate was in her late 50s. She has lived in Chopwell all her life and feels a strong connection to the village, more recently she has been involved with the heritage and regeneration activities happening in the village. Although in general I tried to avoid asking direct questions about heritage whilst interviewing, towards the end of this interview I did broach the topic. Asked about the important parts of Chopwell's heritage, Kate became hesitant and said:

> I don't know, 'cos sadly, the trouble with Chopwell is it's got a lot of history but there's not a lot of the buildings left y'know so it's quite difficult. You can go like, aw such and such used to be there and that's where such and such used to be and I can show you a photo but there's nothing there.

This idea that there must be 'something there' to memorialise has filtered down from a version of the AHD which focuses on buildings and 'things' on which we can look, remember and appreciate. Whilst this may reflect the idea that people use the markers of place in memory formation (Connerton, 2009), Kate goes on to mention The Hotel (referring to the Chopwell Hotel, one of the pubs in the village which has now closed) as a focal point and then corrects herself: "but it's not a listed building." The Hotel may be a focal point for local memory, but Kate has an implicit understanding that this is not 'real' heritage because it has not been designated as such; and so, these elements of Chopwell memory slowly drop further down the list

of 'legitimate' heritage to be overtaken by other more noteworthy things. Yet Kate goes on to say,

> *I mean I think the big thing that makes Chopwell unique is the fact that it was built around a pit, it's, it's, it's strong socialist slash communist history which is...is...y'know there's no denying it, it's there, it was massive, it was.*

This suggests that there is an intangible heritage for Kate, not represented by buildings or monuments, invisible from view but which is 'massive' and is largely missing from the sense of heritage that projects like the LOI offer. Her hesitancy shows her uncertainty as to whether this constitutes a 'legitimate' form of heritage. This is a sentiment that is echoed in the comments of the LOI Project Manager, who expressed regret that the project did not cover *"more of the social history of the LOI. I would have loved to have done something on Joseph Cowan and the political stories of the area"* and referred to the importance of the Chartist movement and the *"start of the working-class in that there was an organised society formed"* (K. Daglish, 2020, personal interview, 15 April). Coming from the PM for the project, ostensibly in control of the heritage narrative of the project, we see that the authority of the AHD subtly influences what even professionals feel they are 'allowed' to do and what stories they can tell. While professionals working in the sector may be unaware of the concept of the AHD, it nonetheless holds them captive (see also Section 3.5). It is not only the older generations in the village that feel there is a value and significance in the social history and heritage of Chopwell. When asked the same question Chloe, who was 28 at the time of interview said *"I think like the Little Moscow thing like, it needs to be carried on with the generations. The pit, like I think that is a big thing."*

Steve goes further, and states this more antagonistically, as a rejection of official heritage narratives,

> *I think we're being fooled by Beamish into thinking it's artefacts that are important y'know, whereas it's also social movements that are important and I*

> *think that the, that sometimes history is political y'know and you can't get*
> *away from that.*

Beamish, as a very prominent local example of 'official' heritage is used to symbolise something which as a concept could be said to be Steve's version of the AHD. He rejects the idea that everything that is important can be seen, and explicitly makes a case for values and ideas being a vital part of heritage from below and enmeshed heritages. Intrinsically this is about what stories are permitted to be told, and Steve's thoughts on the importance of social movements link back to the idea that side-lining difficult stories in living memory acts to de-politicise heritage. Thus, the idea that there is a hierarchy of heritage is perpetuated. Categorising some stories and ideas as 'community' heritage has the effect of de-politicising heritage and making deeply political and systemic processes personal. Separating out these AHD and HFB elements makes little sense as the two are deeply enmeshed, but it is often the way AHD structures accommodate working class heritages. Yet enmeshed heritages do focus on the specific and the personal, the emotional and affective experience, rather than grand narratives. Finding a way to balance the two is challenging but recognising there is an interaction between the two and that personal stories are always part of wider structures and systems is an important part of understanding enmeshed heritage.

10.5 Can heritage organisations shaped by the AHD accommodate enmeshed senses of heritage?

The senses of enmeshed heritage explored in this thesis do not fit easily into the processes of heritage as shaped by the AHD. Enmeshed heritages exist at the very edge of what might be described as 'heritage', encompassing a sense of value found in the habits and practices of the everyday. Though elements or expressions of this sense of heritage may spill over into more official or legitimised types of heritage, it does not rely on these forms. If top-down, official heritage organisations and projects are to accommodate this type of heritage then a more holistic view of place and landscape must be taken, moving away from single site/asset/object focused projects. This also means breaking the silos of policy work to consider planning and development alongside natural and cultural heritage, as well as a whole raft of other policy areas which have a material impact on how place is used and experienced on

a day-to-day level. This is something that would involve massive cultural change in local and national government, and which is beyond the control of individual heritage organisations.

