

Assembling Sustainable and Resilient Futures with Small Heritage Organisations: Social Purpose, Creativity and Practices of Care

Hanneke Booij

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Faculty of Arts and Humanities
University of Stirling

Abstract

This collaborative doctoral research with Glasgow Building Preservation Trust (GBPT) addresses a significant gap in our knowledge and understanding of how sustainability frameworks, policies, and everyday heritage practices intersect in small Scottish heritage organisations with social purpose. In the context of reduced funding and resources, such organisations are exploring how they can re-orientate to fulfil a wider range of public and social benefit agendas in addition to economic and urban regeneration value. I explore GBPT's everyday heritage practices ethnographically to reveal how small heritage organisations create sustainable and resilient futures while working with social purpose. I consider concepts of sustainability, resilience, creativity, common good, and participation as configured in practice in the context of Scottish policies, strategies and academic scholarship. Qualitative interviews were undertaken in the Scottish heritage sector for a wider perspective on these concepts. Social media research was undertaken during the COVID-19 pandemic as part of everyday heritage practices and adaption to the pandemic. Finally, short-term ethnography in Norway created a deeper, comparative understanding of the concepts explored.

The research has important findings that can inform heritage policies and practice offering insights into processes of sustainable development, community resilience and organisational heritage practices. It contributes new knowledge in three key areas: 1) It gives insights into the role of small heritage organisations as curators and narrators of heritage operating at the intersection of national and local policies, funding strategies, and creative heritage practices with communities; 2) It makes visible the intense labour involved in heritage practices as practices of care that address societal challenges in the context of sustainable development and resilience agendas; 3) It contributes to a better understanding of the role of networks of relations as infrastructures of care within sustainable development as a transformative process and its relationship with resilience.

Ethical Approval



Hanneke Booij
Faculty of Arts and Humanities
University of Stirling
FK9 4LA

General University Ethics Panel (GUEP)
University of Stirling
Stirling
FK9 4LA
Scotland UK

28 January 2020

E: GUEP@stir.ac.uk

Dear Hanneke

Re: The past we inherit and the future we shape: Investigating sustainable futures for heritage organisations with social purpose – GUEP 798R

Thank you for submitting the revisions of the above to the General University Ethics Panel. The ethical approaches of this project have now been approved by GUEP.

Please ensure that your research complies with University of Stirling policy on storage of research data which is available at:

<https://www.stir.ac.uk/about/professional-services/information-services-and-library/current-students-and-staff/researchers/research-data/plan-and-design/our-policy/>

If you have not already done so, I would also strongly encourage you to complete the Research Integrity training which is available at: <https://canvas.stir.ac.uk/enroll/CJ43KW>

If you have any concerns or queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee by email to guep@stir.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,
Pp

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Claire Exley".

On behalf of GUEP
Professor Iain MacRury
Deputy Chair of GUEP

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Chapter 1: Investigating Sustainable and Resilient Futures for Heritage

Organisations with Social Purpose

Introduction

Where do collaborative PhDs begin? During the PhD funding application process, I started building relations with my original collaborative partner Northlight Heritage. Meeting at their offices in an old townhouse in Glasgow, we discussed possible research collaboration approaches focusing on grassroots communities, health and wellbeing, and social action. Northlight Heritage worked with communities, partners and clients to meet social needs through heritage and creative practices, outdoor learning and experimental archaeology. While we awaited news of SGSAH's funding, I volunteered for one of their community archaeology projects at Govan Old Church to better understand how the organisation worked with local communities. However, a few months before my PhD started, I learnt the organisation was no longer able to collaborate as it ceased trading. Thankfully, one of their employees found employment with Glasgow Building Preservation Trust (GBPT) and through their connection with my supervisors, my collaborative PhD quickly found a new home. New arrangements and adaptation of the research aims were swiftly made with GBPT.

These developments highlighted the precarity of small heritage organisations' resilience. Operating in a context of economic austerity, with reduced sources of funding and resources, small heritage organisations are under increased pressure to demonstrate a wider range of public values. Northlight Heritage's fate illustrated the paradox of an increased need for community participation in heritage and addressing a wider range of societal issues while the organisations delivering these are struggling with their financial resilience. It reiterated the need for this research project which aims to better understand small heritage organisations' challenges and opportunities within the context of Scottish policies, strategies and funding criteria. Additionally, it made me aware that collaborative research can be unpredictable, with unexpected challenges and opportunities unfolding during the process, as

highlighted by Sánchez Criado and Estalella (2018) and Franklin (2021). This requires a responsive and adaptable approach which turned out to be a crucial skill during this PhD, which took place during the Covid-19 pandemic.

This collaborative doctoral study addresses the question of how small heritage organisations can create sustainable and resilient futures while working with social purpose. It was developed in response to the need for research focusing on how small heritage organisations respond to rapidly changing economies, in dialogue with emerging theories and practices around mission thinking (Mazzucato 2018). There are significant gaps in understanding how small heritage organisations function as intermediaries between heritage policies, strategies, frameworks and practices with local communities and how they contribute to cultural, social, economic, and environmental values (e.g. Bonacchi 2013; Burtenshaw 2017; Franklin 2021; Jones 2017; Reser and Bentrupperbäumer 2005). However, value is still approached in profoundly different ways in public policy, with its emphasis on economic measures which risks, “reduction of cultural practices to financial proxies” (O’Brien 2014, 79; also Belfiore and Gibson 2019). While benefits from participatory heritage practices are assumed in policy (Clark 2006) and stimulated by strategies and funding, the envisaged outcomes of such policies, such as sustainable cities and resilient communities, are processes not under the control of policymakers (Cairney 2020). There is little understanding of how small Scottish heritage organisations approach and enact organisational and community resilience, and sustainability as transformational processes in their everyday heritage practices.

In this introductory chapter, I discuss this gap in our knowledge and situate this in the context of Scottish heritage policies and strategies, the funding climate and heritage scholarship (section 1.1). Subsequently, I set out the research questions and approach to this collaborative study (section 1.2) followed by introducing GBPT as my collaborative partner and the West Boathouse project as a case study (section 1.3). In conclusion, I outline the structure of the thesis and highlight this research’s three key findings.

1.1 Sustainability and Resilience: Bringing Theory and Practice Together

To better understand why sustainable and resilient futures are important for small heritage organisations such as GBPT, it is important to briefly discuss the development of the sustainability concept and its relationship to heritage and culture more broadly. A more sustained appraisal is provided in Chapter 2. Over the last three decades, the concept of sustainable development has been defined in terms of four pillars: cultural, social, economic, and environmental sustainability. Amid this process, some sustainability scholars have argued for a more important role for culture and heritage (Auclair and Fairclough 2015; Dessein et al. 2015; Labadi 2022) as they impact on and dictate “the form and response to many challenges, such as growth, social equity and environmental damage” (Auclair and Fairclough 2015, 205). In 2005, the Faro Convention outlined the potential of culture and heritage to achieve wider goals through community participation and participative governance (Colomer 2021; Council of Europe 2005). The Faro Convention emphasises the link between culture and heritage as a human right, the implications of which have influenced scholarship, policy and practice including Scottish heritage policies.

Since Scottish devolution from the UK Government in 1998, the Scottish administration has formulated Scotland-specific policies and strategies for culture, arts, and heritage. In 2015, the Scottish Government adopted the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and formulated Scotland-specific goals in its National Performance Framework (NPF). The current framework focuses on increasing people’s wellbeing, creating sustainable and inclusive growth, reducing inequalities, and giving equal importance to economic, environmental, and social progress (SG 2023). The Scottish Government declared a global climate emergency in April 2019 leading to an increased policy focus on climate adaptation and mitigation integrated with the UN SDGs and NPF outcomes (SG 2019). In turn, the NPF influences the Scottish heritage strategy led by the public body Historic Environment Scotland (HES) (SG 2014; 2023) and local authorities’ strategies towards heritage like Glasgow City Council’s strategic plans (Chapter 4). One of the objectives of this thesis is to discuss how GBPT negotiates and enacts its mission, social purpose, and value in response to the outcomes outlined by Scottish heritage

policies and strategies. As such, GBPT's work mediates "complex, dynamic values and actively involved in the making and re-making of cities", which Jones et al. (2024, 2) explore more generally.

When discussing small Scottish heritage organisations, I use the term 'small' as defined by the European Commission. It defines micro-enterprises as employing less than 10 people; small enterprises employ between 10-49 people; and medium-sized enterprises employ between 50-249 people (European Commission 2020). It must be noted that, like GBPT, most small heritage organisations that participated in this study employ less than 5 people consistent with the EU definition of micro-organisations, except for one organisation that employs approximately 25 employees. To support the flow of writing, I refer to all these participating organisations as small heritage organisations. They include Building Preservation Trusts, single trusts¹, charities and social enterprises, however, most are a mix of these legal entities. When I refer to heritage organisations participating in this study which are national bodies, arm's length, or funding organisations, I describe these in the context of their role and remit, regardless of their size.

In practice, small Scottish heritage organisations are negotiating their missions and social purpose in dialogue with their organisational remit, charitable purpose, history, and funding criteria. In GBPT's case, these are Glasgow City Council (GCC) and national funders of heritage projects. The funding stipulations include the need to conserve and adapt historic buildings, to support nature recovery and environmental challenges while addressing societal challenges such as greater inclusion, diversity, access, and participation in heritage while supporting organisational sustainability (Chapter 2). By adopting approaches that address these issues, I argue that everyday heritage practices become centred around change-making through practices of care with communities. When discussing social purpose in this thesis, I go beyond social purpose as a reference to GBPTs and other organisations'

¹ Building Preservation Trusts, also referred to as revolving fund trusts, or multi-building developers, and single trusts, often community development trusts, are explained well and in more detail by the Architectural Heritage Fund which developed the models (see also Chapter 4). <https://ahfund.org.uk/grants/hdt/>

charitable status. I frame social purpose in relation to sustainability as a transformative agenda (Franklin 2021). As such, it is part of a future-focused mission where small heritage organisations define their relationship with society while advocating change (e.g. Malde and Kennedy 2018) which I elaborate on in Chapter 2. Economist Marianna Mazzucato argues that purpose and mission thinking is the only way to address the SDGs (Mazzucato 2018; 2021). I consider social purpose as an organisation's approach to addressing societal challenges as a form of care work, addressing matters of concern (Latour 2004a) and following Tronto, who describes care as "everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair 'our world' in order to live in it as well as possible" (1993: 103).

While under pressure to work towards public agendas aimed at sustainability and a wider range of values, small heritage organisations are under increased pressure to remain financially resilient. The research report, *The State of Heritage Funding Now* (Consilium Research and Consultancy and Wavehill 2018) shows the financial challenges outlining the reduction in Scottish local authority funding of the amalgamated Scottish culture, archaeology, and conservation sector between 2010/11 and 2016/7 from £943 million to £802 million, and a reduction in heritage lottery funding of 9% measured from 2016 -2017. These funding reductions have resulted in a more competitive financial climate in the heritage sector exacerbated by Brexit in January 2020 which closed access to European funding. This situation was compounded by the coronavirus pandemic from March 2020 until May 2023, overlapping with the duration of this research project. The pandemic also shifted the focus of my study to include adaptation and resilience. Despite evidence of adaptation and resilience in some organisations, others have struggled to remain viable in these challenging circumstances.

Within this context, despite building preservation trusts having existed in Scotland since the inception of The St Andrews Preservation Trust in 1937 (Civic Trust 1971), research concerning small heritage organisations is relatively rare as noted by Robertson (2008). Their roles and stories have remained relatively invisible compared to recent studies focusing on heritage policy, governance, and

management by large-scale institutions (e.g. Fredheim 2020; Harrison et al. 2016; Jones and Yarrow 2022) or in museums (Morgan and Macdonald 2020; Morgan 2018) in addition to studies relating to engagement by museums with communities more broadly (Lynch 2011; Lynch 2017; Onciul et al. 2017). This lack of visibility of small heritage organisations' practices including community participation may lead to a disconnect between policy and funding criteria as forms of intervention and change-making, and processes of change-making in everyday heritage practices with communities. It is currently unclear if policy and funding meet community needs and capacity. It is also unclear how intended or unintended consequences of policies impact small heritage organisations and communities. This research contributes to bridging this gap between sustainability and resilience policies, frameworks, scholarship, and everyday heritage practices. The insights from this study have been translated into recommendations which can inform approaches to resilience and sustainable development in heritage policies, practices and funding strategies (Chapter 9). They may help inform organisational resilience in small heritage bodies.

My research is rooted within a growing body of work researching the everyday in heritage practices and museums (e.g. Dawson 2018; Jones 2004; Jones 2017; Jones and Yarrow 2022; Morgan 2018; Macdonald, Gerbich, and Von Oswald 2018). Recently, ethnographic research of everyday heritage conservation practices in a Scottish national heritage organisation has been presented through the lens of care by Siân Jones and Thomas Yarrow (2013; 2022). Their study encompasses the hidden labour of conservation work from a perspective of ethics of care for historic buildings, monuments, and objects. Jones and Yarrow (2022) borrow from philosopher, anthropologist, and sociologist Bruno Latour's (2004) assemblage theory and his perspective of 'matters of concern' which describes 'things' not as facts but as cultural practices and processes of gatherings of concern that construct a 'thing'. Furthermore, they take inspiration from ethnographer and philosopher Annemarie Mol's (Mol 1999; 2002; Mol, Ingunn, and Pols 2010) approach to care practices in the medical treatment of atherosclerosis. Mol (2002) proposes that when Latour's 'matters of concern' require protection and care, they become 'matters of care', an argument later developed by Puig de la Bellacasa (2017). Anthropologist Sharon Macdonald (2009: 118) describes this perspective of a gathering, or

assemblage, as allowing us to see the “processes and entanglements” that create and perpetuate heritage as a process, rather than a finished product, an argument that echoes other heritage scholars who have approached heritage in terms of experience and process (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Jones 2004; Jones and Leech 2015; Smith 2006).

While placing my study in the context of this scholarship, this literature has often focused on large or national institutions (in the case of Scotland, see Jones and Yarrow 2022, Robson 2023). Building on the work of these scholars, I focus on everyday heritage practices in small Scottish heritage organisations which work directly with local communities. Additionally, I adopt Maria Puig de la Bellacasa’s (2017) approach to ‘caring with’ the more-than-human-worlds of technoscience and naturecultures, as a ‘critically disruptive practice’ to change-making. I follow Mol’s (1999) notion of ‘ontological politics’ which considers the reciprocal implications of reality and politics, and how reality-making is enacted through everyday practices. These ontological politics include processes of foregrounding particular narratives while absencing others. I explore this idea in GBPTs processes of creating narratives of inclusion, recovery and resilience aiming to challenge stereotypical narratives of exclusion, post-industrial decline and marginalisation in Glasgow. I apply an assemblage lens and care as a collaborative and ‘critically disruptive practice’ (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017) to explore GBPT’s everyday organisational and heritage practices with communities in the context of sustainability and resilience. I approach this study ethnographically which I discuss briefly below while Chapter 3 provides a more sustained appraisal of the research design and methods used.

1.2 Research Questions and Design

The design of this study is informed by the research context outlined above (explored in more detail in Chapter 2), particularly the gap in knowledge relating to everyday heritage practices in small Scottish heritage organisations with social purpose. In responding to the gap in knowledge, I set out to address the following overarching question: how can small heritage organisations with social purpose

create sustainable and resilient futures in the context of rapidly changing economies?

In answering it, I explore the following subsidiary questions:

- How do small heritage organisations respond to rapidly changing economies, in dialogue with emerging theories, policies and strategies of economic practice aimed at social purpose and societal changes?
- How are small heritage organisations framing ideas of mission, need and value?
- How are they navigating heritage and creativity in participation?

The objectives that support answering the questions are to:

- Map the political, policy and funding arenas in which small heritage organisations are operating in Scotland.
- Increase knowledge and understanding of changing organisational priorities and practices oriented towards public values and social purpose.
- Examine risks, challenges and opportunities for creating more resilient and sustainable futures at organisational, project and community participation levels by adopting creative approaches to change-making

The envisaged impact of this study was to:

- Co-develop a project within the context of the emergent nature of ethnographic collaboration providing PhD career development and ‘an extra pair of hands’ for GBPT.
- Enhance GBPTs national and international visibility and networks, indirectly supporting wider project development.
- Contribute to their understanding of heritage practices with social purpose in the context of sustainability and resilience agendas.

I have approached the research questions by adopting a broadly qualitative ethnographic approach through collaboration with GBPT (Morgan and Castle 2023; Sánchez Criado and Estalella 2018). Ethnographies provide nuanced perspectives

on everyday practices due to the application of a variety of methods (Davies 1999: 85, Hammersley 2006: 4). They are particularly suited to deepen “our understanding and advancement of sustainability by questioning its social and cultural origins, meanings, practices, values, interpretations, structures, systems and relationships” (Franklin 2021: 3). A collaborative, ethnographic approach is therefore highly suitable to explore how small heritage organisations respond to rapidly changing economies, how they frame ideas of mission, value, and social purpose in response to societal changes, and how they may increase their sustainability through collaboration and integration with creative industries and other partnerships and networks. Through this process of collaborative knowledge production (e.g. Franklin 2021; Law 2004) I have contributed to a better understanding of sustainable development and resilience processes which I elaborate on in the conclusion.

My ethnographic research combined a variety of methods across fieldwork sites, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. My collaboration with GBPT was fundamental to these methods, which included ‘being’ in the office, participating in and observing informal conversations, experiential participation in GBPT’s heritage practices, social media research and undertaking semi-structured interviews with employees, community participants and practitioners in the wider heritage sector (Hammersley 2006, Kopinski and Jeffery 2013, Fontein 2014). The latter took place in person and online. Whilst embedded in GBPT, I participated in their practices and projects, in particular the West Boathouse project (section 1.3). This meant learning with, and from, micro-perspectives at GBPT’s office as a fieldwork site and various sites across Glasgow during community engagement activities as well as in online spaces. In her book *Ethnography for the Internet*, Christine Hine (2015) observes the continuum of online and offline contexts while Postill and Pink (2012) describe both as “ethnographic places”. These perspectives and my own experiences led to my adoption of Doreen Massey’s (2005: 141) theory of place as ‘open’ and flexible. Her concept of sense of place as an event can be applied to both physical and digital spaces. Being embedded with GBPT across the variety and continuum of offline and online spaces, provided rich material for deep collaborative knowledge production.

Additionally, I undertook social media research by retrieving Tweets from a range of small heritage organisations as well as national heritage bodies, arm's length organisations and funders with software R from the social media platform Twitter. Although Twitter was renamed X Corp in April 2023, I refer to it as Twitter in this thesis as any quotes or references made by research participants during my research took place before the platform was renamed.

In June 2022, I visited the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU) as a visiting doctoral researcher. Like Scotland, Norway has adopted the SDGs as the framework for its policies and strategies and is engaged in similar processes of democratising heritage, shifting relationships between heritage experts and communities, and an increase in community-based heritage policies (Colomer 2023; Norwegian Ministry of Climate and Environment 2019). I approached my visit as an intense short-term ethnography, an explicitly interventionist approach developed by anthropologists Pink and Morgan in the context of occupational safety and health research (2013). I used this research visit to explore and compare concepts and themes found in the Scottish context to deepen my understanding of sustainability and resilience across different national contexts.

My main aim has been to foreground the everyday experiences and practices of GBPT employees and other people working in the Scottish heritage sector more broadly, exploring how they negotiate and apply notions of sustainability, resilience and participation. My broadly qualitative ethnographic methodology has resulted in a study that uses different levels of perspectives of organisational practices within the office, between GBPT and their communities, between GBPT and other organisations and lastly, provided an international comparison. These perspectives are used to describe how resilience and sustainability are navigated, configured, and applied in real-world practice.

My research approach has also been influenced by theoretical approaches that reposition sustainable development as an interconnected and transformative process

involving ethics of care approach (Franklin 2021; Moriggi et al. 2020). Moriggi et al. (2020) argue for the need to foster more radical, transformative change by adopting ethically informed practices, the ability to respond to relational factors and emotional awareness which they consider three reinforcing elements. Similarly, human geographer and sustainability scientist Alexandra Franklin (2021) proposes that sustainability as a transformative process requires creativity to co-create transformational change. These chime with my approach to sustainability and the themes revealed in this study while including “a more conceptual understanding of sustainability by including concepts of justice, “governing the commons” or empowerment” as proposed by Albert (2015, 3). These perspectives share the notion that sustainability and consequently the SDGs intend to improve people’s lives and those of marginalised communities in particular as proposed by heritage and sustainable development scholar and UNESCO adviser Sophia Labadi (2022).

Following discussions within both critical heritage studies and arts and cultural scholarship which are explored in more detail in Chapter 2, I approach both heritage and creativity as processes and social practices of knowledge production which take place in the present (e.g. Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Franklin 2021; Jones 2010; Law 2004; Smith 2006). Defining heritage and creativity in this broad conceptual way, allows me to bring them together when researching everyday heritage practices. To define each separately, in heritage, the material dimension retains an important role in supporting heritage values through dynamic interaction (e.g. Veldpaus and Pendlebury 2023). Jones and Russell (2012, 268) describe how the material and immaterial such as archives, objects, built heritage, images, folktales, myths, and places can serve as “memory props”, or as memories, emotions and associations as described by Harrison (2008). However, more recently, heritage has also been configured as generative, creating new social and material realities relating to social, cultural, economic and environmental values through agendas such as sustainable development which include concepts of participation, inclusion and diversity (e.g. Hall 1999; Jones et al. 2024; Labadi 2022; Veldpaus and Pendlebury 2023).

Recent approaches have shifted away from the idea that creativity resides in an individual creative genius, to seeing creativity as a process (e.g. Franklin 2021; Belfiore 2022). Franklin (2021, 2) describes creativity as “embodying a generative way of thinking and being, seeing and doing, arising from relational forms of knowledge-practice.” Relatedly, Parisi, Rognoli and Sonneveld (2017) emphasise that creativity is enhanced by the sensorial and experiential interaction with the material world, and Tan et al., (2020) discuss how intangible heritage and creativity are interdependent. As such, from a broad conceptual perspective, heritage and creativity are interdependent processes embedded in relational forms of knowledge practice. In her discussion of the boundaries between art and anthropology, anthropologist Jennifer Clarke examines “whether ‘policing’ boundaries is necessary to wrest art from not-art, considered in terms of the instrumentalisation of art” (2014, 178). I have chosen not to ‘police’ the boundaries between heritage and creative practices but approach both as ways of knowing which are intertwined in practice. Noting that both heritage practices and creative practices may be narrower concepts than heritage and creativity, I borrow from Helen Graham and Jo Vergunst’s (2019) *Heritage as Community Research* which distinguishes between them by highlighting the acts of stewardship involved in heritage practices.

Of course, many of the practitioners and communities I have worked with do not share this abstract conceptualisation of heritage and creativity. Instead, depending on their background, organisational remit or the topic of conversation, they focus on more discrete concepts such as historic buildings, objects, stories, cultural or natural heritage, and the tangible or the intangible. I do not consider these as deliberate dichotomisations, on the contrary, I embrace these as part of working between theory and practice and as a consequence of working with different types of knowledge and perspectives.

1.3 Bringing Glasgow Building Preservation Trust into Focus

As partner in this collaborative doctoral research study, GBPT presents an excellent case study. It represents a suitable small Scottish heritage organisation context that delivers a rich programme of socially engaged heritage practices. Established in

1982, GBPT aims to “rescue, repair and restore buildings of architectural and historic merit in Glasgow”, and to contribute to the wider economic urban regeneration of Glasgow through sustainable conservation projects (GBPT 2020). After restoration, the buildings are returned to their communities for viable reuse. GBPT is registered as a charitable trust led by a Board of Trustees and operates as a revolving fund trust². GBPT is registered under the Charities and Trustee Investment (Scotland) Act 2005, and provides public benefit through promoting arts, heritage, and culture; equality and diversity; urban regeneration; civic responsibility and volunteering. These purposes are bound up with the core aims of GBPT as an organisation.

GBPT has successively completed 27 major capital projects and undertakes consultancy work, feasibility studies and community engagement projects. GBPT brought Doors Open Days to Scotland in 1990 and runs the annual Glasgow festival attracting over 30,000 visits to over 100 participating venues. Although GBPT is based in Calton, just outside the city centre (Figure 1), it carries out projects across the Glasgow City Council area. During this research project, GBPT had on average four employees with a change of Director taking place in spring 2021. GBPT has expanded recently and currently employs 6 people. Although GBPT’s long-term role in Glasgow consists of consecutive short-term projects, it has accumulated local knowledge, relations, and networks both locally and nationally for over 40 years (e.g. Albert 2015; Auclair and Fairclough 2015; Labadi 2022). Although my ethnographic case study focused on urban areas in Glasgow, interview participants from other small heritage organisations represented a range of urban and rural areas across Scotland providing broader insights into resilience and sustainability in other contexts.