A more manageable change would be for heritage organisations to think carefully about the way time is presented by their projects and interpretation. A key feature of enmeshed senses of heritage is the way past, present and future lose their boundaries: time is collapsed, and continuity is foregrounded. The AHD is deeply opposed to this, with its focus on time-depth and the positioning of the past as something to look back on from a distance. Whilst it is often criticised for smoothing dissonance and presenting a continuous glide of progress, it has been shown here that it can have the effect of creating a jarring sense of dis-continuity in some circumstances. In Chapter Three the LOI Project Manager was quoted as saying the stories of the recent past were 'not the LOI's to tell', that they are not stories, they are people's lives. But by leaving out those stories, even with the best of intentions, a gap in history is created. We look back on a time presented as 'the past', but what impact does that have on the people who lived in that past, who remember it, and who do not see the realities of how change came about reflected back in official narratives? It is not a new idea to suggest that heritage needs to pay more attention to emotion (see Smith, 2021: 8; Smith and Campbell, 2017: 615). These conversations and stories are emotive and challenging, but heritage can be part of a process of communities coming to terms with change. I would argue that if heritage organisations want to engage in these narratives, they have a responsibility to communities not to simply leave out the challenging parts, but this often involves a skill set that heritage professionals may not have. Talking about change allows some sense of continuity, and people often feel a desire to be able to talk about and express their feelings about change. In Chapter Eight it was suggested that Assmann's criticism of communicative memory as being based on no fixed temporal point (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995) can be countered by understanding communicative memory as being based around a fixed point in the landscape. The idea that place is a locus for communicative memory is important and discounting the realities of place and the need for people to talk about and process change in a social setting misses a key element of what heritage could be doing on a practical

level. Where it does take place, it is often framed as an activity for older people. Approaching this as an intergenerational activity and specifically working with younger adults would fill a gap created by the loss of places of encounter in everyday life (see Chapter 7.3).

Whilst my research shows that heritage needs to take more notice of emotion, it also needs to be less willing to shy away from the political implications of what it presents. Depicting emotion, affect and the everyday is important, but seeing these elements as part of political and social structures and making those structures visible is equally important. Balancing these two elements is incredibly difficult, particularly in the current climate in the UK where cultural institutions are under scrutiny, but it is a matter of social justice. This is particularly true in the context of working-class heritage. Smith and Shackal (2011) are emphatic about the "moral imperative" (pp. 1) to address issues of class in heritage, and it is in this sense that simply being 'more inclusive' is insufficient. Enmeshed heritage encourages us to think of what heritage 'is' in a more expansive way, and the way to achieve this is to enable an accommodation of different ideas of what constitutes heritage, not to invite more and/or different groups of people to agree that existing ideas of heritage are valuable.

An obvious answer to these questions is to suggest that heritage organisations should not lead heritage projects, but the LOI was led by Groundwork NE & Cumbria which is not a heritage organisation. The frameworks of the AHD are hard to escape. Looking at the issue from a slightly different perspective, recent critical work on UK parks policy provides potentially productive ideas. Parks offer an interesting perspective because in our increasingly managed landscapes they have become one of the few genuine 'places of encounter'. In Chapter Nine, it was shown that spending time in the landscape allows a fuller understanding of the enmeshed nature of heritage, it enables participant and researcher to move past self-conscious ways of thinking about heritage. In 2020 as part of Nesta's Rethinking Parks programme, a collection of 'provocations' was produced, entitled *Visions to Shape the Future of Parks*. In this document Sue Goss puts forward a way of thinking about localities which draws on similar thinking. She suggests applying a 'garden mind', positing that

thinking about place as gardeners think about their gardens might encourage policymakers to see that "solutions are not found in isolation; everything participates in the evolution of its neighbours" (Nesta, 2020: 39). In this model Council officials would spend time in place to better understand it:

> we would trace the connections and encourage our experts to talk together to find ways to amplify each other's solutions rather than cutting across each other…We would create space for self-organising to flourish…We would 'think little'. Instead of abstract strategy documents, we would start with practical work in a specific place. (ibid: 42)

This idea of starting from the use of space rather than asking people to think about what they value about heritage is important, because none of us can escape the frameworks of the AHD. By spending time in the landscape, the heritage value emerges, rather than vice versa.