Many of the communities GBPT works with live in areas that score high on the scale of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). The SIMD measures levels of deprivation relating to income, employment, education, health, access to services, crime, and housing with data zone 1 being the most deprived and data zone 10

² A revolving fund trust works on a number of simultaneous or successive projects and may use any proceeds of funds towards the next project.

being the least deprived (SG 2020). Although the geographical communities around the West Boathouse all fall into data zones 1 and 2 being included in the 5% and 10% most deprived areas in Scotland, GBPTs activity plan (Shearer 2019) notes despite challenges, this does not necessarily represent people's lived experiences.



Figure 1: Glasgow Building Preservation Trust, based at the former Wellpark School and Kirkhaven Church, restored by GBPT in 1996

GBPT is also an ideal case study considering its transition from a focus on built heritage and ensuring viable end-users to including community engagement with often marginalised, geographical communities related to their projects. Against the background of reduced public funding, GBPT undertook what they describe as a resilience review in 2018 aiming to improve their financial resilience, sustainability, and partnership working as well as exploring new ways to engage with communities

in equitable and future-focused ways (Community Enterprise 2018). Their strategic plan described this development as:

a move in focus from a simple celebration of buildings and culture to be more relevant to the various communities across Glasgow, opening conversations about our built heritage that will activate communities, start discussions about not only about [sic] preservation and celebration but about the future of our built heritage and its place in community context (McConnell 2020, 6).

In trying to evidence economic and social values, GBPT focuses on organisational and community resilience. Firstly, those who work for GBPT seek to improve its organisation's financial resilience which focuses on increasing income and reserves (Community Enterprise 2018, 3). Secondly, GBPT (McConnell 2020, 14), aims to empower "local communities to take control of their historic assets" in line with SDG 11 'Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable'. Additionally, notions of resilience as adaptation and recovery became increasingly important during the Covid-19 pandemic which expanded the focus of my research to include resilience in addition to sustainability. In this thesis, most notably in Chapters 5 and 7, I explore how GBPT and other small heritage organisations understand, practice, and increase resilience. GBPT embarked on this journey with their restoration of the West Boathouse in 2019, which therefore became a significant part of my research.

1.4 The West Boathouse Project

The main capital project during this study was the restoration and adaptation of the West Boathouse at Glasgow Green. It provided a suitable basis to investigate local processes of sustainable development aiming to improve people's lives and community resilience. GBPTs practices allowed me to explore their holistic approaches to cultural, natural, tangible, and intangible heritage while simultaneously examining their organisational practices.

Since it was built in 1905, the West Boathouse (Figure 2) has housed Clyde and Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Clubs³. During the restoration project, the clubs were joined by Strathclyde University Rowing Club. More broadly, The West Boathouse project aimed to improve understanding and appreciation of the boathouse locally. It engaged with existing and new communities and reconnected communities and school children with the river Clyde (Shearer 2019). Additionally, it supported the rowing clubs to curate and interpret the boathouse collections for current and future generations.

The two key messages and societal goals of the West Boathouse Project are well-articulated in the *Activity Plan* (Shearer 2019, 6-7). They set out long-term aspirations and legacy outcomes for geographical communities. Firstly, 'the West Boathouse is for Everyone' relates to the goal of changing perceptions of the boathouse as not inclusive and that rowing is for privileged, white middle-class people. A key goal was to create an inclusive space for 'everyone' by engaging with surrounding communities and organisations which are defined as those "along the full extent of the rowing reach" (Shearer 2019: 7) and thus geographically defined. The rowing reach stretches along 6-km stretch of the River Clyde from the Tidal Weir underneath the Albert Bridge to the Cuningar Loop, along the Gorbals, to Dalmarnock which were the main geographical areas during this study (Figure 3).

Secondly, the key message 'the river is alive!' aimed to re-engage communities with the once heavily polluted but currently recovering river. This key message integrates natural and cultural heritage with a focus on interactions past and present and access to the river, raising awareness of ecological issues, and opportunities for sports and play. Observing and participating in heritage and creative activities around the West Boathouse has provided key insights into heritage as 'doing' and care practices in sustainability and resilience processes as change-making. The next section outlines the structure of the thesis.

³ For more information about, and an impression through photos and videos of GBPT's West Boathouse project and the West Boathouse and the rowing clubs, please see <https://westboathouse.org.uk/>



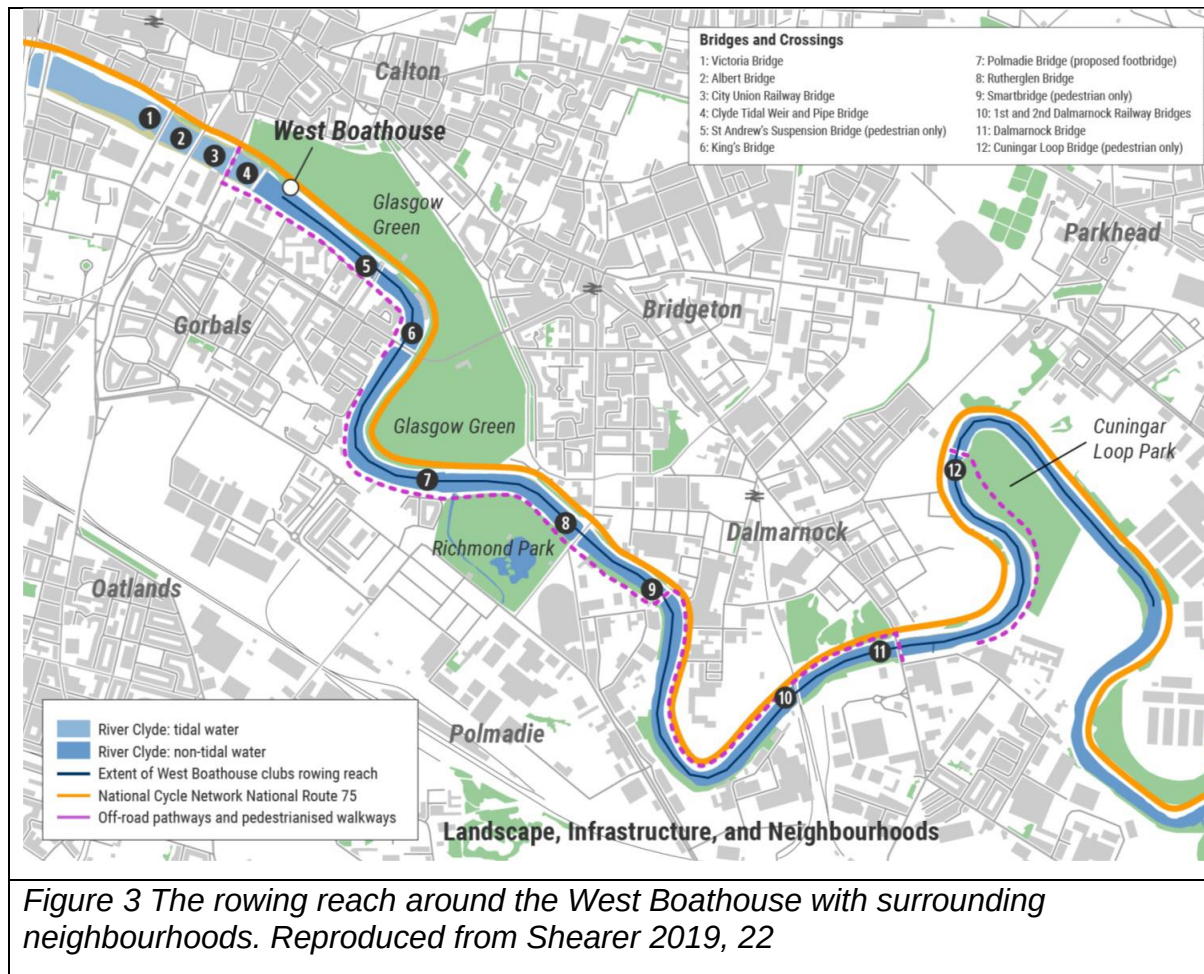
Figure 2. The West Boathouse before its restoration in 2019 seen from the water. Photo by GBPT

1.5 Conclusion and Thesis Outline

This chapter has presented the rationale for my research, the questions addressed, and the design of this study. It has summarised the research context and has highlighted the focus on bridging the gap between policy and theory on sustainability, resilience and heritage, creativity, and community participation which I bring together with applied practice with small heritage organisations and GBPT in particular.

The remainder of this thesis consists of eight chapters overall. In Chapter 2, I further situate the research in relevant academic and Scottish policy and strategy contexts. It addresses the development of sustainability and sustainable development as concepts and considers the links between sustainable development and resilience. It further discusses notions of commons, public value and social purpose in relation to concepts of culture, heritage and arts and neoliberal approaches as instrumentalisation. It considers heritage and creativity as knowledge production in

the context of participation and community empowerment processes. Finally, it outlines the current devolved Scottish Government heritage policies and strategies and the funding context in which GBPT operates.



The ethnographic research design and approaches chosen to answer the research questions are laid out more extensively in Chapter 3 which includes a reflection on my positionality and ethical working in a collaborative partnership. Chapter 4 provides local contextualisation of GBPT's place in Glasgow and an account of stories around the origin of building preservation trusts. It analyses how GBPT's organisational origin story is constructed and narrated. The chapter considers what doing so 'does' for GBPT's framing of mission, need and value.

Following this, four findings chapters have been organised both by emerging themes and scope. Firstly, from a perspective of ‘talking as practice’, mostly within organisations, Chapter 5 explores the construction and navigation of social purpose, and heritage practices as future-focused practices which address ‘matters of care.’ These may concern building dereliction, social cohesion and marginalisation as well as environmental concerns. The chapter explores the emotional labour involved in these heritage practices. Secondly, Chapter 6 explores ‘doing as practice’ and particularly focuses on creating equitable creative processes of meaning-making with marginalised communities. Additionally, it considers the process of the construction of heritage as alternative narratives relating to ability and disability, decline and recovery and resilience, and rejuvenation of the West Boathouse through purposefully curating the rowing clubs’ collections.

Thirdly, the role of relations, partnerships and wider networks in relation to resilience is considered in Chapter 7. It focuses on relations as a concept to foreground what often remains implicit and invisible. However, relations and partnerships are an inherent part of the ‘being’ of organisations and knowledge production through interaction (Law 2004). While resilience and sustainability scholarship often reduce relations to the social realm (e.g. Dempsey et al. 2011; Robertson et al. 2021), I argue that relations are the connecting factor between economic, environmental, social and cultural values within transformative processes. The chapter reveals active curation of relations contributes to the political and ethical processes of mission thinking and working with social purpose reminiscent of Berlant’s (2016) infrastructures of care. Fourthly, Chapter 8 considers the themes highlighted in the Scottish context considering heritage practices as care practices, sustainability as a transformative process, and resilience as infrastructures of care in a Norwegian context. Investigating the same paradigms in Norway enabled me to reflect more broadly on implications for theory and practice and draw wider conclusions and recommendations in relation to the concepts discussed.

Finally, in Chapter 9, the concluding chapter, I present the findings and arguments discussed in the preceding chapters. I consider the implications for heritage theory and heritage practice, followed by suggestions for potential future action and avenues for further research. It highlights this study’s three key findings. Firstly, it

provides insights into the intermediary role of small heritage organisations operating at the intersection of national and local policies, funding strategies, and creative heritage practices with communities. Secondly, it reveals the intense labour involved in heritage practices as practices of care that address societal challenges in the context of sustainable development and resilience agendas. Thirdly, it contributes to a better understanding of the role of networks of relations as infrastructures of care within sustainable development as a transformative process and its relationship with resilience.

Chapter 2: Exploring Sustainability in Theory and Policy

Introduction

To better understand sustainable futures for small heritage organisations such as GBPT, it is important to examine the development of the sustainability concept and its relationship to heritage and culture more broadly. This chapter discusses the concepts of sustainability and sustainable development introduced in Chapter 1 in more depth through a review of existing academic scholarship. In particular, it focuses on sustainable development as a transformative process (Franklin 2021) and the interconnected concepts and processes of resilience, governance, democratisation, and valorisation. I examine the role of participation in culture and heritage as addressed in the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005). Additionally, I set out the Scottish policy and strategy contexts and funding landscape in which small heritage organisations, like GBPT, are operating and having to navigate challenges and opportunities for sustainable and creative futures (see Chapter 4 for narratives of GBPT's organisational history and the local context in Glasgow). I explore how international frameworks, policy, governance, and funding criteria aimed at sustainable development and resilience stimulate heritage organisations to address societal issues such as poverty, marginalisation, injustice, wellbeing, and environmental issues. Consequently, small heritage organisations are negotiating their missions and social purpose to meet the requirements of societal changes and funding criteria. By adopting approaches that address societal issues, everyday heritage practices become centred around change-making through practices of care with communities, and the cultural and natural environment.

This chapter opens (section 2.2) with a discussion of the emergence and development of the sustainability concept in international conventions since its inception in *Our Common Future* (Brundtland 1987). Over time, both sustainability theories and practices in relation to heritage have become more focused on concepts of justice, governing the commons and empowerment (Albert 2015: 3). Consequently, processes of democratisation, participation, and empowering communities have been further developed in relation to both sustainability and

heritage stemming from renewed emphasis on the Declaration of Human Rights and the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005), which reiterated the importance of the right to participate in, contribute to and benefit from cultural life. Currently, global ambitions to become more sustainable are outlined through the SDGs (UN 2012) which ultimately strive to improve “people’s lives, particularly those of disenfranchised communities” (Labadi 2022, 3). Section 2.3 discusses how the concept of resilience has become increasingly linked to heritage through SDG 11, Resilient and Empowered Neighbourhoods. However, as Labadi (2022) notes, heritage is reduced in the SDGs to a passive factor in need of protection and not, as she and others have advocated, an active contributor to people’s lives (Law 2004).

In section 2.4, I summarise scholarship on the governance of heritage as a common good and embedded in social practice. Theorists have highlighted the importance of social cohesion and community empowerment in the concept of resilience, foregrounding it as an active social process. Neo-liberalist policies, however, have resulted in commons being acquired as public goods, removing these social practices from communities. I critically reflect on Habermas’ idea of the “public sphere” and Nancy Fraser’s response, introducing ideas of “counterpublics” and multiple public spheres (Fraser 1990; Habermas, Lennox, and Lennox 1974). I consider Moore’s (1995) introduction of “public value” to these debates and the requirement for the public sector to demonstrate public value to society in addition to costs and benefits. Subsequently, I turn to social purpose and mission thinking in economic theory and the context of small heritage organisations. I highlight mission and social purpose as notions of ‘being good’ and aimed at change-making.

In section 2.5, I discuss associated concerns about the instrumentalisation and commodification of arts and culture (Belfiore and Gibson 2019; Gray 2007; Veldpaus and Pendlebury 2023) and, in section 2.6, highlight that arts and culture have followed similar democratisation developments, with notions of creativity moving away from elite notions of the ‘creative genius’ (Belfiore 2004; Franklin 2021). This is where heritage and the arts meet as social practices of collaborative knowledge production, in which meanings and values are produced through interaction (Law

2004). The concurrent shift in focus by critical heritage scholars towards heritage as a process, focusing on meanings and values through the uses and experiences of heritage (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Jones 2004; Jones and Leech 2015; Smith 2006) is discussed in section 2.7.

In section 2.8 on Scottish policy and strategies, I describe how the SDGs have become part of Scottish policy through the Scottish National Performance Framework (NPF) (SG 2023). There has been a progressive and responsive approach by Historic Environment Scotland, with national heritage policies and strategies which align with the NPF and increasingly focus on participation, resilient communities and addressing climate change (SG 2014; SG 2023). The parameters are filtered down to small heritage organisations and communities through the national body's strategies and grant-making. This emphasis is strengthened, through the adoption of similar funding criteria by the two largest funders of heritage projects in the UK, the Architectural Heritage Fund (AHF) and the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF) in section 2.9.

I draw the concepts and context outlined together in section 2.10, to highlight the implications of sustainability as a transformative agenda which leads to heritage practices becoming practices of 'caring with' people, cultural, and natural heritage. I use a lens of heritage practices as critically disruptive care practices (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017) in the context of sustainability as a transformative process, particularly when working with marginalised communities. It is apparent that small heritage organisations are under pressure to engage with the concept of sustainability (organisationally and socially), but less attention has been given to how they navigate competing priorities, particularly in dynamic policy and constrained funding contexts.

2.1 The Emergence of the Sustainability Concept

The United Nations (UN) Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972 marked a defining moment in the development of the sustainability concept,

which was initially mostly focused on international governance of global environmental commons. The conference was followed by the Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future*, which first framed sustainable development in broad intergenerational terms as development that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland 1987, 8). The UN has since further developed the sustainability concept as: “the need to ensure a balance between economic development, social development and environmental protection as interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars of sustainable development” (UN 2002, 2).

2.1.1 The Role of Culture and Heritage in Sustainable Development

The place and role of heritage and culture in sustainable development have remained ambivalent over time but have gradually become more defined in international conventions as noted by cultural scholars Dessein et al. (2015) and heritage and sustainable development scholar and UNESCO adviser Sophia Labadi⁴ (2022). Initially, the focus was on environmental and socioeconomic concerns, interlinking environmental concerns and poverty. Over time, the importance of intergenerational and intragenerational equity and diversity increased as discussed by cultural value scholars Hewison and Holden (2004, 27), who noted the emphasis on “equality of benefit across social classes, geographical areas and income groups”. Subsequently, the Council of Europe’s *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, issued in Faro in 2005, describes culture and heritage as a means to achieve wider goals through participation and participative governance by communities (Colomer 2021; Council of Europe 2005). It reiterates the link between culture and heritage as rights-based through Article 4 which states that everyone has the right to access culture freely, “has the right to benefit from the cultural heritage and to contribute towards its enrichment” and Article 7 which promotes dialogue and encourages public organisations to “encourage reflection on the ethics and methods of presentation of the cultural heritage, as well as respect for diversity of interpretations” (Council of Europe 2005, 2-3). The implications of this

⁴ For a comprehensive history and analysis of the international approaches to culture and heritage for sustainable development from 1970 to the early 2020s, see the first three chapters of Sophia Labadi’s (2022) *Rethinking Heritage for Sustainable Development*.

rights-based approach have influenced scholarship, policy and practice and are further explored in a UK and Scottish context in sections 2.8 and 2.9.

Culture was attributed a clearer role concerning sustainable development when the international umbrella organisation United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) (2010) adopted culture as a fourth policy committee area in 2010. In that same year, UNESCO recognised that culture and sustainable development are interdependent with culture comprising “the entire spectrum of equity and access, the safeguarding of heritage, the economics of cultural production, and the promotion of innovation and creativity” (Van Oers 2015). *The Paris Declaration* (ICOMOS 2011, 2) specifically states that heritage is a pivotal aspect of sustainable development and culture and is “an essential component of human development”.

UCLG’s adoption of culture as a fourth pillar is based on a broad anthropological understanding of its integration into the everyday (Wilson et al. 2020), which presents a challenge for both academics and policymakers, as pointed out by Dessein et al. (2015, 14):

The scientific challenge is that both culture and sustainability are complex, contested, multidisciplinary and normative concepts. The policy challenge is that a broad understanding of culture requires cross-sectoral or even transdisciplinary policies, and innovative, at times even radical modes of implementation that involve re-examination of broad spectrum issues such as governance, democratic participation and social equity.

Dessein et al.’s (2015) observation illustrates the complexity of navigating the tension between governance, multiple values, and issues of equity. This challenge is further discussed relating to heritage as common good and public values, and to Scottish policies in particular (sections 2.8 and 2.9)

A critique of definitions of social sustainability by Auclair and Fairclough (2015) addresses the often limited scope of societal issues and challenges such as poverty,

exclusion, and injustice, failing to address society or civilisation as a broader concept. Additionally, literature on resilience and social sustainability risks omitting that culture and heritage can be contested and communities are not homogenous (Cooke and Kothari 2001) by focusing on collectivity, social cohesion, and networks. These issues are related to ideas around community participation which are discussed more elaborately in section 2.9 and values-based approaches to heritage which are explored below.

In developing a broader international understanding of the relations between the concepts of sustainability and heritage, scholarship has often focused on particular dimensions of sustainability such as environmental or natural (Asdal 2003; DeSilvey 2006; DeSilvey et al. 2021; Harrison 2015), social sustainability (Dempsey et al. 2011; Nurse 2006), cultural (Auclair and Fairclough 2015; Labadi 2022; Magee, Scerri, and James 2012; Hawkes 2001; Nurse 2006) and economic sustainability (Throsby 2001). With an increased understanding of sustainability, more integrated approaches to all dimensions as being interconnected have appeared more recently (Dessein et al. 2015; Labadi 2022). Presenting sustainability research by separating each dimension sometimes elides how the interconnectedness of environmental, social, cultural, and economic sustainability ‘works’ in real-world heritage practices where people approach sustainability from a holistic and organisational perspective.

Over the last two decades, academic debate around both the boundaries between and interconnectedness of social and cultural sustainability have aimed to guarantee the important role of culture and heritage in sustainable development, in urban planning processes and to prevent culture from being overshadowed by other priorities (Hawkes 2001; Nurse 2006). How to separate culture and social sustainability has often been debated and challenged (Auclair and Fairclough 2015; Magee, Scerri, and James 2012; Hawkes 2001; Nurse 2006). However, both Auclair and Fairclough (2015) and Dessein et al. (2015) conclude the relationship between culture and society is an iterative and reciprocal one whereby culture shapes society while society also creates culture.

While *The Paris Declaration* clarified the interconnectedness of heritage, culture, and social and economic development, including conservation, community participation and empowerment (ICOMOS 2011), the connection between heritage and environment was further explored during the 2012 UN Rio+20 Summit, which produced the report *The Future We Want* (UN 2012). This report stressed the importance of healthy ecosystems and the sustainable use of natural resources for human wellbeing and cultural heritage, especially for indigenous and local communities living in poverty (UN 2012). Concerning cities and sustainable development, the report recognises “the need for conservation, as appropriate, of the natural and cultural heritage of human settlements, the revitalisation of historic districts and the rehabilitation of city centres” (UN 2012, 26).

2.1.2 Culture and Heritage in the Sustainable Development Goals

Despite multiple international conventions (Council of Europe 2005; ICOMOS 2011; United Cities and Local Governments 2010; United Nations 2012) reflecting on the role of heritage and culture in sustainable development, Labadi (2022) argues culture and heritage’s place in the SDGs remains ambivalent. In 2015, the UN adopted Agenda 2030, identifying 17 interconnected SDGs with 169 associated targets “to address the most pressing challenges of our times, ranging from the fight against poverty, hunger and climate change to the reduction of inequalities” (Labadi 2022, 2). This establishes the primary focus of sustainability is to actively bring about change to achieve a more promising future for everyone.

Labadi argues heritage is diminished in the SDGs to a passive need for protection rather than as an active contributor to people’s lives or as cultural capital (Labadi 2022; Throsby 2000). In the 169 targets for change, heritage is only mentioned in SDG 11, which aims to “make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable”, where subsection 11.4 focuses on strengthening “efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage” (United Nations 2015, 14, 22) Labadi highlights the sustainability narrative in practice results in a 'lens of erasure' (Booij 2023; Labadi 2022, 15, 168, 190, 216) by neglecting contested heritage, power dynamics and stereotyping of communities. She recommends

heritage should be integrated into the SDGs and should be considered from a holistic approach being dynamic, contested, tangible, intangible, natural and cultural heritage, as well as able to contribute to social justice (Labadi 2022, 192-197).

The lack of a role for culture and heritage in the SDGs also has implications for the inherently future focus of sustainability as intergenerational. It suggests sustainability is focused on the future and preserves the past without giving a clear role to the present despite sustainable development being about the processes and means through which we can achieve this imagined future. As Auclair and Fairclough (2015, 204) note, in sustainability theory,

The 'present' is such a fleeting moment that perhaps it can only be appreciated and used as an interface, a transition. When sustainability discourse speaks of inter-generational transfer, or inter-community equity transfer, we should recall that our theories, plans and policy to achieve these things are made in what very rapidly becomes the past.

They suggest an increased focus on the present emphasising the journey rather than the goal (Ibidem). Similarly, critical heritage scholar Rodney Harrison (2013; 2020) concludes an anticipated future is actively created through heritage conservation processes and heritage practices in the present.

In addition to being a product of temporalities, both heritage and sustainable development are place-specific and cultural, with sustainability a product of particular histories and adaptations to particular geographical contexts (Albert 2015, 3). It is therefore important to localise the SDGs (Labadi 2011, 2022) and address these in ways that are interconnected with local culture, economies, and environment. Franklin (2021, 4) describes sustainable development as a transformational process in which all dimensions are connected and located in local knowledges based on social practices. Labadi (2022: 3) presents this transformational potential as the SDGs' ultimate ambition, to improve "people's lives, particularly those of disenfranchised communities". GBPT's practices connect with these ambitions providing a localised collaboration with community participation including areas that

fall within data zones between 5%-20% of the most deprived areas in Glasgow on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) (Shearer 2017, 11).

2.2 The Relationship between Sustainability and Resilience

In this section, I briefly consider the relationship between sustainability and resilience in academic scholarship. It is notable how descriptions of social sustainability overlap with those for community resilience. Dempsey et al. (2011, 294) identify five dimensions of social sustainability: social interaction and networks; participation in local community groups and networks; community stability; a sense of place, identity, and belonging; and perception of safety and security. Similarly, Partridge's (2014) extensive review of social sustainability literature highlights similar aspects: quality of life, equitable access to resources and opportunities, and equity or social justice and inclusion. Partridge (2014) defines social sustainability as future-focused by striving for equity between generations through democratic processes and frameworks for participatory action and decision-making.

SDG 11, defined as 'Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable' encompasses shelter for all, sustainable land use and planning, sustainable energy and transport systems, environmental infrastructure, planning and management in disaster-prone areas, sustainable construction and protection of heritage and culture and promoting human resource development and capacity-building for development (UN 2015, 14). Applying SDG 11 and the incorporated Sendai Framework in his work on museum disaster risk reduction, ecologist and museum scholar Henry McGhie developed a framework for resilience strategies in museums (UNDRR 2015; McGhie 2020). The Sendai Framework was developed by the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR) to incorporate disaster risk reduction in other 2030 Agenda agreements and the SDGs. McGhie's framework highlights the importance of understanding, governing, and managing disaster risk, investing in disaster risk reduction for resilience, and enhancing preparedness to "Build Back Better" in the process of recovery, rehabilitation, and reconstruction (2020, 12). This idea of building back better has also been referred to

as “bouncing forward” (Holtorf 2018; McGhie 2020), which incorporates learning processes to adaptation.

Theories of resilience and heritage have so far mostly focused on disaster risk reduction and consider heritage as both vulnerable to impacts of climate change, disasters and sometimes conflict, while at the same time presenting heritage as a positive “driver of resilience that can support efforts to reduce disaster risks more broadly” (O’Brien et al. 2015, 100). Research by Brown et al. (2017) and Robertson et al. (2021) provide more insight into what resilience in communities may look like in practice. Both highlight the importance of connections, social cohesion, shared responsibilities and approaches to community resilience as a process. While Brown et al.’s (2017) performance-based research emphasised shared emotions, loss, grief and humour, Robertson et al.’s (2021) workshop-based research described this as shared experiences and memories; mind-set, collective thinking, openness to adapt and cultural change as well as listing integration, inclusivity, equity, and diversity; communications, social support and co-ordination; training and exercises and identifying local needs. They stressed the importance of places for communities to gather to support these processes. Both highlighted a need for local government support (Brown et al. 2017; Robertson et al. 2021) to address issues of equity and community empowerment, required to achieve the sort of “bottom-up” and inclusive processes and the formation of multi-stakeholder partnerships” described by SDG 11 (UN 2012, SDG 11).

Consistent with Labadi’s (2022) critique of SDG 11 as diminishing heritage to a passive need for protection, critical heritage scholar Cornelius Holtorf (2018) advocates connecting resilience in cultural heritage to heritage values such as a sense of place and belonging, a sense of collective identity and self-esteem rather than to the fabric of heritage. I argue this raises interesting questions for locally embedded small heritage organisations around the potential intersections and frictions between sustaining organisational and community resilience as part of everyday operations and heritage practices in the context of multiplicity and contested heritage values. I return to this point in Chapter 7.6. I discuss the

proposition that sustainable development and resilience require inclusivity, equity, and diversity to achieve social justice as connected to ideas of heritage as a common good as opposed to public good in the section below.

2.3 Heritage ‘for Everybody’: Common Good, Public Value and Social Purpose

GBPT is in the process of transformation from focusing on building preservation to being “more relevant to the various communities across Glasgow” and heritage’s “place in community context” (Community Enterprise 2018, 6). Their approach to providing access to heritage “for the people of Glasgow” (Ibidem, 15) is broadening while they explore their ideas of mission, need and values in response to changing societal needs and funding requirements which encourages them to interact with local communities directly and societal changes more broadly. Their overall goal as described in their sustainability report is to create “a stronger sense of pride in where they live and communities will be more resilient” (Ibid) through working with sustainable end-users for repurposed historic buildings. Resonating with Albert’s (2015, 3) concept of sustainability including “concepts of justice, governing the commons and empowerment”, GBPT’s *Strategic Plan 2020-2023* (McConnell 2020, 4) illustrates this perspective through a quote from former GBPT Director Liz Davidson:

during the course of a building preservation project, not just the stonework and the roof gets repaired, but also people’s hope, purpose, identity, community spirit, optimism and courage to take control of their future.

This idea of empowerment through heritage as commons warrants the exploration of commons as emergent social processes in communities which may result in a shared system of governance that represents meaning to the community (Hess and Ostrom 2007). The next two sections set out the underlying principles of sustainability and heritage as governance of the commons on the one hand and the role of the state and local governments in public goods and public value on the other.

2.3.1 Sustainability, Heritage and the Common Good

The idea of commons as a shared resource has a long history which originated in common land and natural resources. This principle was enshrined in Roman law defining those resources (*Res Nullius*) that belonged to none but could be appropriated by individuals like the fruit of a tree and *Res Communis* which were those resources that could not be appropriated such as the ocean or air (Holder and Flessas 2008). More recently, in response and opposition to biologist Garrett Hardin's (1968) *Tragedy of the Commons*, political economist Elinor Ostrom (1990) developed her theory of the new commons in collaboration with the Director of the Digital Library of the Commons, Charlotte Hess (2006). Refuting Hardin's stance that self-interest prevails over community interests, Ostrom (1990) evidenced well-functioning commons being utilised effectively and sustainably inspiring her theory of the new commons. Hess (2006, np) defines commons as "a general term for shared resources in which each stakeholder has an equal interest". Hess and Ostrom (2007) broadened the original concept of natural commons defining 'New Commons' as either natural or cultural resources owned and governed by a community through an agreed social practice to prevent overexploitation or neglect. They extended the new commons with knowledge commons, characterised by their abundance and coproduction-based systems to provide knowledge without limitations and exclusions including among others, arts, design, film, information, and tangible and intangible heritage.

However, heritage commons should not be described as non-rivalrous goods or as embodying a shared past for all citizens (Borchi 2018). Heritage ownership and rights of access are often contested (Borchi 2018; Eizenberg 2011) and communities cannot be assumed to be homogenous (Cooke and Kothari 2001). Consistent with heritage as a social process (L. Smith 2006a) and commons governance as a social practice, Santagata et al. (2011, 3) highlight the risk of seeing heritage and culture as 'infinite', emphasising the potential of intergenerational loss when social practices are not carried forward. These caveats need consideration when envisaging sustainability as including governance of the commons and as an approach to redistributing unequal rights and empowerment, as proposed by The Scottish

Government (section 2.8). Scholarship on state-governed public goods, as opposed to commons as a social practice, is discussed below.

2.3.2 Public Good, Public Values and Social Purpose

Since the rise of neoliberalism in the 1930s, commons have increasingly become public goods controlled by governments. Economists Alford and O'Flynn (2009, 175) describe public goods as "outputs; they are products and services produced by the public organisation". In contrast, public values encompass "not only outputs but also outcomes, that is, impacts upon those who enjoy the value/good in question or upon states of nature important to those people. [...] public value has meaning for those enjoying it" (Alford and O'Flynn 2009, 175). Commons activist James B. Quilligan (2013, 75) argues that absorbing commons as public goods leads to the removal of social benefits to communities, as "the commons has no definitional reality in Keynesian thought." During the 1970s and 1980s, neoliberalism pushed forward the deregulation of markets, free trade, and globalisation (Bollier and Helfrich 2013) at the expense of communities governing their resources collectively. During this political and economic process, Habermas developed the idea of the "public sphere" which he defined in opposition to the commons or the common good (Habermas, Lennox, and Lennox 1974).

Habermas specifies the earlier notions of commons were based on feudal power relations and notes the emergence of the public sphere (*Öffentlichkeit*) as bourgeois society engaged in critical public debate as opposed to governmental opinion-making. This discursive space was supported by the development of newspapers and critical debate created the "public sphere as principle" (Habermas, Lennox, and Lennox 1974, 50). Habermas proposes the public sphere is a prerequisite to a functioning democracy, permitting mediation between citizens and the state and providing a check against illegitimate use of power. However, critical theorist, feminist and advocate for social justice issues, Nancy Fraser's (1990, 62) instant response to the 1989 translation of Habermas' work was that it described "a masculinist ideological notion that functioned to legitimate an emergent form of class rule". Although Fraser positively evaluates the principle of Habermas' public sphere,

she highlights his omission to “examine other, nonliberal, non-bourgeois, competing public spheres” which evidence that “the bourgeois public was never the public” (Fraser 1990, 60-61). On the contrary, simultaneously with the bourgeois public, “there arose a host of competing counterpublics” which included women, working-class organisations, and protest movements (Fraser 1990, 61). These ‘counterpublics’ indicate a widening of discursive contestation, which Fraser argues is beneficial to democracies. Fraser points out that social equality is a requirement “for participatory parity in public spheres” (Fraser 1990, 65). To achieve this, “a plurality of public arenas in which groups with diverse values and rhetorics participate” is required (Ibidem 69). Fraser highlights the importance of combining an inclusive and diverse public sphere with decision-making capabilities for the public. The idea of ‘counterpublics’ is particularly relevant when considering the origins or role played by small heritage organisations in local protests and more broadly when discussing inclusive approaches to participation. Fraser’s and Habermas’ theories influenced thinking about the political domain and impacted the ideas on public goods and public value as developed by political scientist and economist Mark H. Moore (1995).

Moore’s (1995) book, *Creating Public Value*, introduced the concept of public value for government organisations advocating for ethical commitments that recognised value beyond monetary costs and benefits. He defined public value in a political market, as opposed to shareholder value in private businesses operating in an economic market. However, critics note public value merely provides an accountability framework and a narrative for public organisations to justify their use of public resources (Alford and O’Flynn 2009). The public value paradigm also introduced “the idea of consultative and participatory evaluation” in public management (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016, 127). The requirement for the public sector to demonstrate public value was enshrined in UK law in *The Public Service (Social Value) Act 2002*, asking them “to consider the economic, social and environmental benefits for communities when awarding contracts” (Malde and Kennedy 2018, 36); this led to a widespread critique of the instrumentalisation of culture and heritage (section 2.5).

Contemporaneously to Moore's (1995) *Creating Public Value*, John Elkington (1997) published *Cannibals with Forks*, in which he introduces corporate sustainability as the 'triple bottom line', sometimes referred to as 'people, planet, profit.' Elkington (1997) aimed to transform financial accounting-focused business systems into a focus on wider impacts: long-term economic prosperity for all and profitability; social justice, including value, reputation, and trust; and environmental quality and justice. More recently, new theories of economic practice aimed at social purpose and mission thinking have emerged.

Economist and member of the Council of Economic Advisors to the Scottish Government, Marianna Mazzucato (2018; 2021) argues that mission thinking is "the only way we can make progress towards achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals." In response to Mazzucato's *Mission Economy* (2021), Henrekson and Stenkula (2024) argue that for innovation and economic growth, bottom-up policies beat top-down missions which they pose as too interventionist. Instead, they propose levelling the playing field for potential entrepreneurs. Mission and social purpose are defined by the Social Purpose Institute (Strandberg n.d.) as an organisation's mission to create a better world, social benefits and community. Economists Doherty, Haugh and Lyon (2014) note that hybridity, the challenge of balancing financial sustainability and social purpose, is key to social enterprises which in Europe are based on a tradition of collective social action. For cultural and heritage organisations, cultural researcher Sejul Malde (2018, 36) indicates that exploring social purpose requires organisations "to reflect on their relationship with society" while keeping up with rapid societal changes. However, in the context of Australian public sector nonprofit volunteer organisations, Dolnicar, Irvine and Lazarevski (2008, 115) describe the impact of competitive grant funding on these under-researched organisations as leading to increased "competition and corporatisation of operating practices, with serious tensions between organisational mission and the grant funding received to fund that mission." These are themes that recur in this study, particularly in Chapters 4 and 8.

2.4 Instrumentalisation and Rethinking of Values of Culture and Heritage

Concurrent with the global developments of the sustainability concept and public value described above, a shift took place in the UK political landscape from the 1980s onwards resulting in a re-assessment of the value of culture leading to “heightened tensions over assertions of heritage’s intrinsic value and its over-riding instrumental or utilitarian value” as highlighted by historic environment management scholar Ian Baxter (2015, 34). The ‘new public management’ approach, applying business-management thinking to public sector organisations and consumer-orientated models (Clark 2006), resulted in many national policies that scholars across the fields of heritage, conservation, culture, and arts argued commodified arts and culture (Belfiore and Gibson 2019; Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Gray 2007; Veldpaus and Pendlebury 2023). In these policies, arts and culture are used as instrumental tools to produce benefits and to achieve “non-cultural, non-arts, goals and objectives” (Gray 2007, 203). This approach asks culture and arts policies to deliver on a range of economic, social, political, or ideological issues rather than on cultural or heritage values (Clark 2006; Gray 2007). The aftermath of the financial crash of 2007 - 2008 increased an awareness of the rise of income inequality, which challenges some of our deeply rooted beliefs about how a fair society should be organised (Beinhocker and Hanauer 2014; Hopkins 2013; Gould 2017; Quilligan 2013) and accelerated a rethinking of what and how we value culture, heritage and the arts.

In their large-scale UK Arts and Humanities Research Council cultural value study, Geoffrey Crossick and Patrycja Kaszynska note the ensuing polarisation from this re-evaluation of arts, culture and heritage includes:

the intrinsic v the instrumental, the elite v the popular, the amateur v the professional, private v public spaces of consumption, qualitative v quantitative evidence, and the publicly-funded v the commercially-oriented (2016, 6).

Their study recommends a focus on the experience of arts and culture instead, in keeping with an understanding of value and valuing as an action embedded in a social process (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016, 15). The report emphasises their experience approach focuses on processes of reflectiveness, empathy, imagination,

and the capacity for innovation and creativity at a small scale rather than on large-scale economic and wellbeing impacts.

Artist and academic Stephen Pritchard (2018) too, warns about the instrumentalisation of artistic practices dictated by the state or other agendas to improve “the economy, health and wellbeing, social ills, education, the environment, urban places, crime rates, unemployment, on and on and on... Panacea Art.” A focus on these instrumental benefits has led to discussions on measuring outcomes and impacts of culture and heritage. Similar to Crossick and Kaszynska’s argument, cultural policy scholars Eleanor Belfiore and Oliver Bennett (2007, 225) state that a focus on what is measurable misses elements of the “multidimensional and subjective nature of the aesthetic experience”. While Franklin (2021, 12) warns that the idea of creativity as an individual trait we all possess may be seen as an individual responsibility by neo-liberalists. A rethinking of a values-based approach to heritage and arts further developed over the last two decades and is further appraised in the next section.

2.5 Knowledge Production: Bringing Heritage, Sustainability and Creativity

Together

Culture, heritage, and creativity are concerned with what Storey (2015, np) describes as the making of shared and contested meanings produced by “the entanglement of meaning, materiality and social practice” situated within existing power structures. As Dessein et al. (2015, 42) note, the idea of ‘everyday creativity’:

acknowledges the diversity of practices, values and understandings of a world shaped by interactive processes between human beings and their surroundings. It highlights ‘ordinary’ residents as active contributors of grassroots agency to gradually and iteratively contribute to a place and its development.

Franklin (2021, 14) too, proposes that creativity is “a relational and emergent activity that is anchored in social practice.” As asserted by heritage scholars Laurajane Smith (2006) and Siân Jones (2004; 2017), and sustainability scholars (Dessein et

al. 2015; Franklin 2021), culture, heritage and arts are social practices which are meaning-making and knowledge-producing (e.g., Law 2004). Consequently, approaching sustainability as a transformative agenda aimed at improving people's lives through everyday practices of equitable knowledge production (Franklin 2021; Labadi 2022) raises the question of which knowledge should be generated. Mol (1999) proposes the post-structuralist concept of 'ontological politics' which encompasses the political choice to produce particular knowledge and realities to create change. Sociologist John Law (2004) underlines Mol's concept and reflects this implicitly means 'presencing' certain narratives while 'absenting' others. The idea of ontological politics in knowledge production for transformation is a useful lens for everyday heritage practices. The concept is akin to Stuart Hall's (1999) article *Whose Heritage*, which foregrounds the importance of unsettling elitist narratives while embedding 'other' heritages as a discursive practice. In both approaches, questions of whose knowledge and heritage are recognised and through which processes are key.

In their critical history of British post-war cultural participation, Belfiore and Gibson (2019, 82) distinguish between "democratisation of culture and cultural democracy", usually considered "as contrasting goals for cultural policy and funding". While the democratisation of culture means making the arts available to more people, cultural democracy aims to cultivate arts and creativity at a grassroots level. As described above, sustainability as a rights-based concept which includes governing the commons and empowering communities, asks for "fully inclusive and truly democratic participation" (Franklin 2021, vi). However, what does this mean?

Recent scholarship critically elaborates on different approaches to community engagement and associated attitudes and challenges (Colomer 2023; May 2020; Lynch 2011; Lynch 2017; Dawson 2018; Waterton and Watson 2015). While the word 'engaging' can be used positively, it can also describe more limiting and restricting forms of relationships concludes Bernadette Lynch (2011, 7): "collaboration and co-production, with offers of participation typically amounting to the disillusioning experience of 'empowerment-lite'" and provide "an illusion of

participation” (Lynch 2017, 13). Alternative ways of working with communities through approaches that use ‘doing’, ‘making’, and ‘moving’ as ways of knowing and making change, are described by anthropologists Sarah Pink and Jennie Morgan (2013) and Tim Ingold (2011). How I apply this to my methodology is discussed in Chapter 3. How GBPT applies these ways of working in practice is considered in Chapter 6. Scholars are still developing insights into the concept of sustainability in practice at a local level and better understanding “the need for expertise, but in a de-centred fashion where professionals and community participants interact (Jones 2017, 3). The implication for heritage and creativity as knowledge production includes a shift from the tendency to do things for communities, to rather doing things with them (Waterton and Smith 2010, 7). In this sense, knowledge forming becomes a form of co-creation requiring equitable relations during this process.

2.6 Values-based Approaches to Heritage

Alongside the process of finding a place and role for heritage in sustainable development and in response to critiques of instrumentalisation of culture and heritage, a shift to values-based approaches to heritage, conservation, and future thinking (Bonacchi et al. 2023; Jones 2017; Smith 2006) has taken place. A values-based approach to heritage was first developed in an Australian context shaped by discussions about indigenous intangible heritage in the *Burra Charter* (ICOMOS 2013) and centred on significance assessment as the central concept of the conservation process. Social value was introduced through the *Burra Charter* with the idea that communities should be enabled to be involved in deciding the value of their heritage (Ireland, Brown, and Schofield 2020).

Although the *Burra Charter* does not include the term sustainability as such, it includes all its principles. Cultural and natural values are incorporated in its conservation principles and include the importance of ecosystems, bio- and geodiversity for present or future generations encompassing their “scientific, social, aesthetic and life-support value” (ICOMOS 2013, 4). Additionally, it states conservation should allow participation by those who “feel connected to a place through meaning and value” (ICOMOS 2013, 5), aiming to make heritage inclusive.

Although it is a national instrument for heritage management, the *Burra Charter* has influenced the development of international conventions, impacting ideas regarding democratisation and participation in heritage such as the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005) discussed above.

Since these developments around significance assessment, dominant assumptions of heritage as “static or ‘frozen in time’” have been challenged widely in critical heritage scholarship. Such approaches are at odds with notions of heritage as a process which encompasses established meanings and values as well as new meaning-making and value-creation (Smith 2006, 48). This notion of centring on the process and values of heritage resulted from critiques by Avrami, Mason, and De la Torre (2000), Siân Jones (2004; 2017) and Laurajane Smith (2006), among others, contested the idea that values are inherent to the material or fabric of a heritage building or object, a notion previously embedded in many charters and significance statements. Smith (2006, 2) defines heritage as “not so much as a ‘thing’ but as a cultural and social process, which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present.” This marked a shift from an elite approach to heritage, often based on built heritage values decided by experts, to heritage as a process centred around people (Jones 2017; Smith 2006). In addition, as geographer Gareth Hoskins (2014, 16) argues: “We must think about how value’s measurement works to inadvertently exclude”, illustrating how the process of designating built heritage has resulted in unequal representations of communities.

Subsequently, critical heritage scholars have explored meanings and values, emphasising these are linked to “people’s sense of identity, belonging and place, as well as forms of memory and spiritual association” (Jones 2017, 21). Meanings and values are fluid, dynamic and plural (Jones 2004; Labadi 2022; Robson 2023) and generated and expressed in continuous processes. As pointed out by Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (2015, 3), these “ontological complexities” lead to consequences for methods of heritage research as “affect, embodied engagement, emergent meaning” present new challenges. Furthermore, Elizabeth Robson (2023,

249) argues for a focus “on the complex interplay between co-existing values” and on the political, relational and contextual nature of heritage with a focus on “how heritage is identified, legitimised, and mobilised.” These explorations of heritage as a cultural and social process aim to widen positions of power and create opportunities for a concept more aligned with the notion of participation in culture as a human right. Heritage and sustainability as a transformative agenda result in using heritage as valorising, active, and generative.

The democratisation of heritage through the valorisation process has consequences for heritage management and conservation. Criticism of the value debate has been directed at the lack of frameworks to guide conservation practice (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016). However, recent developments of practical assessment methods to incorporate social values in heritage management and conservation have been piloted by Robson (2023) for Historic Environment Scotland bringing this academic debate into heritage and conservation practice. Recently, heritage conservation practices have been explored from the perspective of ethics of care, borrowing from health ethnographer and philosopher Annemarie Mol’s (2002) concept of “matters of care” such as Jones and Yarrow’s (2022) ethnographic narration of daily practices in conservation in Scotland in their *Object of Conservation*. Following on from Mol, philosopher Maria Puig de la Bellacasa (2017) foregrounds care as a ‘critically disruptive practice’ based on the principle of ‘caring with’ in a more-than-human-world. She warns of patronising connotations with the notion of caring “for” and emphasises the importance of agency and of care’s “potential to disrupt” and make neglected activities more visible (2017, 12). This can be applied to ethical practices of co-production in the processes of community governance of heritage and democratic participation.

These conceptual developments around values and critiques regarding the instrumentalisation of heritage, arts and culture are relevant to the transformational agenda that sustainability entails. As Dessein et al (2015, 42) state, participation and social cohesion in communities are conditions for sustainable development and transformational change. Addressing societal inequalities through participation

includes approaching heritage as a process and as social practice, offering space for a plurality of narratives, and enabling the empowerment of communities which are essential to a rights-based approach to sustainability (Labadi 2022; Rosetti, Jacobs, and Pereira Roders 2020). The implications for organisations such as GBPT encompass a shift from their heritage activities as historic building restoration and adaptation only, to combining practices with a values-based, equitable community approach and incorporating environmental considerations. As conservation architect Johnathan Djabarouti emphasises, the role of heritage professionals as curators and narrators of heritage is an important aspect of heritage practice shaping both the storytelling process as well as being custodians of physical heritage (2021, 391). As such, I propose professionals are both intermediaries between policy and strategy on the one hand and heritage and communities on the other thus facilitating the process of knowledge production. Not only does this require continual processes of “‘negotiation’ between social actors”, as organisational culture researcher Sharon Bolton (2005, 26) states, without this negotiation, “organisations would have no meaning or life”. The next section appraises the policy, strategy and funding landscape that GBPT operates in.