Similarly, the *Space to Thrive* report (Dobson et. al., 2019) echoes some of the key elements participants in this PhD expressed that they valued, and these principles can be applied to the whole of the landscape. The report found that access to and use of parks and green spaces enhance physical health, mental wellbeing and life satisfaction and that parks can create important opportunities for social integration (and conversely exclusion) (ibid.: 3). Parks are one of the few spaces of encounter we have left in the urban environment and the benefits of encountering other people and nature are demonstrated by the report. The report suggests that parks should be seen as social as well as physical infrastructure (ibid.: 4), something which could be applied to wider landscapes. By applying this type of thinking it could be possible for the AHD to accommodate more enmeshed senses of heritage.

10.6 The mobilising power of enmeshed heritage in the Derwent Valley

Throughout the literature on heritage from below there is an assertion that it has a latent power, something which bubbles beneath the surface and which occasionally emerges (Robertson, 2012: 11). There is a danger in this idea, particularly when thinking about former industrial communities, of romanticising working-class

communities and falling into what Bella Dicks (1999) calls the "ethnicization" of working-class communities. Using the case study of the Rhondda Valley in Wales, Dicks uses the term ethnicization to refer to "the textual construction [in heritage interpretation] of a common cultural identity and social character" for the inhabitants of a specific geographical area. In this construction they are given special qualities that emanate from being part of this particular industrial community. They are "energetic, self-provisioning, resilient, solidary and disciplined …[and]… colliery life produces a distinctive culture that sets 'this people' apart from 'that people'" (pp. 358). It is in these essentialised qualities that the danger lies in assuming there is some undefinable dormant power within any group, simply because of a shared heritage or history; particularly as the groups under consideration are often marginalised. Whilst it is important to keep this risk in mind, it is clear that there is much heritage and community work happening in the Derwent Valley and that the groups mobilising local communities do draw on local heritage as motivation and inspiration. In Chopwell in particular there is a sense of a grassroots community of people attempting to make change whilst drawing on the past for inspiration.

There are several organisations doing heritage work related to reminiscence in the village. Digital Voice, a local not-for-profit organisation are based in Chopwell (though they do not work exclusively in the village) and have done extensive intergenerational work with the local community, drawing on the heritage of the village. The Friends of Chopwell Park group have brought the park pavilion back into use and Digital Voice has hosted heritage drop-in sessions there, where people share photos and memories and meet to talk about heritage. These kinds of projects and events demonstrate the importance of social remembering. The drop-in event I held at Chopwell Community Centre resulted in re-kindled social links and much social sharing of memory, demonstrating exactly the kind of processes at play in what might otherwise be dismissed as simply nostalgic reminiscence. What to others could seem like a group of people meeting to reminisce in a self-indulgent way created new opportunities for all of those involved as they used the past as a tool for taking their lives forward and improving their everyday lived experience. This kind of memory work feels much more organic than more traditional consultation-style events where people are asked 'what do you want to change?' or 'what is important

to you.' Instead, the events empowered individuals to make change in their own lives through remembering.

It would be useful for heritage organisations to attempt a better understanding of the psychology of memory and place. Various museums and heritage organisations do this very successfully with people who are suffering from dementia. The responses collected as part of this study demonstrate a need for a feeling of continuity, for outlets to process discontinuity and the importance of feelings of safety and sociability for many people (not just older people). Understanding these needs and creating spaces for people to meet to exchange ideas would be productive. As identified in Chapter Seven, people miss places of encounter, but much more than the loss of a shop or cafe for its own sake, the loss of places of encounter represents the loss of a communal way of living, another element of industrial structures of feeling which are lost or diminished in the post-industrial era. This is something that is not valued or even considered in the current policy context, part of a wider system which plays out through the AHD via different policy areas that impact on place, such as funding, designations, and the planning system. These senses of enmeshed heritage can be seen as expressions of subaltern heritage in the sense that value is located in communal social structures which are not reliant on tangible heritage nor economic value.

That these places of encounter were intergenerational spaces is significant, and the desire to recognise the past making change and passing on values to younger generations is something Smith and Campbell have written about extensively. "Intergenerational continuity" they write,

> reinforces community identity around a shared sense of self-esteem, but it also provides the basis from which, individually and collectively, residents of deindustrialized communities take action. The point here is that the preservation of industrial heritage is about passing on stories to affirm identity and self-recognition; this has then been used as a position of emotional strength from which to not only manage, but also more importantly, agitate for social and political change. (Smith & Campbell, 2017)

Exactly this process can be seen in action in Chopwell, which in the early months of the PhD seemed to be reaching a critical mass in terms of community action. Since 2016 when the research began, Chopwell Regeneration Group has grown from a tentative start to taking ownership of a disused building on Derwent Street, 'The Bank', to be used as a community facility. Their tagline "proud of our past, working together, improving our future" (Chopwell Regeneration Group: 2022) demonstrates this strong feeling of the importance of a shared past and shared values in shaping change for the future. The website features an 'Our History' page on which recent achievements like the creation of a new Cycling Pump Track in the village are mixed seamlessly with information about the General Strike and photographs of the Chopwell Colliery Banner. These achievements are presented as all part of one continuous process as the result of the efforts of local people. The expressions of heritage from below explored in this thesis are everyday expressions of continuity. Les Back notes that the study of the everyday matters because,

> at its best [it] can produce a re-enchantment of the ordinary that is transformative for both those people inside specific social worlds and also those of us who might merely remain curious onlookers. Second, the everyday matters because it offers the opportunity to link the smallest story to the largest social transformation. (Back, 2015)

It is in this potential for transformation that the power of enmeshed heritage is derived. These processes of heritage which operate below the surface of official heritage projects are important sites of negotiation in which understandings of the past are processed in the present. This understanding of the past in turn gives a shape to the future. The processes of memory and heritage have the power to give agency to ordinary people in the present and are future oriented.

10.7 Contributions to existing knowledge
10.7.1 Enmeshed heritage
In order to better understand the senses of heritage which emerged from the interview material, I developed the concept of enmeshed heritage. The term is used to capture the messy senses of heritage and place exposed in the research and to

foreground the way that past, present and future; official and unofficial; natural, cultural and industrial are all deeply enmeshed in the landscape. It also captures something of the nature of this type of heritage as embodied, with actors in the landscape (be they human or non-human) enmeshed in place. As outlined in Chapter Four, the key features of enmeshed heritage are:

- It encompasses embodied action or practices based in continuity, often between generations
- It is a social practice but it plays close attention to the individual
- It does not coalesce around things or practices as a response to risk of loss
- It is not interested in economic outcomes or outputs
- It is not performed for an audience of tourists or visitors to the landscape
- It is based around landscapes of the familiar or landscapes of home (though this is not to say it is inherently positive)

Characterising the heritages explored in this way has provided a useful tool to differentiate them from both the AHD (with which enmeshed heritages interact) and heritage from below. Robertson's concept of HFB provides a useful language for talking about a more expansive view of heritage than the literature often allows, but in its lack of specificity there is a danger of HFB being used as shorthand for 'not the AHD'. Framing the heritages explored here as enmeshed enables a greater specificity than the broader concept of HFB allows.

10.7.2 Walking methodology as a means to understanding people and place

I did not plan to do walking interviews at the start of the project, but the walking method I went on to develop and use in this study was central to the collection of rich and insightful research material. The recognition that memory is a social process is key to understanding enmeshed heritages. We build and rebuild the past every time we share memories, or visit the places that are important to us and where we have strong or significant memories. Walking with participants not only enabled me to gain an insight into this process, but it enabled us to be part of it. Through using walking interviews, I was able to capture these enmeshed relationships with place in a way that a static interview never could, as memories were triggered by sights, sounds and smells. As we walked we were able to dart between past and present as meaning was shown to be more important than chronology. The very fact of this 'we'

was important - both researcher and participant were implicated in an ongoing process of making and remaking place.

There were practical challenges to the method: it could be potentially exclusionary, as not all participants are equally mobile; there were issues of safety for the interviewer to consider; and decisions around the question of how and what to record needed to be made. I decided against the use of GPS, as I felt it was not in keeping with the focus on qualitative data across the rest of the project. Plotting points on a map was less important to me than capturing atmospheres and memory triggers and as such I decided on video recording with a GoPro supplemented with a Dictaphone recording. The weather posed a further challenge and had to be taken into account both in terms of whether the walk could take place and its impact on the recording. In asking participants to choose the route I was able to somewhat disrupt the power imbalance in the participant/researcher relationship which was another element to the appeal of the method.