2.7 Scottish Heritage Policy and Funding Context

2.7.1 Scottish Policy Frameworks

Over the last decade, Scottish policies and strategies have shown a progressive and responsive approach to the development of international sustainability frameworks and their implications. Since parliamentary powers were devolved in 1998 from the UK Government to the Scottish Executive, Scotland has defined its own culture and heritage policies. The National Performance Framework (NPF) was first introduced by a Scottish National Party-led (SNP) minority Scottish Government in 2007. After a landslide election for the SNP in 2015, the Scottish Government adapted the NPF as “Scotland’s way to localise the SDGs” (SG 2023). The current framework aims to increase the wellbeing of people living in Scotland, create sustainable and inclusive growth, reduce inequalities, and give equal importance to economic, environmental, and social progress (SG 2023). Additionally, policies and strategies have

increasingly focused on climate change with the Scottish Government declaring a climate emergency in April 2019. In *Climate Ready Scotland*, the Scottish Government (2019) outlines their outcomes-based approach to climate adaptation and mitigation. In Outcomes 1 and 2, they connect these with resilient communities, health and wellbeing, enabling already vulnerable communities to adapt, and the built and historic environment (SG 2019, 10).

During my research period, ministerial structures changed with heritage and culture initially being the responsibility of the Cabinet Secretary for Economy, Fair Work and Culture until 2022, emphasising culture, and heritage's economic values, especially through tourism. However, in 2022, culture and heritage were added to the Ministry of Europe and International Development, merging heritage, culture, community engagement and libraries, arts and creative industries, museums, and their respective lead public bodies in one ministry. This shift highlights an increasing focus on defining Scottish identity and Scotland's place in the UK and internationally in the context of Brexit, the withdrawal of the UK from the European Union in January 2020.

The NPF is supported by the 'Place Principal' which recognises that "Place is where people, location and resources combine to create a sense of identity and purpose, and is at the heart of addressing the needs and realising the full potential of communities" (SG 2019). The place principal aims to enable participation and community empowerment" for "increased opportunities for people and communities to shape their own lives" (SG 2019). Empowering communities has been supported by the adoption of the *Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015*, the *Community Right to Buy* (2015) and the *Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2016*. These were developed to provide communities with the right to be heard in decision-making processes about public services and assure the community's right to buy and manage local land or assets for sustainable development. As evaluated by Bethany Rex (2019, 2) who critiques museum asset transfer as an "articulation of government strategies to shift more social responsibility onto non-state actors", as a consequence of policies of reduced state spending. The ensuing process of

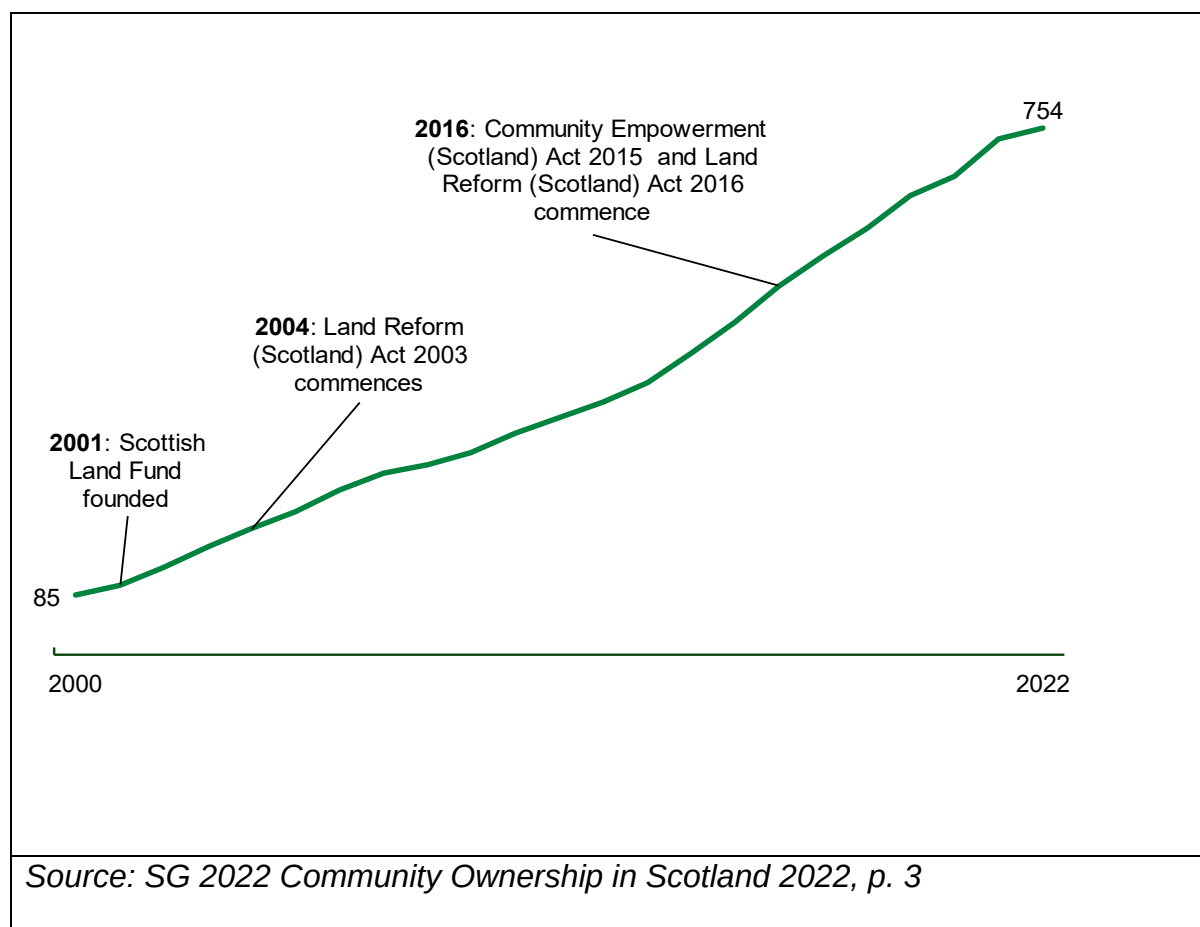
Community Asset Transfer (CAT) has increased the number of community-owned heritage assets, local museums, land, ferries, and boats in Scotland from 85 in the year 2000 to 754 in 2022 (Figure 4). These 754 assets are currently owned by 505 community groups illustrating a level of success in decentralising control over assets valued by communities, as intended by government policies.

2.7.2 Heritage Strategies

As noted by Baxter (2015, 37), “Scotland has taken a philosophical standpoint on heritage as having intrinsic value.” This was emphasised by Fiona Hyslop, Scottish Culture Minister at the time, who labelled the instrumental value of heritage as reductive (Hyslop 2013). The Scottish Government adopted this standpoint in the Scottish Historic Environment Policy (SG 2011) and in the national heritage strategy, *Our Place in Time* (OPiT) (SG 2014), which was developed in collaboration with the heritage sector and academics. OPiT describes heritage as being at the centre of a sustainable Scotland (SG 2014) and emphasises that the “sense of place and strong cultural identity provided by the historic environment plays a crucial part in the sustainability of communities and in promoting a positive image of Scotland across the world” (SG 2014), concurrent with Auclair & Fairclough’s (2015) observations.

The current strategy for Scotland’s historic environment sector, *Our Past, Our Future* (SG 2023), was launched in 2023 by Christina McKelvie, then Minister for Culture, Europe, and International Development. It is described as being developed collaboratively and collectively owned, emphasising the participatory approach to coproducing national strategies with the sector and the public. The strategy *Our Past, Our Future* (SG 2023, 7) works in conjunction with the Culture Strategy for Scotland, Scotland’s Museums and Galleries Strategy, and with nationwide plans, such as the National Planning Framework and the Volunteering for All Action Plan, among others.

Figure 4 Number of Assets in Community Ownership, 2000 to 2022 (SG 2022, 3)



In a shift from past strategies, *Our Past, Our Future* (SG 2023) prioritises people and addresses the climate and biodiversity crises before highlighting the importance of protecting and promoting the historic environment. Additionally, it lists working collaboratively across sectors and the need to develop an inclusive, diverse, and skilled workforce (SG 2023, 14). The strategy positions heritage as “a vital resource in our transition to net zero and in helping local places to thrive” (SG 2023, 7). While positioning the historic environment as physical, it describes this as “shaped by stories, traditions, and concepts that help to give the physical traces of the past their meaning, significance, and value” (SG 2023, 10). The strategy defines the historic environment as an economic asset and a resource with a focus on outcomes while also recognising its plurality of values, meanings, and identities, including natural, cultural, tangible, and intangible heritage (SG 2023, 10-11). As such, it tries to

balance an instrumental approach to public value, as critically reflected on in section 2.4.2, with recognition of heritage values, as discussed in section 2.7.

2.7.3 Scottish Heritage Governance

Historic Environment Scotland (HES) is the lead public body responsible for leading on Scotland's heritage strategy. HES is partly funded by the government and by additional grants, retail, and admissions income from properties in care of the state, while also distributing grants to historic places and projects. Following the shift in policy and strategic priorities towards people and climate change, HES' *Corporate Plan; Heritage for All* (HES 2019a) has seen a similar development during this research project, with an updated corporate plan being published in 2022.

The corporate plan first published in 2019 presents the historic environment as Scotland's story, including the tangible and intangible. HES defines five Key Performance Indicators based on the four dimensions of sustainability and its aspirations as an organisation. Economic sustainability is presented as the income heritage provided through tourism and employment and by the promotion of traditional craft skills. Environmental sustainability focuses on the impacts of climate change on the historic environment with this corporate plan introducing the recognition that loss and decay are part of climate change and other risks including loss through lack of remembering: "Things will be lost – through decay, erosion, fire, neglect or, simply, just by slipping from memory" (HES 2019, 14). Like HES, national organisations owning historic properties and cultural landscapes have increasingly invested in strategies for climate change and climate action and sustainable management of natural resources such as peatlands (HES 2020; Luxmoore and Spaven 2016). HES' sustainability reports in 2016 and 2017 focus on their environmental carbon policy, waste, energy, travel, and biodiversity and more recently, HES has devised a Climate Action Plan to address the threat climate change poses to their properties in care (HES 2020).

The social element is described from a health and wellbeing perspective as well as including a more equal society, and an aim to inspire creativity to enable the exploration of values, meanings, and uses of heritage. In addition, HES' (2019) Corporate Plan aims to champion diversity, and inclusivity, and to strengthen communities. HES has interpreted cultural sustainability as aiming for a creative and vibrant Scotland and the protection of intangible heritage (HES 2019a). The iterative and reciprocal relation between cultural and social sustainability as described by Dessein et al (2015) discussed in section 2.2 above, resonates with HES' approach to social and cultural sustainability. This approach illustrates the recognition of heritage as a social process of meaning-making and knowledge production (Jones 2004; 2017; Jones and Leech 2015; Smith 2006).

Simultaneously, the Scottish Government's Culture Strategy for Scotland (SG 2020a, 3) reiterates this relationship between culture and society as part of its broad anthropological approach:

Culture is woven through everyday life, shapes and is shaped by society, and its transformative potential is experienced by everyone. Scotland's rich cultural heritage and creativity of today is inspired by people and place, enlivens every community and is celebrated around the world.

The Scottish Government illustrates Dessein et al's (2015) point that a broad anthropological understanding of culture calls for cross-sectoral policies and strategies. Having embraced this cross-sectoral and anthropological approach to heritage and culture strategies, HES' (2022) updated corporate plan sets these out and incorporates their implications.

In line with the Scottish Government's strategy, HES' more recent *Corporate Plan* prioritises people and the biodiversity crisis as it contends with three main challenges; recovery and resilience after the negative impacts of the Covid19 pandemic which showed a reduction in tourist visits and spending as well as "shone a stark light on the inequalities in our society" (HES 2022, 7). In addition, it focuses on addressing a decrease in public finances and rising costs and adapting the

properties in their care to the changing climate. Like its predecessor, the corporate plan (HES 2022, 9) promotes benefits for everyone:

We want the historic environment to make a real difference to people's lives.
A difference to our health, to our economy, to our culture, to our environment.
We want heritage to involve everyone so that we all benefit.

This position reveals four principles: firstly, heritage is based on a broad anthropological perspective, similar to the culture strategy. It includes the tangible and intangible, however, does not specifically include natural heritage; this may be considered a separate policy area for Scotland's national public body for nature, NatureScot. Secondly, heritage is presented as 'for all' and recognises that "not everyone is represented as they should be in our heritage, and we need to change this to ensure that the benefits it brings are there for all" (HES 2022, 13) reflecting HES' role as a public organisation and heritage as a public good as discussed in section 2.4.2 above. This position includes a recognition that inclusivity means a plurality of stories and perspectives:

The historic environment is the story of Scotland. But it's not just one story.
It's everyone's stories put together. Every single one of us – every single one of our stories – is a living, vital part of this bigger story (HES 2022, 19).

Thirdly, described as the 'myth of community' by Cooke and Kothari (2001), communities are not coherent or harmonious and neither are "everyone's stories put together" (HES 2022, 19). HES' strategy recognises heritage can be contested and describes this in relation to built heritage:

Our historic environment is all around us. It helps to connect us to the past, and to each other. But we also know that, for some people, built heritage can serve as a reminder of persistent injustice and inequality. What might serve as an icon of pride for some can be a symbol of oppression to others" (2022: 4).

Finally, like sustainability, heritage is presented as having transformative potential for future-making stating it "can, and must, support our collective efforts to build a brighter, fairer, and greener future for Scotland" (HES 2022, 4). This idea of heritage as future-making practices aiming to resource an anticipated future (Harrison 2020, 36) are reinforced through national and local funding strategies and criteria which

shape heritage practices for funded organisations such as GBPT. How funding bodies further shape small heritage organisations' practices through their funding requirements is set out below.

2.8 The Scottish Funding Landscape

The largest providers of heritage funding for small heritage organisations in the UK, such as GBPT, are the Architectural Heritage Fund (AHF) and The National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF). Since 1976, the AHF has focused on buildings and provides grants and loans for the conservation and sustainable reuse of heritage assets to benefit communities in the UK. The AHF is funded by the UK government and a range of other funders, including the national heritage bodies for the four nations in the UK⁵. Its history is connected to the origin story of building preservation trusts, further discussed in Chapter 4. AHF emphasises how the historic environment inspires creativity and enterprise, draws together communities, and improves places for the enjoyment of the community (The Architectural Heritage Fund 2020). Since its inception in 1994, the NLHF has contributed to the shift from expert values focussing on the heritage asset itself to a model that recognises the importance of community participation and identifying and caring for what is valued and practised by communities (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Hewison and Holden 2004; Smith 2006).

Funded by players of the National Lottery, NLHF funds cultural and natural heritage projects that aim to connect people to the heritage they value. This ranges from improving habitats, conserving historic landscapes, oral history, cultural activities, celebrations, and buildings to industrial projects. The outputs NLHF currently expects include community engagement activities, repairs and conservation, digital outputs, staff posts, paid placements, and professional fees (Heritage Fund 2020). The creation of the Heritage Lottery Fund in 1994 significantly increased the amount of

⁵ The AHF's resources and current programmes are supported by grant-aid from Historic England, Historic Environment Scotland, Cadw, the Northern Ireland Department for Communities, the UK Government as well as the Pilgrim Trust, the Garfield Weston Foundation and the William Grant Foundation. See <https://ahfund.org.uk/about-us/what-we-do/>

funding available to the heritage sector. The criteria supported communities and volunteer groups, often based on the single or preserving fund model, which made it more difficult for Building Preservation Trusts (BPT) who use a professional revolving fund model⁶ to meet the community and people-centred criteria (Beckett 2009). This led to a decline as well as a transformation of the mission and values of BPTs which is considered more elaborately in Chapter 4.

More recently, NLHF (2023) launched its *Heritage 2033 delivery plan: 2023–2026*, as part of a ten-year strategy. It was informed by the findings from the Heritage Pulse initiative, an NLHF research panel in collaboration with Historic England, supported by HES, AHF, and The Built Environment Scotland, where to date, over 400 heritage organisations have registered to participate in research. NLHF has determined their strategic priorities in consultation and through engagement with these heritage organisations and community groups they fund. The delivery plan highlights principles similar to the Scottish Government and HES's strategies and are supported by a “place-based approach through our investments, strategic initiatives and partnerships” (NLHF 2023, 6). The four principles need to be addressed in any funding application: to save, conserve and value heritage, for both the present and the future; to protect the environment, support nature recovery and environmental sustainability; to support greater inclusion, diversity, access, and participation in heritage and to support organisational sustainability in funded organisations (NLHF 2023, 4).

However, despite changing policies, strategies, and funding criteria to address an increasing number of societal issues, public and charitable funding provisions have decreased over the last decade. NLHF's income has decreased as a consequence of changes in consumer behaviour buying fewer tickets for draw-based games. As a consequence, a reduction of 49.4% in the number of projects awarded funding in Scotland between 2013/14 and 2015/16 was noted by research by Consilium Research and Consultancy, and Wavehill (2018, 10) highlighting an increasingly

⁶ Revolving fund trust: explain the principle here or first time mentioned

competitive climate. Based on English data, their report highlights that larger organisations generate more earned income, while smaller organisations rely significantly more on public funding and private investment. In addition, the consequences of Brexit are reported as a threat to funding with over 280 historic environment projects in Scotland having received a minimum of £36.8m in EU funding during 2007-2016 (Consilium Research and Consultancy and Wavehill 2018, 29). It highlights this funding is no longer available to UK-based heritage organisations.

The funding data presented above refer to a period before the COVID19 pandemic, which has added substantial pressures on all heritage organisations and their funding and income streams. During the pandemic, a survey of Scottish heritage organisations carried out by HES (2020) indicated that 78% of respondents had suffered loss of revenue due to pandemic lockdown measures and 78% reported loss or postponement of work. Small heritage organisations such as GBPT were already exploring how to re-orientate their mission to fulfil a wider range of public and social benefit agendas aided by funding to review ways to improve organisational sustainability. The pandemic accelerated this need while causing serious additional challenges to organisations' reserves and thus their financial resilience while often disconnecting heritage organisations from their supportive communities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have mapped academic scholarship around relevant concepts relating to sustainability, resilience, heritage and creativity, and participation as well as the policy, strategy, and funding arenas in which small heritage organisations such as GBPT are operating in Scotland. My study explores how small Scottish heritage organisations create sustainable and resilient futures by adopting creative practices in working with communities in a more-than-human environment. There are significant gaps in understanding how heritage and small heritage organisations as intermediaries between public policy, heritage frameworks and funders, and 'real world' practice with local communities, contribute to sustainability as a transformational process including cultural, social, economic, and environmental

values (e.g. Bonacchi 2013; Burtenshaw 2017; Franklin 2021; Jones 2017; Reser and Bentrupperbaumer, 2005). This research contributes to bridging this gap between sustainability frameworks, scholarship, policies, and heritage practice.

This context of the sustainability and resilience agendas contributes to shaping heritage as a future-making and active, transformative practice. Following Mol (2002), Puig de la Bellacasa (2017) and Jones and Yarrow (2022), I use the lens of heritage practices in a more-than-human-environment as practices of care, focusing on Puig de la Bellacasa's "critically disruptive" care in particular. In the remaining chapters of this thesis, I explore what this means for organisational resilience and sustainability, for the investment of the self in this type of care work, for creating equitable spaces with communities and how wider relations and networks play a role in resilience and sustainability in a 'real world' environment. I compare this Scottish study with a Norwegian perspective to be able to draw wider conceptual conclusions. In the next chapter, I present my methodological approach to my ethnographic and collaborative exploration of how small heritage organisations negotiate and curate heritage through daily "bodily practices of dwelling, travelling, working and 'being' in the world" (Harrison 2013b, 112-113).

Chapter 3: Approaching the Ethnographic Collaboration

Introduction

I am opening this chapter with a reflection on my ethnographic experiences with GBPT during which I joined its employees in their offices, online, doing woodwork, crafts, nature-based activities, a community engagement day, litterpicking on a boat, rollerskating, cycling and walking (Figures 5 and 6). These rich and embodied experiences taught me much about GBPT's practices and the participants' 'pedestrian knowledge' (Vergunst 2021). I felt particularly touched by Liam, a walking group member, who enacted his memories of 'going home' at a derelict piece of land (Chapter 6). I learnt how people experience and 'see' spaces differently, depending on memories, associations, and contexts. Or as Mol (1999, 76) noted that "lay experts" [...] bring with them their own particular skills, habits, histories, preoccupations which means that their eyes are different". The interactions increased my understanding of emplaced ethnography (Pink 2021) and developed and supported my ethnographic skills, prompting me to probe 'better' as a 'way of knowing' (Pink and Morgan 2013).

As outlined in Chapter 1, ethnographies reveal nuanced understandings of everyday practices due to the use of various methods (Davies 1999; Hammersley 2006). Applied to heritage practices, ethnographies are therefore highly suitable to explore the experiences and practices relating to ideas of sustainability, resilience, mission, value, and social purpose. My ethnographic, collaborative research provides a better understanding of the complexities of practices, challenges, and opportunities small Scottish heritage organisations face in the contexts set out in Chapters 1 and 2. As research relating to social purpose, sustainability and resilience is inherently about transformative agendas, "creativity and collaboration are co-present" in the design and practises of such research (Franklin 2021, 2). In this collaborative process, GBPT has been my partner in knowledge production from October 2019 until October 2023 and included shared modes of narrating, doing, and making.

Observing and participating in GBPT's practices during their journey with the West Boathouse restoration project meant learning with and from GBPT employees at a variety of fieldwork sites including the office, sites across and online spaces. In her book *Ethnography for the Internet*, Christine Hine (2015) observes the continuum of online and offline contexts while Postill and Pink (2012) describe both as "ethnographic places". These perspectives and my own experiences led to my adoption of Doreen Massey's (2005) theory of place as 'open', emergent and flexible. Her concept of sense of place as an event can be applied to both physical and digital spaces. Being embedded with GBPT across the variety and continuum of offline and online spaces provided rich material for deep collaborative knowledge production. My PhD research has combined a variety of methods across fieldwork sites. I elaborate on the individual components of the broadly qualitative methods within my ethnography in section 3.5. However, I first reflect on my personal position as a researcher and my reflexive practice in 3.2, followed by my approach to ethics as part of the everyday (3.3).



Figure 5 Participating in boatbuilding activities, November 2019



Figure 6 Participating in roller skating at the Barrowlands, September 2022

3.1 Reflexive Ethnographic Practice and Position Statement

At the core of my research was the wish to understand how the concepts and issues raised in my research questions were negotiated and enacted as part of GBPT's everyday practices. As described in Section 1.2, my main research question was: how can small heritage organisations with social purpose create sustainable and resilient futures in the context of rapidly changing economies? Addressing this question meant better understanding GBPT's everyday heritage practices at multiple scales. How do their employees respond to policies and strategies, how do they frame and enact mission, need, and value together (Chapter 5), when engaging creatively with communities (Chapter 6), and when interacting with their wider networks (Chapter 7)?

Continuing this scalar approach to understand practices around the concepts of democratisation of heritage, participation, resilience and sustainability, I compared my Scottish findings to heritage practices in Norway. A short-term ethnographic approach during a research visit of one month to Norway allowed me to extrapolate my understanding of the concepts explored in Scotland to a different national context. The Norwegian national context was particularly suitable for comparison with Scotland. Despite notable socioeconomic differences, both countries are situated within Northern Europe, have similar population sizes and have adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which steer approaches to heritage policies and ideas of participation (3.4.5 and Chapter 8). Both governments have developed policies and funding landscapes that are framed around ideas of heritage as a common good, community participation and resilience and have connected these concepts with issues of climate adaptation (Meld. St. 16 2019; SG 2019; 2023). Despite Norway not having small heritage organisations such as building preservation trusts, both countries have a rich tapestry of community volunteering groups allowing comparison of heritage practices with communities. Norway's high level of proficiency in English meant I would be able to converse with people in different organisations and community groups. In addition to a comparable policy context, my choice for Norway was supported by the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the University of Stirling and my host organisation, the Norwegian Institute

for Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU), an independent research institute that supports heritage policy and practice. This MOU enabled me to use NIKU's practice-based networks to identify suitable organisations to visit. This international comparison was particularly helpful in creating a better conceptual understanding of networks and infrastructures of care as vital elements of organisational and community resilience and sustainability (Chapters 8 and 9).

It must be noted that the research questions and the accompanying ethnographic approach were initially agreed upon with my original collaborative partner Northlight Heritage. The need for this research and a better understanding of the value and financial resilience of small heritage organisations was reiterated when Northlight Heritage closed just before the PhD research period was about to begin. A new collaborative partnership that could offer similar approaches and heritage engagement activities needed to be found. The new collaborative partnership with GBPT was initiated by my supervisor Professor Siân Jones and a Northlight Heritage employee who found employment with GBPT. The move to GBPT by the Heritage Engagement Officer indicated that GBPT was investing in developing its community engagement and creative participation activities. While the Heritage Engagement Officer was highly experienced in engaging a diverse range of people in heritage through creative practice, outdoor learning and experimental archaeology, GBPT was just starting their process of working creatively with communities. Following the Heritage Engagement Officer to GBPT provided continuity in terms of issues and approaches defined in the original proposal and grant application as previously negotiated with Northlight Heritage. Subsequently, the research questions, my methodology and the research proposal more broadly were renegotiated with GBPT. During our initial meetings, GBPT's team indicated they recognised the need for the research questions and objectives from their own practices and processes and agreed to become my collaborative partner based on the original proposal.