Walking interviews enable an expression of heritage that is based in the physicality of landscape. These enmeshed senses of heritage are more than representational, drawn from a form of memory which is based in practice and habit in the everyday. They also expose the constant interaction between (representational) AHD senses of heritage and the heritage of the everyday, as people draw on the whole landscape and all its elements and inhabitants in their understanding of place. Walking with others in 'their' places represents a very specific way of knowing and sharing place, one that is not available to everyone. Through walking with participants in places they know well I caught a glimpse of specific and personal ways of knowing place, discovering this personal sense of knowledge gives greater insight into how specific communities understand the landscapes of home. These different ways of knowing are explored in Chapter 9 and include knowledge gained through childhood play, through experience of working in industry and through knowledge of the natural world. All are valid and make up a rich, sensory picture of how place is experienced in everyday life.

Finding a way to articulate feelings about place is challenging, and finding a way to use the material gathered during the walking interviews that reflects the nuance and richness of being in place has been a further challenge of the PhD. Through using images, video and excerpts from the conversations that took place whilst walking I have gone some way to capturing this subtlety, but further work on how best to use this kind of material, whilst avoiding treating it as mere 'data' would be beneficial. Most importantly, my findings show that a good way to understand the landscape is to spend time in the landscape; to experience it and to experience it with others. The material collected from interviews and walks with participants resulted not from asking questions about heritage value but from observing and experiencing how people use the landscape and how this has changed over time. It is this attention to the realities of everyday experience which is so often missing from AHD representations of place that I worked hard to capture and for which the walking method is so crucial.

10.7.3 Exposing and exploring the impact of lottery funding on heritage

Working between the disciplines of geography and heritage studies has allowed me to take a more expansive view of what heritage is and how it is experienced by people in the landscape. This cross-disciplinary approach, in addition to using the frame of enmeshed heritage to understand the research material, exposed important issues which frame the way heritage organisations approach projects and how policy shapes understandings of heritage in the UK. The thesis highlights that there is a dearth of literature exploring exactly how the AHD works to influence policy and funding decisions on a practical level, as well as a lack of research on the influence of HLF/NLHF on understanding and shaping of heritage. My own perspective of coming to the research having worked for HLF and been an applicant for HLF/NHLF grants as a consultant was an important part of shaping the scope of the research. This perspective exposed the huge power of HLF/NLHF to shape the direction of heritage funding, which has many indirect consequences (see Chapter Three). The thesis has demonstrated that the AHD acts upon not only marginalised groups but also on professionals as they are unable to break out of a template set by policymakers. This is a largely invisible process and there is a lack of understanding both from the sector and scholars as to exactly how this operates in practice.

Conforming with funder expectations is an existential concern for heritage organisations and their ability to be innovative and accommodate wider understandings of heritage is curtailed by the expectations and norms promoted by funding application processes.

10.7.4   Moving away from designated heritage sites

The concept of enmeshed heritage recognises the role of affect and emotion in understanding how people experience place. However, whilst the role of affect and emotion is increasingly explored and understood in heritage studies (e.g., Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson, 2017), it is still commonly framed around 'heritage sites' (see for example Smith, 2021). Whilst heritage sites constitute a range of types of place the term generally refers to a bounded area defined by designations such as Listed Buildings, National Parks or Scheduled Ancient Monuments. It very often refers to a place that can only be accessed by paying a fee. By framing research on heritage in this way, it is set apart as something separate to everyday life. As such, heritage value is tacitly accepted as being defined by the experts who created the site and boundary and only certain people and groups are interested or able to visit. This PhD project is notable in the field as it set out to gain an understanding of the landscape as a whole, rather than focussing on a discrete site already designated as having significance. Whilst the *Land of Oak & Iron* boundary was the overall area in which the project was conducted, I did not initially focus on heritage sites within the boundary and as the research went on the designations associated with the LOI became less and less important to how place was understood and defined. This approach in itself destabilises the terms by which the AHD operates. Exploring how people understand heritage through their everyday experience of place and landscape exposes different perspectives on what is important about the past and how it is interpreted in the present.

10.7.5   Immersive methods and embodied experience

Less affluent people are less likely to visit or volunteer at heritage sites than those with higher incomes (DCMS, 2020; Fredheim, 2017: 623). Working with people in their own communities offers a way of researching what heritage means to working-class communities (or indeed anyone who does not engage with heritage sites). An understanding of how people interact with place was gained through a variety of

immersive methods, and spending time with participants in the landscape was a central principle of the thesis. The use of walking interviews was a crucial element of the approach taken, as walking with participants offers a window into their experience and gives them the agency to control the agenda. The paths I walked with participants were in most cases paths they had walked for years; their interaction with place did not rely on the existence of the *Land of Oak & Iron*. The way participants experience these places is as valid and important as the experience of visitors who are attracted to the area by LOI marketing and publicity, but often local residents are neglected by top-down projects as they are less likely to bring revenue or increased visitor numbers. In this research scenario, the participant is the expert, not the researcher: they knew the routes well, had a unique perspective to share and a captive audience poised to hear it. The methods employed in this thesis recognise that heritage is not something solely experienced by and for people who visit heritage sites. Taking this more expansive and participant-led approach is not common in heritage studies and even those studies in geography which focus on heritage and landscape are often based on specific heritage themes (for example Wylie, 2005 and Riding, 2017). Crouch's (1989) work on allotments is perhaps the best example of research that does focus specifically on habit memory and everyday use of place, but this is also site-specific albeit not based on sites that would be recognisable as heritage from an AHD perspective.

The thesis calls attention to the embodied physicality of how people experience former industrial landscapes. It contributes to a growing inter-disciplinary body of work which recognises the nuances and far-reaching effects of the processes of deindustrialisation (of which Linkon, 2018 is a key text. See also Mah, 2012; Jaramillo and Tomann, 2021; and Waterton, 2021). This way of understanding former industrial landscapes does more than simply recognise industrial remains in the landscape. It goes further, to suggest that there are elements of the half-life that reside in the physical body, even across generations. There was an intimacy in the interaction between body and landscape in an environment like a pit village where work, leisure and home life were deeply enmeshed and traces of this relationship continue to be felt. This has a strong social aspect, and traces of the thick kinship ties and communal structures of feeling remain. The findings demonstrate that

feelings of nostalgia and loss can be expressions of a search for value in the present. The role of heritage therefore can become productive, creating opportunities for change – though this might not be the kind of change the AHD tends to promote. AHD expressions of heritage that focus on visitor numbers and income generation are not the natural home of expressions of enmeshed heritage. Thus, whilst grounded in heritage studies the thesis utilises literature and concepts from other disciplines as a provocation to think more expansively about how heritage studies and the heritage sector conceptualise place and interactions with landscape.

10.7.6   The classed and region-specific experience of heritage in North-East England

In the former industrial communities of North-East England interactions with the landscape have a particularly classed dimension. While class has been shown to be a complex and nuanced concept (see Chapters 4.3 and 9.4) the concepts of industrial structures of feeling (Byrne, 2002) and the half-life of deindustrialisation (Linkon, 2018) are useful in understanding how working-class heritages operate in this context. The thesis has demonstrated that regardless of class status or level of affluence in the present, working-class heritages and identities can be found in physical and emotional understandings of and interactions with place on a day-to-day basis in these communities. The findings of the thesis therefore present an important perspective on understanding place identity in 'left behind' places (see for example MacKinnon et. al., 2021 and Tomaney, 2012) whilst also reflecting the importance of considering and understanding heritage at multiple scales. The feelings about place expressed by participants reflect interactions between the AHD and HFB as well as identification with heritage at different scales – national and regional as well as the very local, with class putting a particular inflection on these senses of the past. The industrial past is not 'finished', its influence can be found in many places. So, whilst researching visits to traditional heritage sites can demonstrate a back-and-forth negotiation with the past, this often feels like negotiation across a gap, the gap being some unknown point when 'then' became 'now'. Conversely, in everyday interactions we see the gradual back-and-forth of how 'then' becomes 'now' and how the two overlap. This sense of continuity is a central part of how people understand and interact with place. Continuity is a key feature of enmeshed heritages and an understanding of heritage that does not focus on specific heritage sites is an

important part of understanding how intergenerational memory operates to foster continuity.