Over time, the research questions and objectives remained, however, the focus on organisational and community resilience increased through the social, cultural and economic challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic. Methods were adapted to

reflect GBPT's responses to the pandemic. The original approach included an evaluation of experiences and values associated with community heritage projects by participants of current and former projects. However, the pandemic hampered access to participants during large parts of the PhD. Additionally, GBPT was also doing its own evaluations, which meant there was a need to balance being a project adjacent to GBPT's projects and funders' evaluation requirements. We agreed not to over-ask participants during already difficult pandemic situations. Instead, GBPT gave me access to their evaluation reports. Methods including observation and participation in creative practices with communities (3.4.2) and qualitative interviews (3.4.4) remained an important part of my adapted methodology where possible and took place either online or after pandemic restrictions eased. Access to in-person creative activities with communities after restrictions eased was supported by an SGSAH-funded extension of my PhD. However, a planned survey in the heritage sector was abandoned in discussion with GBPT due to indications of survey fatigue during the pandemic. Consistent with Hine's (2015) notion of the continuum of online and offline contexts, and with advice from my supervisors, GBPT and I agreed to replace the survey with social media research to capture its adaptation from in-person to increased online working (3.4.3 and 7.4).

Like decision-making around adaptations, my research findings were often discussed informally during conversations and team meetings. However, more formal presentations were provided too. During an online GBPT team meeting in June 2021, I presented the findings from my social media research focusing specifically on GBPT's place in the Scottish heritage social media landscape. These findings were used to discuss and inform their social media strategy at the time. I presented my overall findings in September 2023 to GBPT's team and my supervisors which was well-received. Useful discussions took place afterwards which allowed all participants to discuss and probe the findings presented. GBPT employees attended an online presentation I provided at the University of Stirling. Co-created knowledge exchange also allowed a deepening of a mutual understanding of each other's practices and the research findings when Robin and I co-developed and co-presented a community heritage workshop in 2021 and a presentation in 2024 at an Environmental Histories Conference which is currently

being co-developed into a publication. Finally, during what Pink and Morgan (2013, 14) call “expanding the ethnographic place by enabling participants to enter into our post-fieldwork temporality,” I sent my full thesis to the team at GBPT and let each person know what their pseudonym was (3.2). This allowed them to see how I had interpreted things they said and did with an option to discuss how they were represented in the research. Some let me know they had read the full thesis, some just read the parts where they were quoted directly. I was pleased to receive positive reactions which I took as evidence of the mutual understanding of our co-created knowledge. A final presentation and discussion with GBPT’s Board of Trustees is currently being planned for wider dissemination of the findings in the organisation.

As I embarked on my PhD journey with GBPT, I became aware of the transition from being a stranger in the field to becoming a member of and an “actor” in the field as described by Davies (1999, 71). Reflecting on my positionality, power relations and group dynamics were important parts of the research process (Banks et al. 2013; Davies 1999). I remained aware that my fieldwork is gendered, emotional, embodied, sensitive, sensory, and complex as described by Coffey (1999, 12, 20). Key to this reflexive practice is the awareness of being an able-bodied, white, straight, Dutch, female, mature student. Sometimes, my positionality created opportunities such as identifying with issues of women’s voices in heritage. It occasionally created moments of friction where I had to ask for clarification due to a lack of understanding of Scottish or Glaswegian historical context or language used in banter. Although Dutch culture does not define class identities in the way that Scottish culture does, I was aware of being regarded as middle class by others. Despite being an outsider in many fieldwork situations, I have tried to represent participants’ voices as well as possible by using quotes and vignettes throughout the thesis while reflecting on critical distance and my position as a researcher (Coffey 1999; Davies 1999; Franklin 2021).

Exchanges with GBPT employees about our critical reflections during the research process have been positive and have shaped and improved the research. This process built mutual trust and confirmed that ethnographic fieldwork is personal,

emotional, identity and relational work, as observed by Coffey (1999), and Ingold (2011). However, my position in the organisation was also determined by negotiations around access to Board Meetings which was considered too sensitive during a time of intense transformation and debate. During the PhD, I sometimes attended meetings with external partners while others were considered not interesting or not suitable for me. These transparent negotiations around limitations often caused me to reflect on my position as a researcher within the everyday of what was a very positive collaboration. Finally, during the post-fieldwork stage of the research, a process of creating distance to allow for critical reflection on the findings and the collaboration took place. Being mindful of my PhD deadline and the fieldwork period coming to an end, I focused on engagement with the knowledge and materials gathered. My approach to immersion and distance in the writing process is discussed in section 3.5 below. The next section on ethics will set out the negotiation of relationships and representations in the research process.

3.2 Ethics

My decision to name GBPT is purposeful and was discussed with the organisation. Considering the close networks among Scottish and UK heritage organisations, concealing the identity of the organisation would have been difficult. The organisation employed between three to five people at any moment during the collaboration (Chapter 1). Due to natural progression in the organisation, the people working in the organisation have changed during the PhD. Considering these small numbers and the fact that there was only one female employee during the collaboration, the team and I agreed to allocate gender-neutral pseudonyms. I am therefore referring to all GBPT's employees in the gender-neutral third person as 'they' and 'their' to protect their identities. Browne (2003, 139) recommends discussing pseudonyms as a form of negotiation of agency or "power in the formal spaces of research distribution."

Pseudonyms were also discussed before and at the start of my semi-structured interviews by emailing each participant a consent form in advance that offered anonymity through a pseudonym. Many participants asked what others were doing and indicated a preference to go with the majority rather than standing out as a

named person. All participants opted to be given a pseudonym and were made aware they could be recognised by the stories they shared. In addition to GBPT's employees, I have also experienced short-term interactions with student volunteers and interns working on the West Boathouse collections and supporting the organisation of the Glasgow Doors Open Days Festival (GDODF), and occasional visitors. Any reference to their knowledge shared with me was agreed upon through verbal consent.

In addition to these negotiated relationships, several formal agreements were in place between the University of Stirling, GBPT and myself, addressing the collaborative nature of this PhD including issues of confidentiality, intellectual property, and risk assessments. This study was approved by the University of Stirling General University Ethics Panel (GUEP 798). Amendments and risk assessments were approved as required during the research process, particularly for the adaptations made during and after the pandemic. I have remained aware throughout the project of the dependent relationship between myself and my collaborative partner. However, this was mitigated by the mutual interest and benefit of the study being completed to a high standard.

In relation to my social media research, I followed the framework designed by Townsend and Wallace (Townsend and Wallace 2017a). I argue that Tweets produced by organisations are public and curated intentionally to be read by a wide audience and are considered mundane rather than sensitive or confidential (Townsend and Wallace 2017b, 200). I have reported on my Twitter data in an aggregated way (Chapter 7). No Tweets have been paraphrased in this research as verbatim quotes can be searched, compromising the organisation's anonymity (Townsend and Wallace 2017). Some of GBPT's Tweets have been included in this thesis with their permission.

My attendance at community engagement activities was arranged in discussion with GBPT. This project's collaborative nature meant I encountered many GBPT

stakeholders, organisations, community groups and school children at different locations across Glasgow. During these engagements, I adopted a practice of ‘everyday ethics’ (Banks et al. 2013) and careful consideration has been given to both principle-based ethics, which relates to individual rights and duties, and relationship-based ethics, which negotiates power, builds trust and relationships (Banks et al. 2013). This included considering issues such as the privacy of the body in physical fieldwork and the use of technology such as photos and videos (Coffey 1999). When taking photos, I have avoided the visibility of individuals or specifically asked for permission. The next section describes the collaboration in this study.

3.3 Approach to Collaboration

In this section, I focus on the primary ethnographic research as a way of being immersed in the field (Kopinski and Jeffery 2013; Fontein 2013). Taking part in what Morse, Rex, and Richardson (2018, 113) called the everyday practices of professionals that produce and reproduce the organisation provided an in-depth understanding of their “work-worlds.” In my practices, I follow Ingold’s (2011) and Pink et al.’s (2016, 55) sensory approach, which considers the multi-sensory category of ambience in addition to the traditional Western idea of sight, hearing, touch, taste, smell, and their interrelationships.

The “ongoingly emergent activity of making relations” as described by Morgan and Castle (2023, 7) was most prominent when the pandemic arrived. Most of the activities GBPT and I co-developed, happened in the context of exploring new digital practices. Using my skills in social media research, I obtained and analysed GBPT’s Tweets and Instagram posts in the spring of 2021. I analysed their social media (3.5.3) in the context of the wider Scottish heritage sector to support the development of their new social media strategy. Illustrating what was working well and what could be considered for change was welcomed as “an eye opener” (Jamie). During GBPT’s first digital GDODF in September 2021, we co-developed new approaches towards evaluating the digital festival. I collaborated with Sam, attended meetings with their external evaluator and supported an adapted approach to their evaluation report incorporating social media insights for their main funder,

GCC. Additionally, Sam decided a short and engaging film on GDODF would work better than the long annual evaluation report. I spent a day interviewing people at a variety of participating GDODF venues with GBPT's filmmaker and providing feedback on the film edits before it was finalised⁷.

In October 2021, when in-person activities returned, I supported Robin and Rowan at an outdoor community engagement day having conversations, doing a mapping activity and a survey with people local to Whitevale Baths. GBPT used the findings from this event for their plans to restore and adapt the building. A third activity I co-developed with Robin was the workshop 'The Living River', provided at the Community Archives and Heritage Conference in Glasgow in November 2021. In this workshop, we explored with participants how collections and heritage sites relate to place and landscape, examining complex historical, physical, and emotional relationships with rivers and waterscapes. Through this workshop, the learning from the West Boathouse project was shared with other heritage practitioners. In September 2022, I supported GBPT at the Barrowlands Ballroom during the event 'Skate the City', part of the My Historic Neighbourhood project. This was GBPT's first event based on stories and lived experiences without being connected to the restoration of a historic building (Chapter 6). In April 2024, Robin and I co-presented at an environmental histories conference, the proceedings of which will be developed into a joint publication. These co-developed practices gave me deeper insights into Robin's, Sam's, and Rowan's work, motivations, and community approaches (Chapters 5 and 6). In addition to co-developing activities with GBPT, I also participated in 'being' and 'doing' (Franklin 2021; Yarrow 2019) in the office and with communities where I was less or not involved in designing the activities.

⁷ The short evaluation film of Glasgow Doors Open Days 2021 can be seen here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LDntWMaBdTs>

3.4 Methods

3.4.1 Practices in the Office Environment

Different interpretations of the concept of place can co-exist in practice. While I approach organisational heritage practices as unfolding across offline and online spaces and as integrated into the everyday (Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2019; Hine 2015; Postill and Pink 2012), place is bounded by locality within the concept of sustainability (Auclair and Fairclough 2015). While place is geographically defined as a specific area around the West Boathouse, GBPT's approach to heritage as cultural, natural, tangible, and intangible also encompasses physical places and spaces as more fluid concepts through creativity, memories, stories and the digital. When the material and sensory office environment moved online during the pandemic, this altered the sense of place relating to 'the office' as a fieldwork site as well as the dynamics of knowledge-making through interaction.

The physical GBPT office in Glasgow as a fieldwork site meant using a shared desk and working among the team to observe their "talking and doing" during everyday interactions (Yarrow 2019). I participated in conversations, asked questions, and regularly participated in team meetings as a form of 'deep hanging out' that generated much knowledge (Fontein 2014, 77). During these interactions, I spent much time listening and observing leading to jokes that I was "doing a PhD by osmosis" (Rowan). When the team felt I lacked background information, they would provide context for me. As our relationships and mutual trust developed, the need for introductions and explanations subsided and I became part of the everyday complex realities of practices which was cheerfully referred to as me knowing of "all the nitty, gritty and shitty" (Jamie).

By being embodied alongside GPBT's employees in the office, I used opportunities to reflect on and respond to language and practices with all those contributing to the research which Franklin (2021, 8) highlights as "the transformational potential" that comes from this process of creating knowledge through interaction (Law 2004). Often meetings were planned but there were also unexpected opportunities,

illustrating the need to be responsive and flexible (Davies 1999; Ingold 2011; Morgan and Castle 2023; Sánchez Criado and Estalella 2018). In this sense, interactions, and dynamics around being in the office and attending meetings added to the emergent nature of the ethnography (Yarrow 2017).

However, in March 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic arrived and our collaboration moved online after adaptations of GBPT's resources to commence remote working for the first time. I participated in online meetings approximately twice a week and occasionally in one-to-one meetings on specific topics. The research process remained open, collaborative and reflexive, however, the pandemic adaptation raised the question of what being physically present meant across the continuum of offline and online spaces as also considered by Hammersley (2006). As Pink et al. (2016) highlighted in their book *Digital Ethnography*, using the digital as a means to facilitate collaboration, enabled the ethnography to remain focused on the wider research.

This emerging digital space of the co-created online office altered my sensory experience. Reflecting on doing emotional, embodied, and sensory ethnography (Coffey 1999) from home, the collaboration no longer felt like "doing a PhD by osmosis." Contact was now more planned and reconciling the online collaboration with home-schooling my children due to school closures was sometimes challenging. Being co-present online created a new way of 'knowing and being' in the field (Pink et al. 2016) in a more intimate environment. We familiarised ourselves with the shared online space by introducing pets, housemates, objects, and places to each other. The flow of train journeys, cycling, walking, and creative activities was replaced with the much more static activity of meeting online. However, as "sustained forms of interaction", the online meetings with GBPT provided "a myriad of traces of mundane everyday experiences" (Hine 2015, 185) which provided rich knowledge of GBPT's heritage practices, use of language and sense of social purpose which I have foregrounded as 'talk as practice' (Chapter 5).

3.4.2 Participation and Observation in ‘Doing’ as Practice

During the ethnographic fieldwork, I observed and participated in GBPT’s community engagement and creative activities with communities. GBPT’s employees, the community participants and I placed “our physical being alongside those of others” (Coffey 1999, 59) with different roles and perspectives. Being part of GBPT’s activities with communities, was an opportunity to connect creativity “with an anthropology of the ordinary or the everyday” (Vergunst 2020, 3). GBPT’s variety of heritage practices and engagement methods provided “multiple avenues for participation” (Robson 2023, 442) and different points of leverage (Mol 2002) both for their participating communities and for my research practices.

Between October 2019 and the opening of the West Boathouse in May 2023, I participated in a wide range of activities which feature throughout this thesis. I am providing a comprehensive overview in this section. In October 2019, Robin and I spent an afternoon cycling to explore the rowing reach that made up the geographical area of the West Boathouse project. A week later, we spent a morning at the West Boathouse for a primary school visit during which the children used the rowing machines and explored the Boathouse and its surroundings. I observed boatbuilding practices at the Briggait with the Glasgow Disability Alliance (GDA) and Archipelago Folkschool on two afternoons in November 2019 while Robin and I prepared crafts for school children. I participated in a morning walk of Dalmarnock with the Thriving Places walking group in November 2019, and a second walk in December 2019 when we visited the Baltic Street Adventure Playground for a tour.

During the pandemic, meetings and activities with communities I participated in included an online meeting in January 2021 with service users of a mental health recovery community for a radio recording for digital GDODF; a creative planning meeting with participating venues in GDODF in March 2021; one online training session to learn how to edit on Wikipedia in June 2021; two meetings with the Play Like a Lassie online community working on addressing the gender imbalance on Wikipedia in November 2021 and February 2022 (Chapter 7).

When in-person working returned, I attended more in-person activities with communities including nature-based crafts and activities at the Cuningar Loop, a collaboration between GBPT, The Conservation Volunteers (TCV) and the Forestry Commission in June 2021. I participated in a tour of the building works at the West Boathouse with some of the veteran rowers in August 2021. I joined a visit to the Humane Society on the river Clyde in October 2021 (Chapter 5). In February 2022, I attended the opening of the restored Elderpark Gates in Govan followed by an afternoon of creative activities with local people. I participated in a tour of building works during the restoration of Provan Hall for which GBPT had undertaken the feasibility study in March 2022. A tour of the restored West Boathouse with the architect in January 2023 provided more insight into approaches to conservation and adaptation (Chapter 5) while a 2-hour litter-pick with the Glasgow Humane Society and The Conservation Volunteers in March 2023 gave a better understanding of relations with the river and GBPT's framing of the concept of recovery and resilience for future-making (Chapters 5 and 7). Furthermore, these activities helped me explore the extensive relations and networks GBPT curates across other social enterprises and charities in Glasgow (Chapter 7). Participating in GBPT's heritage practices with a variety of communities allowed me to gain first-hand insights into their approaches to participatory practices, more equitable knowledge production and their use of creativity (Chapter 6). To put these experiences in the wider context of the Scottish heritage sector, I undertook interviews with practitioners in other heritage organisations (3.5.4) and social media research which is the focus of the next section.

3.4.3 Social Media Research

Small Scottish heritage organisations are not currently part of social media research making my approach highly original. As organisational practices unfold across everyday offline and online practices (Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2019; Hine 2015), I used social media research to further my understanding of the online landscape of small Scottish heritage organisations. Additionally, I was interested in how they use their online communication strategies to perform their social purpose online. GBPT

use Twitter⁸, as their preferred social media outlet for day-to-day business and Instagram and Twitter for GDODF. I approached Instagram qualitatively by manually going through posts and responses from users and used these findings for their evaluation of GDODF in 2021 (3.4). After discussions with GBPT, I focused my social media research on Twitter, as being of most “practical interest” (Hine 2015, 185). I applied for researcher access by creating a Developer Profile with Twitter. I was subsequently awarded open research access via Application Programming Interfaces (APIs) which determined the extent of access.

Limitations of social media research are twofold: the data that can be accessed via the (free) API of a social platform relies on the information that the platform itself makes available. At the time of doing research, Twitter only allowed access to live data produced 7 days prior with a keyword or hashtag as a search term. The ability to obtain timelines also depends on the settings of the organisational account relating to research access which has led to critique about “the over-representation and privileging of [some] users on those platforms” (Bonacchi et al. 2023, 5).

I used R, a free and open-source software to extract Twitter timelines from a sample of fourteen small Scottish heritage organisations which meant downloading retrospective Tweets (code used in Figures 7 and 8). In addition, I selected ten Policy or Arm’s Length Organisations (ALO’s) and heritage funders who are either Scotland-based or have a UK-wide remit including Scotland. Some of these organisations have several Twitter accounts for their different brands, however, in my sample, I included the organisation’s main account or, in the case of some UK-wide organisations, their Scotland-specific account.

⁸ In February 2023, Twitter disbanded the free research API’s disconnecting me from research access for the remainder of my PhD. In July 2023, Twitter was renamed ‘X’ and changed the user conditions and guidelines. In this thesis, I will use the former name Twitter as was appropriate during the research period and is expressed in quotes and references by participants. The platform developments also illustrate the challenges of investments in online platforms for small heritage organisations with limited marketing and communication resources.

The Twitter timelines covered the period from 12 March 2020 – 19 March 2021, and were retrieved using R into Excel spreadsheets where I removed usernames, handles and tweet IDs and managed the obtained Tweets. I analysed the Tweets using R to create Word Clouds and Semantic Networks (Figures 9 and 10) while quantitative analysis returned totals, average number of Tweets, hashtag use, topics by theme and category of economic, environmental, social sustainability and resilience. Totals are presented in Table 1. Finally, the Tweet text was further analysed using NVivo in line with the wider analysis of qualitative material for this thesis as described in section 3.6.

```

13 + app = "rdataheritage",
14 + consumer_key = api_key,
15 + consumer_secret = api_secret_key,
16 + access_token = access_token,
17 + access_secret = access_token_secret)
18
19 get_token()
20 user <- "gbptrust"
21 #user <- "HannekeHeritage"
22
23
24 test1 <- get_timeline(
25   user,
26   n = 500,
27   max_id = NULL,
28   home = FALSE,
29   parse = TRUE,
30   check = TRUE,
31   token = NULL
32 )
33
34 save_as_csv(test1, "tweets500GBPtrust110520.dat")

```

Figure 7 Code for Timeline Retrieval 2020 -2021

```

9
10 token <- create_token(
11   app = "rdataheritage",
12   consumer_key = api_key,
13   consumer_secret = api_secret_key,
14   access_token = access_token,
15   access_secret = access_token_secret)
16
17 get_token()
18
19 rm(list = ls())
20
21 GDODF2021 <- search_tweets("#GDODF2021", n=500, include_rts = TRUE)
22 head(heritage)
23 GDODF2021C <- apply(GDODF2021, 2, as.character)
24 write.csv(GDODF2021C, "GDODF2021.csv")
25

```

Figure 8 R Code for a hashtag search 2020

Table 1 Tweets retrieved with trending hashtags 2020 -2021

Hashtag	Date	Number of Tweets (incl. Retweets)
#Heritagetreasures	21/01/2021	42 *Q
#heritage	11/03/2021	1991
#Rebuildingheritage	19/03/2021	28
#community #Scotland	19/03/2021	25
#womenshistory	19/03/2021	2000
#WorldHeritageDay	29/04/2021	1504
#Museumsarego	06/05/2021	308

*Q = explored qualitatively (scrolling)

Exploring approaches to social media allowed me to reflect on what did and did not work as an adaption of my fieldwork both in terms of acquiring suitable data and as a mode of being in the field. Following developments through certain hashtags as specific topics or places intended to create momentarily connections (Bonacchi et al 2023, 13) was one approach. Hashtags have an important role in social media practices and enable curating, searching content and tagging conversations as a meta-discourse (Zappavigna 2018). Using the public Twitter streaming API, I retrieved Tweets that used the combined hashtags #covid19 and #heritage every first week of the month from July 2020 – October 2020. The same weekly approach

was used for the hashtag #museumfromhome. I removed usernames, handles and tweet IDs to anonymise the data. This data would allow me to interrogate adaptations and mitigations to the pandemic. Patterns in connections were revealed through analysis by the use of Word Clouds and Semantic Networks (Figures 9 and 10).

However, critically reflecting on this quantitative data revealed the numbers of Tweets (excluding Retweets) obtained in this way over the four months showed a large discrepancy with 118 Tweets with the combined hashtags #covid19 and #heritage, and 2,862 Tweets for the hashtag #museumfromhome representing museums globally (Table 1). The frequency of Tweets tagged with either hashtag showed a decline after August 2020 and the combined hashtags of #covid19 and #heritage rendered no significant results after October 2020. Over time, I explored other hashtags as represented in Table 1 above. Although the hashtag approach informed my broader understanding of the social media landscape for Scottish heritage organisations, it was terminated in favour of the analysis of timelines of Scottish heritage organisations as this provided more insights into sector-wide developments (Chapter 7).

Social media analysis in this project fulfilled two key purposes: firstly, I used the analysis to inform my understanding of the digital practices in the Scottish heritage sector. It provided insight into the challenges small Scottish heritage organisations face with their digital strategies compared to larger organisations, especially during the pandemic. Secondly, I used my insights to support GBPT in developing its social media strategy (3.4). However, Twitter data as ethnographic data more broadly “are somewhat compromised by a lack of contextualization according to the particular circumstances in which they came about.” (Hine 2015, 119). A qualitative approach through interviews returned further insights into motivations, challenges and opportunities in relation to sustainability, resilience and working with social purpose including online practices (Malde and Kennedy 2018).

3.4.4 Semi-Structured Interviews: Broader Perspectives

Interviewing is one of the most used “methods of investigating the social world” as highlighted by Davies (Davies 1999, 94) and is considered an “important form of participatory research” and part of ethnography as an engaged investigation (Hockey and Forsey 2012, 85). I used semi-structured interviews to explore how Scottish heritage organisations interpret and experience sustainability and resilience including creative working and digital adaptations to the pandemic. I aimed to improve my understanding of the network of organisations and the relationships that GBPT is embedded in – within Glasgow and the Scottish heritage sector more broadly. As a method of choice, interviews provided “insights of a depth and level of focus rarely achieved through” other methods (Hockey and Forsey 2012, 71).

Recruitment of participants was based on recommendations from GBPT, my supervisors, and through snowballing with participants suggesting other participants. Access to participants was difficult during the pandemic when many people were working from home. However, GBPT introduced me to the Heritage Trust Network and attending their online ‘Network Natters’ proved very useful for networking and online recruitment. The discussions in the ‘Network Natters’ also helped me decide on how to pivot my research during the pandemic. Originally, I intended to survey the wider heritage sector, however, in response to discussions about survey fatigue, I abandoned this idea.