10.8 Recommendations for researching heritage

This research was never intended to generate structured policy recommendations. Rather, I aimed to gain an understanding of a specific type of enmeshed heritage and its position in relation to an official heritage project, the *Land of Oak & Iron.* The LOI was delivered under the HLF Landscape Partnership (LP) programme which has now ended. There are nevertheless important lessons to be drawn from considering the way the structures of that programme impacted on the LOI, notably with respect to heritage from below and the enmeshed heritages of the Derwent Valley. The ability of the programme to bring multiple agencies together was a major benefit because influence and power are mobilised when multiple Local Authorities are encouraged to work together and with a range of partner organisations. The downside of this is that LPs could feel monolithic and they could act to suck all local heritage work into their orbit, shaping and influencing the sector in both positive and negative ways. They were also considered to be formulaic, often following a very similar template dictated by the funder. Having said that, a major benefit of LPs was their ability to take a more holistic view when approaching a heritage project than single organisation projects can do, combining a range of cultural and natural heritage elements. In the context of the LP scheme closing and significantly reduced Local Authority budgets for project work, there is a much-diminished scope for landscape-scale heritage projects in the UK.

One key outcome and recommendation of this thesis is that the role of HLF/NLHF in shaping and influencing how heritage operates on a practical level in the UK is under-researched and under-recognised and further work on this is desirable. In her 2019 thesis, Virginia Tandy wrote that HLF "shapes many of the ways in which the past is constructed today and … this power and influence should be more widely acknowledged and recognised in the critique of heritage practice and cultural policy" (pp.7). Tandy had been both a Trustee for HLF/NLHF and a project evaluator. Other than the work of Kate Clark and Gareth Maeer (for example Clark, 2004 and Maeer, 2017), both of whom were directly employed by HLF when conducting their research,

there is very little other analysis of the role of the organisation in shaping the sector and wider perceptions of what heritage is and what is can do. This would be a productive area for further research.

With the funding prospects for landscape-scale heritage projects much reduced, the ability to take an expansive view of landscape, an approach which is foregrounded in this thesis, will become increasingly important for several reasons. Heritage is increasingly asked to deliver outcomes for wellbeing by local and national governments. Taking a holistic view of the landscape and engaging in interactive, participant-led activities such as walking not only has a direct impact on wellbeing outcomes but it also facilitates conversations about wider issues of wellbeing. The fieldwork interviews clearly demonstrate that walking with other people invites a certain amount of mutual care and togetherness, and this reflects the tangible benefits of creating informal places of encounter in the landscape. In rural settings the climate crisis is already beginning to have an impact on people's lives, with extreme weather becoming increasingly frequent and severe, and the social life of the rural landscape is an important part of dealing with this. In times of emergency people need social and emotional support. The structures of feeling of former industrial villages point to ways to encourage a more communal approach to living together in the landscape. The importance of this has only been exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic in which communities have not only been forced to help each other more, they have been pushed into a new intimacy with their local places and landscapes.

10.9 Breaking down the hierarchy of heritage

Whilst the interactions and overlap between heritage from below and the AHD have been emphasised throughout the thesis, the context of heritage policy in England arguably retains a hierarchy of heritage. Buildings, monuments, designations, and objects enjoy a higher status than social movements, ideas, and intangible practices. But it is also clear that enmeshed heritage does not need to compete with traditional AHD heritage; it does not need to attract visitors or generate income. However, it does need to have the freedom to continue to exist, and this involves a recognition of its value. In this sense, the enmeshed heritages of the Derwent Valley do not

need to be included nor invited into the structures of the AHD (however that might work in practice). Instead, the AHD should be able to accommodate different senses of what heritage is and consciously seek not to stifle those senses of heritage in how it operates.

A way of achieving this could be to learn lessons from parks policy as outlined in Chapter Ten; to value places everywhere, to spend time in places and to learn what is important to the people who live there. One example of the importance of this is the strong feeling in Chopwell that the village is being cut-off from the wood. Several people expressed feelings of resentment that the Friends Group and the LOI had no interest in the village. One participant mentioned that they believed the LOI did not want to encourage people to come to the village because they would park there instead of using the paid-for parking at events. Others felt that if official heritage organisations made more effort to publicise the village alongside the wood it would increase footfall and improve local business. This is a small example, but it demonstrates how the seemingly benign decisions of the official heritage organisations related to the Wood were indirectly perpetuating a feeling amongst residents that they were excluded from an important part of their heritage.

The thesis has shown that memory and intergenerational sharing play a vital role in shaping the expressions of enmeshed heritage which play out in the experience of the everyday. These processes of memory and heritage have the power to give agency to ordinary people in the present and are future-oriented. They come in many forms, in conversation and community support; in local history groups; parading the banner or getting involved in community activism. In Chopwell, expressions of enmeshed heritage have been mobilised to make change for local people. But it is not only in the ability to make change that enmeshed heritage is important. This understated power also shapes senses of identity that are both personal and communal, in turn linking people to their landscapes of home. This is not merely 'community heritage', this is part of how we all define ourselves and it is of no less value than a monument or piece of art. Viewed this way, each and every individual is part of the narrative of heritage, something which the AHD continues to

resist. The heritage process must be democratised to allow people to see their own place in the world and crucially, their place in its future.