I prepared semi-structured interviews with a range of broad questions which could be omitted or elaborated on as appropriate to allow the conversation to flow (Davies 1999) and to give space for people’s own words and thoughts. In line with Davies’ (1999) scholarship, evidence of the interview as a process with active roles for both the interviewer and the interviewee was voiced by some participants. One of them laughed: “well, what I’m taking away from this is a big To Do List so far” (Isobel, Manager at a building preservation trust) and another one said “I am interested in the direction you have taken us” (Adam, Director at a UK-wide archaeological social enterprise) followed by a range of questions. Many conversations ended with questions about my PhD and findings to date.

In the Scottish research context, I undertook ten semi-structured interviews online in the winter and early spring of 2021, due to restrictions of the Covid-19 pandemic. Interviewing online enabled me to video record each interview which aided transcription. During the pandemic, people had become familiar with various platforms and were comfortable participating in interviews online (Lobe, Morgan, and Hoffman 2020). After restrictions eased, I undertook four interviews in person, of which one was an interview with two people. Online interviews were recorded using video-conferencing software, while in-person interviews were audio-recorded, except for one interview where I took notes manually. I conducted further interviews during my research visit to Norway which is described below.

3.4.5 International Approach: Norwegian Small Heritage Organisations

As introduced in Chapters 1 and 3.1 above, I adopted a short-term ethnographic approach (Pink and Morgan 2013) to my doctoral research visit to Norway in a busy four-week period in May - June 2022. My host organisation during this period was the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU), an independent research institute that supports heritage policy and practice (NIKU 2023). It undertakes archaeological excavations and records Norway's Medieval areas as well as developing new digital technologies to survey and record heritage sites. It carries out conservation research and conservation practices for both art and historic buildings. The heritage and society team, which kindly hosted me, focuses on cultural heritage in spatial planning, management and community development. Scotland does not have an equivalent institute. Some of NIKU's work would fall within HES' remit, and NIKU's planning and development work would sit within local authorities while its research would be more likely to be undertaken by universities. Conversations with a range of employees and with my mentor in particular improved my understanding of the Norwegian context and NIKU's role within it. NIKU provided me with contacts enabling me to meet with those working in policy, small heritage organisations and a consultancy organisation.

My visit to Norway aimed to advance my understanding of heritage policies and practices by focusing on their configurations and applications of heritage, resilience,

sustainability, participation, and creativity in a different national context. Not all approaches could be replicated considering the different contexts and the short period spent in Norway. I was unable to focus on 'talk as practice' (Chapter 5) due to the language barrier. I did experience some 'doing as practice' and participated in conversations with heritage practitioners which were undertaken in English.

I met with three representatives of the Department of Spatial Planning and Environment at the Norwegian Government's Directorate for Cultural Heritage. The representatives have responsibility for scheduled monuments and listed buildings within the planning process as well as for the governments' volunteering strategy, architecture policy and the management of climate change-related risk assessment of heritage. Practising my 'everyday ethics' (Banks et al. 2013), I agreed with the representatives not to quote them verbatim but to synthesise and describe our conversation topics.

My engagement with small heritage organisations consisted of ambulant conversations with four representatives from three different organisations. I approached one organisation by email after finding out they were participating in a public event during my stay. They spontaneously invited a second local organisation to join the interview. The third organisation was suggested to me by NIKU. Out of these three organisations, two interviewees work in culture and heritage-related outreach roles in local open-air museums and two are volunteers in a small local community group that focuses on boatbuilding and related traditional skills. These interviews took place 'on the go' and included my active participation in walks and talks, sailing on different types of boats and folk dancing. Like in Scotland, I presented each participant with a consent form that offered the choice of anonymity through a pseudonym, foregrounding their agency (Browne 2003). My conversations and interviews in Norway were recorded manually due to the ambulant nature of most activities. I present how the findings of this collaborative doctoral study were analysed and used to write the thesis below.

3.5 Analysis and Approach to Writing

Ethnography requires both immersion and distance, reinforced by reflexivity as part of ethical ethnographic practice (Davies 1999; Pink et al. 2016). As noted by Geertz (1973, 19), “The ethnographer ‘inscribes’ social discourse, he writes it down.” I wrote field notes during all my activities, recording my observations and reflections on what GBPT’s employees and other participants “do and say in particular contexts” (Hammersley 2006, 4). As ethnographies unfold during the research process and require a responsive approach from the ethnographer (Sánchez Criado and Estalella 2018, Franklin 2021), I have used relevant concepts and frameworks for each emerging theme while linking these back to sustainability and resilience in everyday heritage practice. Like Franklin (2021, 133), I take a relational and transformative perspective on heritage practices, sustainability, and resilience.

Analysing and writing up my ethnographic fieldnotes, interview material and social media findings meant rendering “the ‘messy and multi-dimensional’ nature of reality into an orderly linear narrative” as observed by Harries (2014, 122). Transcripts and field notes were coded using NVivo allowing me to analyse the large quantity of qualitative material. This thesis’s multi-method approach accounts for complex, rich and detailed research findings. I used reflexive thematic analysis and emergent coding which are flexible and can be used in line with ethnographic and qualitative research approaches (Braun and Clarke 2006). To aid the development of themes for coding, I approached my findings more creatively to reveal both sub-themes and broader connections across findings by using large parts of wallpaper to map out emerging themes and interconnections (Figure 11). As indicated by Jones and Yarrow (2022), people may repeat themselves in conversations, change subjects and pause. This can make conversations seem less coherent than they are and make transcripts difficult to read. When I use literal quotes in this thesis, repetitions and pauses which occur naturally in conversations have been removed to aid legibility and to do justice to people’s stories.

Chapter 4: Glasgow Building Preservation Trust's Place in Glasgow's Regeneration Story

Introduction

Entering GBPT's office reveals a happy accumulation of collective organisational pasts. The walls are adorned with posters, historic maps of Glasgow, drawings and postcards of historic buildings and previous projects. A scale model of a former project sits on a side table. Several plants make a green impression on the desks. A horn that is cheerfully sounded each time funding is awarded sits alongside folders on the bookshelves while wooden fish gargoyles rescued from a skip are aligned on top. Cupboard doors hide office supplies and materials ready for reuse. Walking through a small coffee station and storage space takes you into a second office space, which doubles up as a meeting room and a collections space. It houses the collection of the West Boathouse project and allows student volunteers to catalogue and photograph rowing-related items such as historic photographs, rowing prizes, logbooks, and several pairs of sculls (rowing oars). These offices are a testament to GBPT's place in Glasgow and illustrate employees' (past and present) fondness for all things heritage and Glasgow. Contrary to descriptions of certain types of office aesthetics as 'non-places' (Yarrow 2017; Jones and Yarrow 2022), GBPT's offices are embedded in place, in Glasgow.

The accumulation of collective organisational pasts also applies to GBPT's four employees. Although October 2019 was the start of my research, the employees and I arrived at our collaboration from different points of entry and with different temporal perspectives. When I started my study, it was a time of transition following their resilience review (Community Enterprise 2018). One of the anticipated changes is to have more direct engagement with the geographical communities surrounding the West Boathouse. GBPT has recently hired Robin, a heritage engagement officer to enable this change and carry out the West Boathouse community activity plan. Their start closely coincides with mine. However, Rowan, Project Development Officer, tells me they have been there for many years, as has Director Jamie. Sam, who coordinates Glasgow Doors Open Days (GDODF) as Events and Development Co-

ordinator has been there for approximately a year. Director Blair joins later during the research period. However, the beginnings and ends of their involvement with the organisation are non-linear. Some have been involved with GBPT in different capacities at different organisations before they joined as employees such as having been on the Board of Trustees in the past or having been involved in the West Boathouse project before. These different temporal pasts provide an eclectic mix of perspectives on GBPT's place and history in Glasgow City's story which are presented in this chapter.

This chapter situates GBPT in its local context in Glasgow and explores its place in the history of Glasgow's regeneration, its mission and social purpose in relation to its origin story. The aim of this chapter is threefold: firstly, I describe Glasgow's post-industrial history of using culture and heritage for regeneration through recounted stories and literature. Secondly, stories representing local organisations like GBPT rather than 'official narratives' are relatively rare (Robertson 2008). The legacy of grassroots groups and BPTs is not a visible story in Scotland's history. This chapter contributes to filling this gap by presenting GBPT's origin story as narrated to me. Reflections on its fortieth anniversary prompt employees to describe stories of GBPT's organisational past. Through these stories, I explore notions of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith, 2006) and heritage dissonance using Fraser's concept of counterpublics. Thirdly, I explore the economic consequences of the shift in focus from built heritage to social values and community empowerment for BPT's and resources. I consider GBPT's place within Glasgow City Council's (GCC) regeneration strategies and heritage asset plans. Consistent with Albert's (2015) observation on sustainability and the Scottish Government's policies and strategies to empower communities, GCC's strategies focus on restoring buildings and encouraging communities to participate in and govern their built heritage as commons. Additionally, GCC recognises the need to focus on improving people's lives, especially in marginalised communities, consistent with Labadi's argument (2022). In their strategies, GCC (2015) invokes resilience as part of the city's and of Glaswegian people's character. Addressing issues of a profusion of heritage and empowerment of communities, GCC embarks on a journey to enable communities to

govern heritage while decreasing its housing stock by working in partnership with GBPT.

I argue that GBPT, founded as the Briggait Trust, has grown from being what Fraser (1990) called ‘counterpublics’ protesting the ‘absencing’ (Law 2004) of heritage that held meaning to them to become an intermediary between local authorities and communities. In this intermediary capacity, GBPT mobilises the ontological politics of ‘presencing’ (Law 2004; Mol 1999) narratives which processes of marginalisation have disregarded in the past. Considering what reconnecting to its origin story ‘does,’ I argue it contributes to the process of navigating the formulation of a renewed sense of social purpose, mission, and values focused on improving people’s lives, especially in marginalised areas. This chimes with research by Andrea Roberts (2018), who considers storytelling in the context of American ‘freedom colonies’ and Black geographies, as a critically disruptive practice that can cause people to reconsider existing narratives around landscapes and support social cohesion.

4.1 Glasgow’s post-industrial regeneration: which ‘People make Glasgow’?

It is a sunny August day in 2022 and I am on my way to the West Boathouse for a hard hat tour during conservation work. Due to the many lockdowns, I have not been in the city much. I notice council workers are putting up new banners with ‘People Make Glasgow’ all around George Square in preparation for COP26, ready to share this slogan with visitors from all around the world. The slogan ‘People Make Glasgow’ was introduced by GCC in the wake of the Commonwealth Games in 2014 and was designed in response to 7,000 survey responses and over 50 interviews. The council’s marketing report explains its aims to reflect “a narrative to help sell all Glasgow’s great assets... to appeal to all the wide and differing audiences ...to create a city brand that is supported and championed by residents” (NA 2015). Although some Glaswegians may have agreed that Glasgow is, indeed ‘Miles

Better”⁹, the new city brand of ‘People Make Glasgow’, is intended to capture the “authentic warmth and vibrancy of the city [...] and to reinvigorate a sense of civic pride” (NA 2015). This specific focus on pride in the city is part of GCC’s recognition of the need “to address the cultural and historical failings that have led to social inequality and injustice” (Glasgow City Council 2020), a reference to GCC’s use of culture and heritage for regeneration in the past.

Local culture and heritage have played a major role in the process of Glasgow’s post-industrial regeneration. After decades of decline during the collapse of Glasgow’s industries of textiles, coal mining, shipbuilding, dockyards, iron and steel, engineering, and chemical manufacturing, Glasgow’s industrial jobs declined from 50% of overall employment in 1951 to 19% in 1991 (Berger 2020; McIvor 2020). This decline and its devastating impacts are still part of the physical environment, people’s lives and the narratives of the wider local area. Barbara, Manager at a heritage charity that works with people recovering from addiction, explains the history of her local area just outside Glasgow during an online interview:

there was this huge industry, and you go there now and there's no industry quite near it. It's isolated from the cities, you can't absorb the people with no new, or other extra work coming in, particularly. So, it's a war zone now of drugs and devastation.

The impact of the decline of industries and unemployment on social inequality and injustice is clear from Barbara’s story and part of her work of creative engagement through heritage with people who struggle with substance misuse.

These stories of decline and regeneration during the 1960s and 1970s, when old tenements were demolished, and communities relocated to the new towns, are discussed at GBPT too and considered damaging and politically motivated as illustrated by a conversation among the team:

⁹ Glasgow, Miles Better was a city branding campaign based on a place-based joke about perceived rivalry between Glasgow and Edinburgh, with Glasgow being ‘miles better’ than Edinburgh.

Rowan: “yeah, it is like in my area, the people refused to be decanted.”

Robin: “Yes and ... saving the tenements.”

Sam: “Was it GEAR?¹⁰ Or before that? The Bruce report¹¹, about the new times schemes?”

Robin: “they were modern clearances to break the Labour stronghold in Strathclyde.”

Later, Blair too recounts this period: “[it was] the Bruce Plan to develop the city and demolish the City Chambers. Madness. It was all modernism, luckily it didn’t happen.” The perception that the Bruce Plan’s approach of demolishing and rebuilding modern buildings was politically motivated has become a well-known narrative reflected in academic scholarship (Madgin 2013; 2021; McIvor 2020; Paton, Mooney, and Mckee 2012). In the 1980s, many cities started regeneration processes through so-called Urban Development Corporations, set up by Margaret Thatcher’s Environment Secretary, Michael Heseltine. These later became Urban Regeneration Companies. Initiatives like the European Regional Development Fund (1975), the Architectural Heritage Fund, and The Townscape Initiative, funded and shaped the regeneration of cities. During this transition, a policy of harnessing Glasgow’s culture, arts and heritage was employed to generate employment and income through visitors and tourists. Examples are Glasgow as the European City of Culture in 1990, the development of the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, upgrades to the Burrell Collection and restoration of Central Station, previously listed for demolition in the Bruce Plan.

¹⁰ The Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) initiative took place in areas of Glasgow’s East End between 1976 and 1988. It replaced the demolish and rebuild approach and instead renovated and repurposed existing tenement buildings often combining two tenement flats into one to create larger living spaces with bathrooms.

¹¹ Robert Bruce (1945), *First Planning report to the Highways and Planning Committee of the Corporation of the City of Glasgow*, Corporation of the City of Glasgow, Glasgow. The Bruce Report set out a large regeneration programme which was partly carried out in Glasgow from the mid-1950s until the late 1970s. It included plans to demolish and rebuild architectural heritage such as Glasgow Central Station and The Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. Much of the Bruce Report was opposed and rejected, specifically in the report: Sir Patrick Abercrombie & Robert H Matthew (1949), *Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946*, His Majesty’s Stationery Office, Edinburgh. However, Bruce’s plan to demolish Glasgow’s poor tenement housing and the creation of new towns was largely carried out. Bruce’s plans to create a Glasgow Inner Ring Road were partly carried out but abandoned after protests by impacted communities.

However, Berger notes this approach led to the production and consumption of culture and heritage for touristification (2020). This led to a socially organised way of seeing culture and heritage as if separated from social, cultural and economic realities, described by sociologist John Urry as the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990). During these processes from the 1980s onwards, specific narratives about the achievements of the industrial past were highlighted by GCC, led by a neoliberal Labour majority at the time. Based on his oral history study of Clydeside, McIvor (2020) concluded that "working-class culture and social life, industrial heritage, the ravages of deindustrialization ... have been marginalized." A heritage engagement officer from a community group, and speaker at a Glasgow-based event which Robin and I attended, illustrated how deeply felt and long-lasting the legacy of the 1980s is among some communities in Glasgow:

the Authorised Heritage Discourse ... serves to exclude people from their own places. [many] images of Scottish heritage are for tourism... [people ask us how we are] coping with Covid. We are still coping with Thatcher!

As highlighted by this speaker, the process of city branding created an Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006) for Glasgow, which they still feel is a narrative that displaced their communities.

The process of creating an AHD for Glasgow while marginalising other narratives is reminiscent of Fraser's response to Habermas's public sphere where she highlights "the bourgeois public was never *the* public" (Fraser 1990, 60-61, emphasis added). Fraser's idea of "counterpublics" included women, working-class organisations, and protest movements (1990, 61). When considering the binary oppositions of heritage as an AHD and heritage dissonance, or the publics and 'counterpublics' (Fraser 1990), I consider Robertson who concludes if "heritage is multi-perceived, multi-sold and multi-consumed, then dissonance is intrinsic to heritage landscapes even in this very localized context" (Robertson 2008). However, to create change, the notion of 'the heritage' needs to be 'un-settled' as suggested by Stuart Hall (1999) consistent with Puig de la Bellacasa's more recent idea of critically disruptive care (2017). Counter-narratives of class, occupation, gender, ethnicity, spatial and religious division, poverty, and poor health were not part of the post-industrial image that was,

as Law calls it, being ‘presenced’ (2004). This has been illustrated by the large-scale demolition of buildings associated with these identities such as factories, bathhouses, and tenements.

More recently, Labadi’s large-scale evaluation of four cities (2011) warns that culture and heritage-led regeneration do not automatically lead to positive economic and social outcomes (Labadi 2011). She stresses that issues with disregarding equity, marginalisation of particular groups and access have often been underestimated in regeneration processes. This is illustrated by how the team discuss the construction of the A74 connecting to the M8 in the mid-1980s which created a physical barrier between communities. This is still recounted at present during conversations among the team:

Robin: “It is car-culture! I live at the south side, you can just feel the community”

Rowan responds:

Yeah, all those big roads, they cut through areas, and they have no flow of people, no green open spaces. It is all to enable big commutes, now there is a revisionist planning...The decisions in the 1960s and 1970s to prioritise suburbs, they did harm, and they ruined these communities.

The sense of loss created by these developments was shared with me during an online interview with Robert, a former taxi driver and volunteer at GBPT. He describes how the demolitions in Parkhead removed many buildings that formed the backbone of communities’ social lives: “All the shops and everything are away, community centres away, churches are away, chapels are away, everything is gone”.

The lived experience of the harms of the regeneration done by demolition and separating communities through road construction is also reflected in GBPT’s social media posts. A Twitter post (figures 12 and 13) celebrating GBPT’s fortieth

anniversary highlights the process of demolition and road construction with GBPT's work (then called the Bridgegate Trust) being seen as slowly turning the tide of demolition:

Happy 40th birthday GBPT 🎂 - founded #OTD in 1982. Rewind to 1970s/80s Glasgow and demolition was the order of the day. Large-scale regeneration and road-building programmes pushed ahead at breakneck speed.

In the thread that follows, the group that formed the Bridgegate Trust, now GBPT is positioned as the start of turning the tide of demolish and rebuild in Glasgow.

But the tide was turning, albeit slowly. In 1982, the Bridgegate Trust was formed in response to the proposed demolition of the old fish market at the Briggait. The building had lain empty and redundant since Glasgow's markets had relocated to new facilities at Blochairn.

By positioning itself as a contributor to turning the tide, GBPT is aware of the issues of whose heritage is being 'presenced' and which heritage is being 'absenced' (Law 2004). Representation and inclusion have been important issues in the regeneration of post-industrial Glasgow and are recognised in conversations, as is the importance of the role of BPTs in countering a lack of consultation with communities:

Rowan: "The comprehensive redevelopment of the city, they embraced it. Now that the social structure is there, there are good and unfortunate aspects of it."

Robin: "But it was forced upon them from above. It was a transformation project in the 1960s, the 1970s, the communities had no say."

Rowan: "There was no consultation, it didn't work out. There was no built heritage movement."

Boccardi (2015) highlights this lack of connection between heritage, conservation, and communities and reminds us of Smith's argument that heritage is a social construct "concerned with the creation and maintenance of certain social and cultural values" (2006, 42). Consistent with these perceptions, human geographer Rebecca Madgin notes, the demolition of much of the industrial built environment, caused an "architectural memory loss" (Madgin 2013). As much of Glasgow's regeneration in

the 1980s was property-led, working-class communities were presented with a lack of opportunities to retain buildings meaningful to them. Although the Urban Task Force carried out consultations, communities, "were consulted, [but] they were rarely heard" (Madgin 2013, 292), as noted by Rowan and Robin above.

 Glasgow Building Preservation Trust @gbptrust 🎂 Happy 40th birthday GBPT 🎂 - founded #OTD in 1982. Rewind to 1970s/80s Glasgow and demolition was the order of the day. Large-scale regeneration and road-building programmes pushed ahead at breakneck speed. A wee 🏠... 🌟 #Glasgow #heritage 	 Glasgow Building Preservation Trust @gbptrust But the tide was turning, albeit slowly. In 1982, the Bridgegate Trust was formed in response to the proposed demolition of the old fish market at the Briggait. The building had lain empty and redundant since Glasgow's markets had relocated to new facilities at Blochairn.   5:48 PM · Aug 11, 2022
Figure 12. Tweet celebrating GBPT's fortieth anniversary (1)	Figure 13. Tweet celebrating GBPT's fortieth anniversary (2)

Berger (2020, 18) explains the political shift towards social regeneration by claiming that social democratic, left-wing, or communist political parties are most likely to have a sense of responsibility to working-class communities. Berger's point can be illustrated by the Scottish National Party (SNP) showing an increased focus on community empowerment, the commons and participation in policies and strategies (Chapter 2). However, this does not assure different approaches to regeneration and marginalised communities, as Chapter 6 shows in relation to Dalmarnock and the Commonwealth Games.

4.2 The Building Preservation Trust Movement: Hidden Stories of Activism

As Mol emphasises in her theorisation of ontological politics, everyday practices enact realities (1999). As such, connecting to GBPT's organisational past by revisiting and reproducing its origin story, is a reality-making practice. During this process, Robin, Rowan, Sam, Jamie and later Blair, reinvest their memories and knowledge to produce a narrative that allows them to connect, navigate and apply ideas of organisational and professional mission and values. This section will further explore the narratives as recounted to me.

During an online meeting with Robin, Rowan, and Sam, they recount stories of GBPT's origins as the Briggait Trust in the 1980s. Although none of the current employees were part of the Briggait Trust, they use their local and professional knowledge to reengage with this grassroots story to develop stories for social media and GDODF. In 1982, the Briggait Trust (formally the Bridgegate Trust) was formed by a group of local people who protested the intended demolition of the Briggait Fishmarket (Figure 14) located between Clyde street and The Bridgegate by GCC. The story is recounted with fondness by Robin:

I really love the Briggait. The Glasgow BPT was grown out of fierce protest to save the Briggait.

GBPT's origin story is celebrated on Twitter in a thread marking their fortieth birthday:

in 1980 the Briggait Trust which is now the Glasgow BPT launched a public outcry and started a campaign against a car park that was planned instead of where the Briggait was standing. there [sic] was a public push back and campaign against wholesale demolition. Glasgow BPT gathered stories and set the building in context.

This gathering of stories and context was used for an online presentation about the A-listed Briggait Fish Market for GDODF. The presentation highlights how the building, completed in 1873, was funded by tobacco merchants who made their fortune by growing cotton with enslaved people. The Briggait has had a variety of uses over time as accommodation for merchants who had fallen on hard times and

later as a fish market until the 1970s (Shearer 2020). In another reflective GBPT post on Twitter, the Bridgegate Trust was described as a group of determined people who successfully restored the building against the odds. Blair describes the restoration as “the turning point in the merchant city in Glasgow” in times when demolition was a regular occurrence. He remembers Glasgow: “having many walls that showed the imprint of stairways, wallpaper, and fireplaces as so many of the tenements were being demolished.” Blair explains how the late Tom Laurie, a quantity surveyor and member of the Briggait Trust, “was an advocate for creating new solutions for old buildings”. Laurie’s obituary (Cooper 2021) lauds his finest achievements as:

the development and subsequent transformation of Glasgow’s Merchant City. Setting up office in the city’s old fish market that would soon become the Briggait Centre ... [Tom Laurie] understood that, as with buildings, all cultural activity is built from the ground up.

This indication that both culture and buildings are grassroots and reside in people, aligns with more recent anthropological approaches to culture and heritage as social practices that are meaning-making and knowledge-producing (Chapter 2) (Dessein et al. 2015; Franklin 2021; Jones 2004; 2017; Smith 2006; Wilson et al. 2020). The success of the actions of the Bridgegate Trust “led to the realisation that a city-wide Trust could replicate that success with buildings at risk across Glasgow” (Community Enterprise 2018). Thus, in 1991, the Bridgegate Trust became the Glasgow Building Preservation Trust. A charity aiming to rescue, repair, restore and rehabilitate historic buildings across Glasgow funded by the then City of Glasgow District controlled by a Labour majority.

When discussing the 1990s, Angus, a former Board member at GBPT explained in an interview that GBPT was closely connected to the council and would decide with the council which buildings should be saved. The organisation worked “more like a housing association when I started in the early days.” Angus further describes this way of working was supported by a housing association network which was also apparent through the appointments of employees and the network of people they worked with:

they were all from housing association backgrounds and a lot of the architects that were on the Board, were also from housing association background, even some of the lawyers were. That's where the motivation came from.

This approach much resembles the recommendations of the Civic Trust (1971) report *Financing the Preservation of Old Buildings*, which was based on a survey of BPTs in Britain in 1969. This report describes the purpose of restoring historic buildings is to serve “needy tenants” (Civic Trust 1970). GBPT’s aim became to contribute to heritage preservation as well as to the city’s regeneration, to instil a sense of pride and to create an image of Glasgow as “a place of beauty and not of social problems. As a result, though many may not realise it, the work of GBPT has become a vital part of creating what the city is today” (Community Enterprise 2018).



Figure 14 The interior of the Briggait Fishmarket after its restoration

After this transformation from the Briggait Trust to GBPT, GBPT has gone through a process of being a protest group, or a ‘counterpublic’ to becoming an intermediary for other ‘counterpublic’ voices and an active curator and narrator of heritage. Alongside shifting missions and values, the financial landscape of small heritage organisations from the 1980s until the present day has changed, resulting in impacts on financial resilience. These economic impacts will be appraised in section 4.4 while this section continues to explore GBPT’s role in the (re)production of heritage with other organisations and community groups.

Concurrent with scholarship developing towards social values in the early 2000s, GBPT has increasingly worked to 'presence' communities advocating for their local heritage, values and identities. During my research, the team has used its origin story to connect with other organisations and community groups. This is reflected during a GBPT team meeting on the themes of protest and resistance for GBPT's fortieth anniversary.

Robin: "The stories of resistance, and rebellion show that it can be done. They are bucking against the trend and finding a new use for the building."

Sam: "The Briggait is a good way into the stories."

Robin: "Also, a good contrast with Govanhill Baths, as a more popular movement. Briggait was more middle-class and architects, there are a lot of different types of resistance."

As highlighted by Robin, different types of resistance exist and forms of counter-memories of obtaining and adapting buildings by communities may exist alongside the narrative of demolition and rebuilding. These examples from practice demonstrate how people may belong to any number of communities and have layered identities (Smith 2006). Neither are communities, or 'counterpublics' homogenous as noted by Cooke and Kothari's "myth of community" (2001). Those who stood up against demolition plans for the Briggait may have done so based on their professional interest and their membership in local communities.

As Auclair and Fairclough point out, both culture and heritage can be 'carried' within landscape on different levels or scales ranging "from the ultra-local to the supra-national" (Auclair and Fairclough 2015). Being able to foster these multiple scales of heritage, of identity, rather than promoting homogenisation, globalisation, or subordination of one type of heritage or identity over another, is key to cultural diversity and sustainability:

"... the ability to hold on to multiple scales of identity (in other words for a person to 'have' more than one place or landscape, to have multiple identities

as a member of a household, a family, a tribe, a community of interest, a city, region, country and more global communities) [is] might be argued ... to be a part of human culture and a goal of sustainability in its own right" (Auclair and Fairclough 2015).

These grassroots heritage practices involving diverse, and counter-memories continue to this day. A relatively well-known example mentioned by Robin above, is Govanhill Baths Trust, a grassroots activist organisation based on social protest and resistance. In response to the impending closure of the baths by GCC, local people occupied the Baths with their 'Save our Pool' campaign in March 2001 (Lu 2021). Similar to the stories of protest relating to the Briggait highlighted above, the community was angered by a lack of consultation and decision-making power despite communities offering 30,000 signatures in protest.

The Govanhill Baths community protest was initiated on the last night before closure with people chaining themselves to the cubicles and other places. The baths were occupied for "140 days, with a 24 hour picket outside – the longest occupation of a public building in British history" (Lu 2021). While the Baths remained occupied until August when police removed the protesters, street celebrations and other community gatherings were held to organise support. However, it was not until June 2004 when GCC advertises the Baths to interested parties that the Save Our Pool campaign was able to register its interest and formed a formal trust to take over the Baths from the Council with financial support from Historic Scotland (Lu 2021). After a long process of making the building ready for adaptive reuse, it has recently come to GBPT for project management in its final stages and will be opened as a wellbeing centre.

These findings support Law's notion of 'presencing' and 'absencing' of narratives through what Mol described as 'ontological politics' (1999). Any way of utilising the past to create a sense of identity generates disinheritance and possibly dissonance and contestation in other groups of people. Allowing these multiple scales of identities is key to cultural diversity and sustainability. Both Labadi (2022) and Smith

(2006) support more relativistic understandings of heritage dissonance, as also stressed by Jones and Yarrow “celebrating the plurality of ways in which pasts are made meaningful, specifically viewed from marginalised perspectives” (Jones and Yarrow 2022). This is well articulated by Robin who advocates for nuance in the way resistance is portrayed:

We can look at stories of resilience, resistance, and revolt. Anybody who opposes was seen as adversarial, oppositional to the planning process. They were automatically a nimby or in the resistance. If you hang on to the past, hang on to the building, you are ‘backward looking’. We can bring it together.

Robin’s perspective shows that not only is plurality key to cultural diversity but AHD and dissonance can exist on a continuum. In practice, these dichotomies are not necessarily ‘the people versus the (local) government’.

GBPT’s reflection on its origin story as an originally grassroots organisation indicates its search for its place in the network of organisations and communities as currently funded by GCC, grant holders of large capital projects and responsible for the delivery of projects. DeSilvey et al. note:

The concept of adaptive reuse, which developed out of efforts to make heritage practice more relevant and responsive to societal needs by sanctioning the adaptation of historic structures for contemporary use, is now squarely mainstream, and an essential approach in the heritage toolkit.” (2021, 420).

As BPTs have existed in Scotland since 1937, taking flight in the 1980s and 1990s, their practices of adapting buildings for reuse are indeed mainstream. However, the practices around carrying out these adaptation processes have changed over time. Changes in societal needs and funding criteria have contributed to the pivot to work more directly with communities as explained to me by Jamie at GBPT.

Because so much of the heritage funding now is about bringing people together, learning skills you know, as people, ... but there's more emphasis on that now and less about this culture of saving the architecture ... the Trust

needs to reflect on that transition between building preservation and supporting communities. So, for example there will be a lot of unlisted buildings yeah, they are traditional that are perhaps more valued by the community than some of the listed ones.

Confirming Jamie's reflections, McIvor (2020) and Robertson (2008) note the impact on BPTs of schemes such as the Conservation Area Regeneration Scheme (CARS) launched by HES in 2007 which increased opportunities for alternative heritage identities to thrive. Madgin highlights that regeneration through culture does not need to be property-led (2013, 284). Where the built heritage is absent, heritage initiatives can focus on the adaptive reuse of the mental landscape by utilising memories to celebrate local identities. Chapter 6 'Doing as Practice further reflects on GBPT's approach to mobilising local memories and stories, to celebrate areas local to the West Boathouse and beyond.

The shift in focus on empowering communities and on the heritage valued by communities has caused a process of transformation in GBPT as an organisation. This has consequences for its mission, strategies, and everyday practices. It has also had financial impacts on GBPT and small heritage organisations and community groups more broadly. To better understand the economic context, I will explore the building preservation trust movement and the political changes which led to a more challenging economic climate for BPTs and the heritage sector more broadly.

4.3 Economic Impacts of Shifting Societal Needs

As a building preservation trust, GBPT is part of a wider movement of BPTs. To better understand the history of the BPT movement, a variety of sources has been used to describe its history including conversations and interviews with some who were involved in BPTs in the past or the present. I used The Civic Trust report: *Financing the Preservation of Old Buildings* (Civic Trust 1971), which was based on a survey of BPTs in Britain in 1969 to include elements not included in conversations.

The Civic Trust report's (1971) main aim was to establish a recommendation to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government on how best to finance BPTs to enhance conservation areas, preserve historic buildings and counter the widescale demolition of listed buildings in the 1960s. The report urges greater efforts needed to be taken to save historic buildings and notes "a marked general growth in conservation consciousness" (Civic Trust 1971). It lists Scotland's trusts and schemes at the time as The St Andrews Preservation Trust (founded in 1937), The Crail Preservation Society (1959), NTS' Little Houses Improvement Scheme (1960), East Neuk of Fife (1961), Central and North Fife (1962), Banff and The Elgin Fund (1965), and Haddington: Lamp of Lothian Collegiate Centre (1967) (Civic Trust 1971).

During an interview with Anna, an employee at a heritage network organisation, NTS' scheme is recounted as "the grandfather" of the BPT movement as well as a scheme that may return in the future:

...we have the National Trust for Scotland fund ... with money from their little houses improvement scheme which was essentially kind of the grandfather of the BPT movement set up kind of in the 50s or 60s. Because they mothballed that, they still wanted to support and be engaged with [the] BPT sector ... they hope to bring back the little houses improvement scheme at some point in the future.

Like Anna, the Civic Trust report lauds the role of NTS' Little Houses Improvement Scheme. The report highlights it as a best practice example for its use of the 'revolving fund' method thus enabling "a rolling programme of restorations to be carried through on a scale more readily related to the need" (Civic Trust 1971). The NTS scheme is commended for the scale of its work and its collaborative approach with funders like the Pilgrim Trust, local councils in Fife and East Lothian and individual NTS member donations, as well as for providing a positive example of reduced interest rate loans.

On the role of local authorities, the report emphasises that "The 'watch-dog' role of the planning authority is an indispensable part of the outer defences of conservation"

(Civic Trust 1971). The Civic Trust recommended the establishment of a national buildings conservation fund that would match-fund local authorities and preservation trusts and encourage the use of the revolving fund method. These recommendations for a national buildings conservation fund led to the establishment of the Architectural Heritage Fund (AHF) in 1976, which still supports BPTs and other charities today by supplying low-interest loans and grants (Chapter 2). The report states the criteria for loans from the fund “should relate to the architectural, historic or amenity value of buildings which need not to be of outstanding significance” (Civic Trust 1971).

A similar attitude to buildings remains today as explained to me during an interview with Callum, grants officer at a national funding organisation.

the venue [has to be] a historic building of some kind to give us commitment. Quite how you define historic, how you define building, there's flexibility there. If it's a listed building or has clear historic merits, we want to choose to interpret that... More recently we have been doing more with unlisted buildings where it's something where the community has strong feelings about it. For some reason it's unfortunate that it was not listed, but it's a place of importance and they're able to articulate why it's important to them.

These considerations illustrate the shift from expert values to social values relating to meaning and identity, as reflected in scholarship since the early 2000s and discussed in Chapter 2 (Avrami et al. 2000; Jones 2017; Smith 2006). Callum explains the current approach considers potential capacity building for communities which he summarises as “What can the building do for your community?” This indicates a perception of heritage as an active contributor to people’s lives as advocated by Labadi rather than in a passive need of protection (2022).

An additional development that illustrates the shift to democratisation processes and community governance of heritage is a national body that supports BPTs with “a simple handbook of advice” on the constitution, funding and technical conservation (Civic Trust 1971, 6). In 1989, the AHF published the first edition of the practical

handbook: 'How to Rescue a Ruin' (Scott 2014). In that same year, the UK Association for BPTs (UK ABPT) was founded and later transitioned into the Heritage Trust Network (HTN) in 2016 (Heritage Trust Network 2022). It currently supports over 800 small heritage organisations across the UK that manage a wide variety of historic sites (HTN 2022). Opposed to the original aim for historic buildings to be used as housing either to sell to individuals or as social housing for “needy tenants” (Civic Trust 1971), buildings are now restored for a wide variety of uses.

As a result of the Civic Trust report (1971) and AHF funding, the BPT movement gained momentum and many new trusts were set up in the 1980s (ECOTEC 2010) with GBPT being one of many. After a period of flourishing for BPTs in the UK, a period of decline followed from the late 1990s onwards. Since the 1980s, 90 trusts had been established in the UK of which only 49 were still active in 2009 of which seven were operating across Scotland (ECOTEC 2010).

In 1994, the inception of the Heritage Lottery Fund significantly increased the amount of funding in the heritage sector. However, the community-centred criteria support strengthening communities and volunteer groups (Hewison and Holden 2004), often based on the single or preserving fund model, which made it more difficult for BPTs to meet the community and people-centred criteria. The economic downturn of 2008 reduced public funding adding more financial strain for BPTs. This decline of funding opportunities for BPTs in favour of community groups was also emphasised in an interview with Anna, an employee at a heritage network organisation:

Because they [BPTs] have been under so much pressure and hardship over the last kind of 20 years, there's fewer of them ... the community groups who are rescuing historic buildings... there has been a massive increase in those, kind of the last 10 years. Now with Community Asset Transfer and Community empowerment being a big focus.

Despite the funding landscape becoming more complex and public funding having been reduced, GBPT has been able to continue trading and is one of the longest-

existing revolving fund trusts in Scotland. However, the revolving fund which assumed a profit on the sales of historic buildings after restoration, is no longer viable. BPTs are mainly developers of the last resort where the cost of restoration is prohibitive to commercial developers or councils. In the past, GBPT has retained some historic buildings to generate income, however, as Rowan explains:

we do get core funding from GCC. But when we managed buildings at different locations, the surplus was going into paying off loans, and there was no profit to use.

The need to combine restoration of historic buildings with reduced funding and a need to address wider cultural, social, economic, and environmental aims has led to a multitude of funders for one project. This can be illustrated by the West Boathouse project which has been funded by 16 funders¹² which all require separate application processes, funding criteria and evaluations increasing the administrative load around funding.

It must be noted that the loss of BPTs represents a reduction in skills and expertise available for the restoration and adaptation of historic buildings and sites. The reduction of the number of BPTs across Scotland and the UK is closely linked to the increase in community groups and social enterprises managing their own heritage, consistent with Scottish Government strategies and NLHF and AHF funding criteria (Chapter 2). However, there is a clear sense of community groups “reinventing the wheel” (Jamie) in the heritage sector. The process of protest groups or community development trusts becoming more formally organised to manage a capital project requires adaptation and skills development from the people involved. Moreover, HES have noted an overall shortage in skills and expertise related to built heritage and formulated a Skills Investment Plan focused on workforce training and development (HES, Skills Development Scotland, and SG 2024) to support Scotland’s heritage policy (SG 2023b). Additionally, the building conservation centre The Engine Shed

¹² The 16 funders of the West Boathouse project are: the National Lottery Heritage Fund, The Architectural Heritage Fund, the William Grant Foundation, GCC, HES, The Robertson Trust, Robert Barr’s Charitable Trust, The Hugh Fraser Foundation, The Turtleton Charitable Trust, The Barrack Charitable Trust, The Mickel Fund, Mrs Mary H. McMillan Charitable Trust, The Martin Charitable Trust, The James Howatt Charitable Trust, GCHT and Sport Scotland.

was set up to further knowledge, skills and materials through digital innovation and heritage science. However, although valuable in their own right, these are not embedded in everyday practices with communities.

For GBPT, this may involve managing and delivering a capital works project at the request of a community group such as with the Govanhill Baths or the West Bathhouse. However, many community groups manage the process themselves and navigate legal and insurance issues around ownership, restoration and adaptation establishing a variety of partnership roles. This process requires much adaptation from community groups as highlighted during a conversation with a Trustee of a heritage charity:

a sustainable organisation is able to shift their skill set from being a campaigning group to running a community facility, this includes a change of mindset too.

That these processes are complex and political was confirmed during my interview with two trustees, Iona and Euan, of a grassroots organisation that GBPT recommends to me as an exemplary project of local regeneration. Iona explains she started a housing association in the 1980s out of frustration with the lack of maintenance and opportunities in the local area. She was instrumental in setting up a Trust to save their local historic building in the 1990s despite initial pushback. Iona tells me when she started conversations to improve the local area, a woman threw a brick through her window presumably because she did not want the housing association to become a success.

Together, the trustees reflect on the process and the results of the restoration of the historic building. Euan praises GBPT because “they did all the funding and the heavy lifting.” His and Iona’s positive experience with GBPT’s support shows that managing capital projects, carrying financial risks for the community and obtaining funding is a particular skillset not every community has. This has recently been illustrated as GBPT has been approached by communities from far beyond Glasgow. However, as

BPTs are bound by their links to specific local authority areas, many community groups in Scotland do not have such expertise at their disposal.

The interview with Iona and Euan left me reflecting on how this organisation exemplifies a grassroots initiative that is now managing a successful community centre with a nursery and a housing association that has built many new homes around the restored historic building with the support of GBPT and other organisations and funders. Iona and Euan approached the project from a cultural and natural heritage perspective and focused on both the historic building, the woodlands around it and stories to connect with the local communities. Over 15 years after GBPT's involvement, the organisation is embedded in the community. When I compliment them on their many achievements and their place rooted in local communities, their responses are reflective and reluctant. Euan says:

We have not succeeded in our original aim though: to end poverty here. There are so many factors in local regeneration you can't address. It is a patchwork approach with a multitude of projects to work together. But it hasn't solved poverty.

Euan's emphasis on solving poverty confirms to me, the invisibility of small Scottish heritage organisation's stories. Realising they started their mission in the 1980s, before the SDGs were developed, their efforts to restore the building were already embedded in a mission to solve poverty, to connect communities and to improve people's lives. It reiterates that dominant heritage narratives about the national shift from a focus on architecture and historic values to social value can also hide 'counterpublic' narratives.

Euan's description of the regeneration process as "a patchwork approach" confirms Berlant's argument that heritage as commons and as action is like a "local patching or debugging" which involves acknowledging "a broken world and the survival ethics of a transformational infrastructure" (2016, 399). I return to the idea of heritage as action contributing to resilient communities in Chapters 7 and 8 respectively

addressing networks as infrastructures of care and notions of resilient communities in a Norwegian context.

Despite all the efforts and relative successes of Glasgow's post-industrial regeneration, Glasgow remains the most deprived city in Scotland. In 2016, 34% of children in Glasgow were living in poverty and in 2017, 47% of Glasgow's population lived in the 20% most deprived areas in Scotland. The Glasgow Centre for Population Health (2020) reports poverty is the result of complex factors. Definitions include elements such as "low income, unemployment, lack of opportunity, social exclusion and deprivation - both relative and absolute". After a long decline, Glasgow's population has increased since 2007 standing at 635,640 in 2020 and is more diverse. In the census of 2011, 12% of Glasgow's population was from an ethnic minority, which increased from 6% in 2001 (Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2020). These numbers highlight the need for a more inclusive approach to the narratives of Glasgow's heritage. While their restoration projects focus on associated geographical areas, GBPT focuses on the diverse heritage in GDODF which includes diverse places such as the Gurdwara, the Central Mosque, LGBTQ+ events and a focus on the industrial heritage. In light of the aim to become a more inclusive, resilient and sustainable city, GCC devised a new Property and Land Strategy which includes its Heritage Assets Plan.

4.4 GBPTs Place in Context of GCC's Sustainability and Heritage Strategies

As described above, GBPT's work is undertaken in partnership with GCC which has funded GBPT's core business of historic building restoration since its inception in the 1980s. In addition, GCC has funded GBPT to organise GDODF since 1990 which has given GBPT a wider remit in celebrating Glasgow's diverse heritage. However, in recent years, pressure on council budgets means GCC's contribution to GBPT's core business has been reduced and GDODF has been halved while costs have increased. GBPT strives to increase its financial resilience and improve the management of heritage projects in this more complex funding landscape. Their resilience report highlights the need to focus on partnership-working with GCC and other stakeholders across the city (2018, 3). It includes defining priorities such as

going beyond restoration and productive reuse, as well as being a wider economic generator for Glasgow. The report addresses ideas of vision, mission, and value. Director Jamie explains how he sees the value of what GBPT brings beyond the restoration of a building:

... actually what this work means is the values, that it can be to the end user beneficiaries and organisations. And quite often these buildings were previously the focal point of communities. They could have been public libraries or schools or churches, places where people would come together in a prominent part of their locality and when these buildings sit in a derelict and rudeness state it's both an economic and regeneration blight. But it's also a sort of emotional blight on that community. It's at parts in the way people see how society values their area and their neighbourhood.

Making this broader link between dereliction and marginalisation processes, Jamie's reflection also highlights the processes of emotional place-attachment accompanying dereliction. Reminiscent of Madgin's (2021) work on emotional attachment to urban heritage, Jamie links GBPT's work to how places make people feel. With the building falling into disrepair, associated communities also risk becoming disconnected. To address what Latour (2004) calls this 'matter of concern', both communities and buildings need support in the process of being brought back to their gathering, considered in more detail in Chapter 5.

4.4.1 Governing Glasgow's Built Heritage in Partnership

Both GCC (2019) and GBPT celebrate GBPTs achievements of delivering 30 major projects, as well as numerous consultancy projects, options appraisals, feasibility studies, and repair works for many buildings across Glasgow. Among these projects are a diverse range of historic buildings and assets. Since the restoration of the Briggait, among them have been schools; churches of various denominations; the Glasgow Police Boxes, a public library, Pollokshaws West Railway Station, the concert venue Kelvingrove Bandstand; Castlemilk Stables, the Pearce Institute, Elder Park Gates, the Lodge House at Pollok Park, and the recently completed West Boathouse at Glasgow Green. Desk-based analysis of previous projects shows the majority are still managed by the same end-user while three have been taken over

by new users with similar remits. Some of the earlier projects have needed additional adaptation and repairs such as The Briggait and the Stewart Memorial Fountain. This positive track record evidences GBPT's ability to find long-term viable end users for these restored historic buildings.

GCC's *Heritage Asset Plan* (2019) highlights these achievements by using GBPT's exemplary projects to set out a clear path for long-term partnership working with GBPT. It lauds The Briggait project for telling the story of the city; the West Boathouse project as a case study example of sense of place; Castlemilk Stables as an example of community vibrancy and engagement; and the Kelvingrove Bandstand for continued original use. For GBPT, despite a reduction in funding, this indicates an intent for a positive and long-term relationship with the potential for what GBPT and others call a 'pipeline of projects.' Isobel, Manager at a BPT explains it to me in an online interview:

we try to develop a pipeline of projects ... And the idea is, to have at any one time, a project that's on-site, a project that you've got the funding for, and you are in the final stages for and a project that needs the development work on so that you have got this pipeline coming.

The *Heritage Asset Plan* highlights the importance of the available heritage skills at GBPT through the "Pragmatic evaluation of a partnership with Glasgow BPT as the 'developer of last resort' to address the Council's 'At Risk' property (GCC 2019). GCC's plan functions as an enabler of its Property and Land strategy 2019-2029 as well as being aligned with the Scottish Government's heritage strategy OPiT (GCC 2019). GCC stresses the ability of historic buildings to bring a sense of identity to neighbourhoods and communities.

As the largest single owner in Glasgow of historic buildings, GCC is responsible for over 1800 listed Buildings or structures in Glasgow. Glasgow has 25 conservation areas and 5 designated Gardens and Designed Landscapes: Victoria Park, Kelvingrove Park, Pollok Park, Glasgow Botanic Gardens and The Necropolis. In addition, there are 19 Scheduled Monuments within Glasgow managed by HES

(GCC 2019). Setting out the direction for governance and management of the council-owned historic environment, the plan highlights sustainability and inclusive growth through retaining and re-using, or re-purposing the built environment through commercial or community use. It stresses the environmental argument for retaining historic buildings promoting their embodied energy rather than promoting the demolish and rebuild choices of the past (GCC 2019). In terms of economic investment, GCC (2019, 3) acknowledges historic buildings have not received the investment needed in the past, and the requirement of “a significant level of investment” is needed to keep properties in good repair. For GBPT, partnership with Glasgow City Council has remained vital as the core funder of GBPT’s activities:

a lot of our projects are or have been at some point owned by Glasgow City Council and we rely on them for funding ... Sometimes for projects as well. And then there are discussions with the Planning Department, Building Controllers...some of the Regeneration Team and the corporate landlord (Jamie)

As such, there is a clear financial case for GCC’s partnership with GBPT which, as reported in GCC’s *Heritage Best Value Review* (Gardiner and Theobald 2019, 9) has leveraged circa £15.4m of funding from external parties to deliver their restoration projects between 2011 and 2019. Having described the positive partnerships between GBPT and GCC, I briefly describe GCC’s broader strategies relating to resilience and sustainability in communities.