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12. Appendices

12.1 Interview topic guide

Interview topic guide

Structure:
- Establish chronology, when lived here, lived anywhere else in Derwent Valley?
- Where parents/grandparents from, where do children live?
- What was it like then/what were special/important/significant places
- How has it changed
- What is important about your heritage/the heritage of the village?
- Are there things your parents/grandparents passed down to you that you think make up an important part of who you are? What things would you like to pass down to your children?
- Do you ever feel nostalgic about that time?
- What does Derwent Valley mean to you? Is it a thing?
- Is nature important to you? What does it mean to you?
- Have you heard of the LOI? What do you think of it?
- Ask about the places its focusing on - are these the important places?

CHILDHOOD
- What year were you born?
- Where were you born?
- Who lived with you at that time?
- Did you have other brothers and sisters later? Did anyone else come to live with you during your childhood? How old?
- What did parents/grandparents do for a living?
- Can you remember the place where you live? Describe it - what did it look like, smell, how do you feel when you think about it?
- Where did you go to school? How did you feel about it? Was it somewhere you liked/disliked?
- Is there part of the school you particularly remember?
- Where did you play out? Was there anywhere you weren't allowed?
- Can you ever remember being frightened when you played out?
- Is there a place that you remember particularly fondly from childhood? What were the most important places to you as a child?
- Were you in any clubs?
- Think back to the village at that time, key landmarks?
- Did you ever go to the place that your mum/dad/grandparents worked?
- Can you remember where they were on the map?
- Can you describe it? How did it make you feel?
- Were there any places you would go with your parents/grandparents that you particularly remember?

ADOLESCENCE
- What secondary school did you go to?
- How did the places that you went change as you got older and went to secondary school?
- What were the important places when you were a teenager?
- Did the people you spent time with change?
- Did the way you felt about the place you lived change?

YOUNG ADULTHOOD
- When did you leave school? What did you do next? Work/university/etc
- Was the way you saw home and the village any different then?
- What were your most important relationships? Where would you go with these people?
- Was there a place that was particularly important to you?
- Had the village changed much?
- Did you still spend time with parents/grandparents - what would you do with them?
- Were you in any clubs or groups?
- What work were you doing? How did you get there? Can you describe the work place? How does it make you feel thinking about that place?

IF HAVE CHILDREN/GRANDCHILDREN
- When your children were born did it change the way you feel about the place you live?
- Are there places your parents took you that you take them?
- How do you think the village is different to them than it was for you?
- Where do you like to take them?
- Are there stories you tell them from your childhood or any you were told by parents/grandparents?
- Are there places you used to go as a child that you wouldn't let you children/grandchildren go?

PROMPTS:
- How does/did that make you feel?
- What kind of place was it?
- Can you describe the atmosphere there?
- Was it better than…..?
- Who did you go there with?
- Has it changed since then?

EXTRA QUESTIONS ADDED TO PROBE AROUND PLACE/FEELINGS ABOUT PLACE

12.2 Participant Data Form

Participant Data Record

Respondent code	
Date allocated	

Name	
Age	
Male/Female	
Contact details	

Checklist

Start of interview: Explained ownership/can withdraw at any time/anonymised etc	
Shown consent form	
Given data sheet	
End of interview: Checked still happy for data to be included	
Signed consent form and given them copy	
Explained cultural probe pack	
Agreed to take part and agreed date for collection/meeting	

Details of other family members participating	
Residency	
Class (based on interview data)	
GBCS classification (if completed)	
Generation	

12.3 Consent Form

ConsentForm

Newcastle University

Please tick:

Taking Part	Yes	No
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated DD/MM/YYYY		
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project		
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed and recorded (audio).		
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.		
Use of the information I provide for this project only		
I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed to people outside the project		
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs.		
Please choose **one** *of the following two options:* I would like my real name used in the above I would **not** like my real name to be used in the above.		
Use of the information I provide beyond this project		
I agree for the data I provide to be archived at the UK Data Archive:		
. In recorded form		
b) As a transcription		
I understand that other authenticated researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form		
I understand that other authenticated researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
	Yes	No

So we can use the information you provide legally		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to Philippa Carter		