4.4.2 Glasgow City Council: Sustainability and Resilience Strategies

The SDGs are localised for Scotland through the National Performance Framework (NPF) and include aims for wellbeing and resilient communities. In turn, GCC has further localised the SDGs and the NPF through its own sustainability and resilience strategies for the City of Glasgow. Since 2015, under an SNP majority, GCC has released several new strategies and initiatives demonstrating their commitment to the UN’s SDGs. In these strategies, past council approaches have been acknowledged as cultural and historical failings (GCC 2020) and now focuses on localising the economy for “social inclusion, justice and wellbeing” (GCC 2020, 5) while at the same time celebrating the use of culture to regenerate the city which, it

states, has led to a growing economy, an increasing and ethnically diverse population (GCC 2016). The strategy emphasises it continues to use arts and culture, however, with a focus on binding communities, and developing “common heritage” to underpin societies (GCC 2020). Additionally, the strategy includes aims for a circular construction framework, aiming to make retrofitting historic buildings the standard construction method. It includes an unlikely consideration of a “pledge to never demolish another building” (GCC 2020, 81), illustrating the sense of loss this has caused in the past. However, this is contradicted by *The Heritage Assets Plan* (2019) which states that demolition or part demolition may take place if no other options are viable.

The strategy commits to community empowerment and transparency to enable communities to understand decision-making processes. This ability of physical and cultural assets and its “Autonomous and resourceful communities” can contribute to regeneration as is emphasised in Glasgow’s Resilient Cities strategy which focuses on managing shocks, stresses and challenges (GCC 2016). The strategy is described as a multi-agency approach with a people focus aiming to address health inequalities, poverty and deprivation, to improve the quality of and access to viable livelihoods (including education and skills) and to address the perceived absence of positive role models for young people in vulnerable communities, as well as lack of pride or a sense of belonging to a community (GCC 2016).

Resilience in this strategy is described as Glaswegians’ ability to bounce back and to cope and thrive through hard times (GCC 2016) reminiscent of the language used by Robin and Rowan when discussing resilience (also Chapter 5). It highlights the legacy of vacant and derelict land with approximately 60% of Glaswegians living within 500m of derelict land which is double the national average. The strategy advocates the benefits of using some of these pieces of land for community ownership, skills development in planning, gardening and planting with an increase in social engagement and health benefits as envisaged results (GCC 2016).

4.4.3 Sustainability as Profusion: People Make Glasgow Communities

The notion of community empowerment through heritage as commons is reiterated in the *Heritage Assets Plan* which describes the value of communities at the heart of heritage management and operation. It stresses the option of communities as custodians of its built heritage: “There are community organisations who are willing to act as partners on an equal or even ‘leading’ basis to manage and operate heritage assets” (GCC 2019, 8). As Fraser (1990) highlighted, separating public governance and civic society removes decision-making power from communities. Thus this link has to be reestablished to encourage community empowerment. Transferring built heritage to communities to be governed as commons addresses several issues for GCC. Firstly, it states community groups can be more effective than GCC in obtaining grant funding due to the community requirements in funding criteria. Secondly, communities can mobilise local volunteers to participate in the operation of a community building. Thirdly, community governance would reduce the profusion of heritage assets GCC currently manages. To address these issues, GCC (2021) developed its recent programme *People Make Glasgow Communities*.

GCC’s (2019) *Heritage Assets Plan* and *People Make Glasgow Communities* (GCC 2021) illustrate the shift in the funding environment which is becoming more reliable on external funding as well as focusing increasingly on community empowerment and addressing societal goals. GBPT’s resilience review reiterates that GBPT is “a critical tool in GCC’s armoury for preserving heritage buildings”, in collaboration with local groups (Community Enterprise 2018, 73). Jamie confirms this in an interview: “Delivering a capital project and then handing over to the community group to run, there’s a need for that in the community sector, there self-evidently is.”

The combined challenges of having a profusion of buildings and a policy requirement to empower communities have resulted in GCC supporting community asset transfer and degrowth of GCC’s housing stock. The initiative has received mixed responses among the participants in my research. Blair, at GBPT, sees opportunities to use their expertise to guide these processes:

the support is very piecemeal and there is no guidance through the process. [I want] to suggest to GCC to create a package for this process that GBPT can lead and that is free or of very low cost to the communities.

However, some express concern like Angus, a former Board member at GBPT during our in-person interview:

It's not new. It's just abdication of responsibilities from the Council... It's certainly getting rid of a problem onto the community. Like communities don't have enough to do?

The need for community support in the process is also highlighted during an online interview with Jack, an employee at a funding organisation:

how do we resource them [community organisations]? If we're supportive of community engagement and community empowerment ... and we know that, for example, local government needs to take to step back from owning a vast array of assets and other public bodies [they] have too many assets that they can't manage. And how do we make sure that these assets are safe? ...I'm always wary that we are, you know, we will help empower them through funding, but then we walk away ...My job is to almost to write the cheque and say well, it's been nice meeting you. Bye bye, good luck. Who picks it up from there?"

Although Angus' and Jack's concerns that some communities may not have the capacity to go through a process of acquiring and governing a historic building may be realistic, it is Blair's perspective that the process of community empowerment through community governance presents a genuine opportunity for GBPT to grow its business. Finding its new role, mission and social purpose in this changing strategic and funding landscape, employees at GBPT are reconnecting with GBPT's origin story to focus on the challenges and opportunities ahead. In a later meeting, Blair emphasises the role of reflecting on and mobilising GBPT's origin story:

It is good to think about our purpose. With the anniversary, we have been reflecting and have seen the movement from protest, responding to the zeitgeist towards activism and protest, always aiming for community and charitable use.

Blair's explanation illustrates how the origin story serves to activate a sense of activism to support communities in their efforts to have access to and decision-making power over historic buildings that represent meaning and value to them. Blair's reflection highlights awareness of GBPT's role as curators and narrators of heritage (Djabarouti 2020). As such, GBPT has journeyed from being a protest group, or a 'counterpublic' to working closely with GCC to become a more active curator and narrator of other 'counterpublic' voices.

Reflection and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored ethnographic and more formal narratives of Glasgow's past as well as of GBPT's origin story in the context of the story of the BPT movement in Scotland and Glasgow's past. The dominant narratives of GCC's demolish and rebuild strategies in the past highlight a sense of loss in people's lived experiences recounted in my ethnographic findings and scholarship alike. Glasgow's regeneration process was property-led and focused on tourism leading to the marginalisation and silencing of diverse narratives such as those of working-class communities and associated built heritage, meanings, values and memories. By bringing GBPT's grassroots beginnings to the fore, as well as examples such as Govanhill Baths, I have emphasised GBPT's ability to connect with such narratives in supporting grassroots groups. In doing so, GBPT curates and enacts narratives of counter memories which centralise values and identities other than the dominant stories of demolish and rebuild, and decline. Not only has this constructed and anchored GBPT's position as the start of a turning point in GCC's approach to built heritage in the 1980s, but it has also highlighted how multiple and complex layers of narratives, authorised and dissonant, exist alongside each other within complex political structures of power.

Small heritage organisations and community groups serve as memory agents representing a variety of stories about Glasgow's and Scotland's past. Heritage practitioners working at organisations like GBPT have a role as curators and narrators of heritage (Djabarouti 2020) which includes their collective organisational

heritage. In the process of redefining its purpose, I have illustrated how GBPT is mobilising and reconnecting to its origin story to better position itself to connect with communities not traditionally involved in heritage. This use of GBPT's organisational heritage to craft a particular "imagined and desired" future (Harrison 2020, 37) supports the process of GBPT reimagining itself in times of changing mission and value. As such, GBPT's 'doing heritage' is indeed a "cultural and social process, which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present" (Smith 2006, 4). In particular, it enables GBPT to address societal challenges with marginalised communities.

The context of the history of the BPT movement highlighted how a period of increase in BPTs across the UK was stimulated by the recommendations of the Civic Trust report in 1971 which led to the foundation of both the Architectural Heritage Fund and the UK ABPT, later HTN, to support BPT's across the UK. These organisations delivered a combined effort to support processes of conservation and property-led regeneration of cities across the UK like in Glasgow during its post-industrial regeneration. To address historical failings which led to injustices across Glasgow and respond to processes of democratisation in policy (Chapter 2), GCC has formulated new strategies centring on resilience, sustainability and addressing issues of "social inclusion, justice and wellbeing" (GCC 2020, 5). More broadly, the Scottish Government's strategic focus on community empowerment has supported an increasing number of community groups which has led to a decline of BPTs due to an increasingly competitive environment accompanied by a reduction in funding available. Scotland had seven BPTs in 2009 and currently has five. This loss of BPTs has led to a decline in the skills and expertise available to support community groups in restoring historic buildings and managing the complex process of large capital projects and heritage and creative practices with communities. Combined with issues of profusion of built heritage in local authorities, I argue for a Scotland-wide resource to address this gap to support the process of empowering communities and the restoration of Scotland's historic buildings. Their already embodied carbon supports the environmental agenda to retrofit and reuse as promoted by HES (Jenkins and Curtis 2023) and argued by Estate Management Consultant Adrian Smith who highlights the importance of considering the economic

and environmental resources already embodied in them, or what he calls “their ‘recyclable demolition value’” (Smith 2010). GCC’s Heritage Assets Plan highlights themes of economic, cultural, social and environmental sustainability as well as these issues of a profusion of heritage. Although it includes a clear focus on partnership working with GBPT as an exemplary organisation, it has also reduced GBPT’s core funding simultaneously. As a consequence, GBPT is reorienting to fulfil more social and public agendas and carving out its role as a facilitator of community groups in achieving their aims of restoring and managing a historic building. This shift in role supports their journey to become more economically sustainable amid reduced budgets and increased dependency on grant funding.

It is at this crossroads of GBPT revisioning itself that the ethnographic work for this PhD commenced in October 2019. I have witnessed parts of this journey of GBPT redefining its place and purpose in the context of the recent changes in political agendas, SDGs, national aims, funding criteria and local GCC strategies. This journey into reframing mission and purpose and discovering how to ‘care with’ communities (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017) is the focus of Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Social Purpose: Transformation in Mission, Value and Practice

Introduction

During an online meeting with Sam to discuss Glasgow Doors Open Days Festival (GDODF) themes and evaluations, Sam passionately speaks about their sense of purpose for their role at GBPT: “I want to do social justice, that’s probably not the right phrase, do community building, make more cohesive communities, more connected communities through our buildings.” Later, Sam emphasises the different types of stories and communities they try to include in digital GDODF: “getting stories of marginalised people, stories that show [their] struggle”. Sam explains they would like to target younger audiences too, a continuous challenge in heritage. Sam tells me they have a plan to let younger people facilitate events: “I want to get them to participate and to do their own walks and present their own stories. For that I want to know [...] what are the barriers to participating?”

Sam’s wish to ‘do social justice’ by connecting communities through providing access to historic buildings and enabling people to tell their own stories runs like a thread through GBPT’s heritage practices. Throughout the PhD, I have attended meetings and brainstorming sessions, in the office and online, discussing themes for GBPT’s 40th anniversary or GDODF. These created a space for broader discussions about themes, values, and purpose. Social purpose was often negotiated and constructed through expressions of both professional and personal senses of purpose and values while also aligning with funding themes and criteria.

Negotiation of social purpose was illustrated further during an online meeting about GBPT’s 40th anniversary and themes for GDODF. The team and I reflect on periods of change as well as stories of resistance and endurance in the history of Glasgow such as the Industrial Revolution, the textiles trade in Dalmarnock, the flu pandemic of 1918, the helicopter crash into the Clutha Cafe in 2013, up to the recent events of COP26 and the Covid-19 Pandemic. By reflecting on crises, recovery, and re-

emergence, a story of resilience through time is negotiated for project activities and communications. The team reflect:

Change is the norm. How do we make peace with it? [...] the psychology of change?" (Robin)

"I feel we're moving further away from heritage." (Sam)

"But it all affects mental health? And mental health is high on the agenda? We can look at stories of resilience, resistance, and revolt...It is about adaptability" (Robin).

"Yeah, connected, and resilient communities. What would planners and architects imagine for in 40 years' time?" (Rowan)

The conversation reflects the constant need for both the built environment and the organisation to adapt by negotiating new meanings and values into discourses of heritage while also being forward-looking. The feeling of "moving further away from heritage" may be a consequence of the increased focus on people and wellbeing and a shift from working solely to preserving buildings. Resilience is negotiated here, not just as a theme but as a characteristic of communities, people, buildings and the organisation itself. Resilience as a concept is curated as a vehicle of hope for improvement, and as a purpose and a value in itself. Rather than a bouncing back, resilience configured as such can be seen as a "bouncing forward" and involves learning, absorbing, adapting, and transforming (Holtorf 2018, 640).

As introduced in Chapters 1 and 2, Mol's ethnographies of medical practices (Mol 2002; Mol, Ingunn, and Pols 2010) and Jones and Yarrow's (2022) ethnography of daily conservation practices, I approach heritage practices as care practices. As noted by Malde (2018, 36), social purpose entails organisations considering their relationship with a rapidly changing society and includes notions such as being relevant, accessible, representational and "being good." I ethnographically explore how social purpose is enacted through heritage practices that aim to 'make change' and 'do justice'. GBPT's aims to address the dereliction of historic buildings and marginalised communities can be seen through the lens of Latour's (2004) 'matters of concern' and as delicate gatherings of interrelated concerns (Jones and Yarrow

2022). These ‘matters of concern’ require protection and care (Ibidem, 232) and are thus, as proposed by Mol (2002), ‘matters of care’. Sam wishes to share the stories of those not traditionally involved in organised heritage spaces and activities to explore what barriers to participation are. This shows how they want to use heritage practices to pursue justice. Sam means to create better access to and representation in heritage practices. Their care for these ‘matters of concern’ is at the heart of sustainability which is linked to concepts of justice and empowerment and addresses poverty and social inequalities (Albert 2015, 3; Labadi 2022, 3) as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4.

In this chapter, I focus on how social purposes, values and meanings are negotiated in everyday practice in small heritage organisations. Working as an organisation to improve people’s lives through restoring historic buildings and community engagement practices requires specific organisational practices that relate to governance and leadership, professional and personal attitudes, motivations, skills, and knowledge from employees that both assume and move beyond the intrinsic value of heritage. I consider social purpose negotiated as an organisational aim as well as closely tied to people’s professional and personal senses of purpose while working on the intersection of heritage conservation and heritage engagement. When I use the term ‘practice’, I include what people say and do during their daily interactions (Yarrow 2019, 11). Chapter 6 discusses ‘doing as practice’ and describes how social purpose is negotiated and enacted during heritage engagement practices with a variety of communities and individuals. This current chapter focuses on ‘talk’ as practice to explore how discourse does not just organise how “concepts like heritage are understood, but the way we act, the social and technical practices we act out and the way knowledge is constructed and understood” (Smith 2006, 4). I consider what the talking ‘does’ as part of working with social purpose and as a practice of care aiming to “maintain, continue, and repair “our world” so that we can live in it as well as possible” (Tronto 1993, 103).

During the PhD, I experienced heritage practices through many forms of ‘talk’: conversations and meetings in the office and on-site, among colleagues and with

other organisations and individuals. All kinds of talk as practice are part of the everyday working environment. Talk increased when the 'doing' with communities was temporarily halted during the Covid-19 pandemic and my ethnography moved online. My observations and reflections are based on conversations with the GBPT team, with representatives of other organisations, and during my interviews. Reflecting on my observations of various practices of talk, I am also aware of the gaps in my ethnographic experiences. An important gap is being unable to attend Board meetings. It was agreed at the start of the PhD that my attendance and taking field notes at Board meetings were deemed too sensitive during a time of intense discussions and transformation. This transparently negotiated form of gatekeeping prompted me to reflect on the performative nature of the PhD collaboration and the balance of managing difficult dynamics. Reflections on the role of the Board and governance and leadership issues relating to equality, diversity and inclusion are discussed in section 5.5 and are based on conversations among the team and interviews which included one former board member.

5.1 Social Purpose: Discrepancies between Documents and Discourse

When I first arrived at GBPT, I wanted to understand their ideas around social purpose and by reading their strategy, reports, and plans. The office hosts a range of archive cabinets and bookshelves with folders filled with paperwork, however, GBPT has a low level of bureaucracy. As the team is in one office together, quick chats can be done across desks, testimony to the flat structure and informal character of the small organisation. From documents available, I learned social purpose is not necessarily a term used by small heritage organisations to describe why they are doing what they do. I took a wider approach looking for descriptions of social impact or social sustainability.

I analysed their strategic documents considering their mission, aims and strategies relating to the idea of creating better places through heritage. While reviewing annual reports from 2015 – 2020, the mission statement at the start of each annual report remained the same and focused on building restoration:

Glasgow Building Preservation Trust is a charity that works to rescue, repair, restore and rehabilitate historic buildings at risk across the city. The Trust works in partnership with others to give redundant buildings a new purpose and return them to their communities. The Trust also organises the annual Glasgow Doors Open Days Festival in September, which celebrates and promotes the city's rich built heritage. (Glasgow Building Preservation Trust 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021).

I found few descriptions relating to social purpose or social impact. Those I did find were presented as an assumed effect of restoring and adapting buildings for reuse such as contributing "to the city's sense of pride in itself as a place of beauty and not of social problems (Community Enterprise 2018, 3). The resilience review reports that GBPT's activities have "changed the social milieu and given people the sense that they matter which is what GBPT was set up to do" (Ibidem, 51). However, these presumed social outcomes have not been measured by impact studies, an issue highlighted by Labadi in her studies of regeneration which showed a lack of insight into long-term impacts with some projects also suffering from optimism bias about their benefits (Labadi 2011; 2022).

A recommendation was made to GBPT to undertake a social capital test and test their heritage impact (Community Enterprise 2018, 68). GBPT recognises the need to address this gap and hopes to gain a "Better understanding [sic] how our role has a wider social impact" (McConnell 2021: 30). GBPT's Strategy 2020 – 2023, refers to strengthening communities by enabling local groups to take control and responsibility for their buildings through community asset transfer (McConnell 2020) a process GBPT is historically familiar with. GBPT's strategy refers to the strategies of GCC, NLHF and HES as the contexts within which GBPT undertakes its activities. It highlights elements of GCC's strategy such as inclusive economic growth for Glasgow as a vibrant city where "All citizens have access to the city's cultural life and its heritage" and "Glasgow acknowledges and promotes its history, heritage and culture" (McConnell 2020, 13). GBPT stresses the importance of their role in organising Glasgow Doors Open Days Festival bringing volunteers and communities together "to provide access to, share and celebrate the heritage and stories of their

community assets". Their strategy (McConnell 2020) emphasises the NLHF's criteria of engaging with young people, disabled people, people from minority ethnic and LGBT+ communities, and people from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Additionally, GBPT stresses the context of HES' Our Place in Time strategy (SG 2014) which includes caring for and protecting the historic environment. GBPT states they follow conservation best practices while not being "afraid to take a more radical approach, with new interventions" to enable adaptive reuse of historic buildings (McConnell 2020, 15). This embedding of their strategy and aims in wider Scottish heritage strategies shows how ideas about mission and strategy is formed in dialogue with local and national frameworks.

As GBPT is in the midst of "that transition between building preservation and supporting communities" (Jamie), there is a notable discrepancy between the lack of descriptions of concepts such as social purpose, social impact or social sustainability in their official documents. The transitional process described by Jamie seems to, unwittingly, position building preservation in opposition to working towards social agendas. However, I came to understand GBPT's documents do not reflect the realities of GBPT's daily practices. Documents and practices are heterogeneous and seemingly contradictory. They often contain foundational principles from formal charters or national policies despite later introductions of new principles such as more recent rights-based and wellbeing aims (Jones and Yarrow 2022, 27; Yarrow 2017, 97). At GBPT this means a focus on saving buildings in documents and less so on inclusive and connected communities.

However, having been immersed in a wide variety of practices, it has become clear how the search for framing social purpose and mission within current societal challenges is negotiated and constructed in dialogue among colleagues. These dialogues are shaped through funding criteria and contracts which anchor care as an ethical and moral commitment (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 22), within the organisation itself, through collaborations with creative and community organisations, and through activities with a variety of local communities. This process of people

coming together is vital as is the language used, as illustrated by Lachlan, an archaeologist who collaborates with GBPT during a walk around a local museum:

This is caught up in a snowball, it aggravates it, the use of language: 'building', 'built heritage' or 'historic environment'. These terms show what people try to achieve. I would like to go back to heritage as a living tradition, as cultural practices, remembrance. This projects into the future, having rhythms and gatherings. These are not the same as a building or a site or a geological SSSI; they are not heritage, but they are evidence of something that happened there.

Lachlan's words illustrate heritage as a process is not about the 'matter of fact', the site or building, but about cultural practices and the process of gathering which constructs a 'thing' (Latour 2004). Lachlan expresses his frustration at the language used to pin down the 'thing' rather than the living tradition which he feels should be a matter of care. From a perspective of care, these are also "gatherings of purpose, where people work collaboratively and unendingly to hold together a thing" like a historic building and all those who care for it (Jones and Yarrow 2022, 209). This perspective of a gathering, or assemblage, allows us to see heritage as "processes and entanglements" that create and sustain heritage as part of an ongoing process rather than as a finished product (Macdonald 2009, 118) or as a "provisional outcome of the "coordination"" of multiple practices (Jones and Yarrow 2022, 10; Mol 2002, 54-55). Reassembling the West Boathouse as an outcome of multiple practices of conservation, adaptation and reassembling its values aims to create a better, more inclusive, more just world for current and future generations as detailed below.

5.2 Physical Reassembling for Social Purpose

Throughout the research period, conversations have illustrated how GBPT is navigating the process of redefining its social purpose. Blair highlights the issues that are 'matters of concern' to them after a presentation I provided to the team and my supervisors: "The work is centred around buildings and people and GBPT is now taking this further. The work is about social cohesion and addressing dereliction." This dual purpose that Blair highlights is a recurring theme which highlights the

gathering and unravelling of communities and buildings in an interconnected responsive process. As discussed in Chapter 4, Jamie highlighted how their experience of working within building preservation taught them how dereliction is considered an economic and regeneration blight as well as an emotional blight on communities. These negative impacts of closure, dereliction and demolition on communities is also raised during my online interview with Robert, a former taxi driver and a volunteer with GBPT:

You need community centres. The name itself tells you what it's for. It's to help the community bring the community together through different aspects, whether it be sports, crafts, whatever. And we seem to have this thing of shutting down community centres, which is absolutely terrible.

Robert's words illustrate how communities and buildings as places of connection are interlinked. During the process of a building falling into disrepair, related communities also unravel. Through the lens of heritage as a gathering, I propose that dereliction is a process of unravelling, a 'becoming undone' of things and associated groups of people. Vice versa, the displacement of communities over time such as in post-industrial Glasgow means some buildings were "built for a community that no longer exists" (Robin) which can lead to dereliction. As such, the resilience of buildings and communities is inextricably bound. The need for resilient communities to have access to gathering spaces is congruent with the resilience theory by Robertson et al. (2021) (Chapter 2). The counter-processes of displacement and dereliction can be compared to an ecosystem collapse by DeSilvey et al. who note that a process for adaptive reuse, constitutes a phase of "adaptation and resilience, to highlight how apparent collapse may be an opening to creative recalibration" (DeSilvey et al. 2021, 422). When GBPT start the process of accompanying buildings and associated and new communities "back to their gathering" (Latour 2004b), they reassemble values and meanings with social purpose aiming to restore the building for adaptive reuse and to recreate and connect communities through their heritage engagement programme.

GBPT initially started this process of reassembling the West Boathouse to its new values by trying to better understand the building which the architect explained to me during a building tour:

We spent the best part of two years finding out about the building and seeing how the building was looking after itself [...] [The timber frame] was so rotten, it was a miracle it was still standing but it held itself together.

The architect credits the West Boathouse with agency, able to look after itself and hold itself together (Figures 15 and 16). Subsequently, disassembling the building is described in various conversations by words such as “decanting the collections” and “stripping out” referring to the removal of redundant fittings and electrical installations, and “down takings” meaning the removal of the building fabric.

Consequently, during the process of restoring the Boathouse, words like “slappings”, creating new openings in floors or walls to facilitate new construction, and “enabling works”, “excavations” and “laying foundations”. These illustrate the process of gathering the West Boathouse back together through a multitude of professional practices ranging from architects to those laying the foundations, joiners, roofers, painters, and many others (Jones and Yarrow 2022) (Figures 17 and 18).

Reassembling the building happens according to conservation guidelines but is also guided by current values and social purpose. The architect illustrates this when she explains:

There were no separate changing rooms for women in one club. In the other club, women had a cupboard under the stairs. Now the building is gender-neutral. It has an accessible and family space. People can have space to themselves for reasons such as autism. The gender division in rowing is now 50-50. There are no club names on it either, there is no ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’

Restoring the building with social purpose makes the West Boathouse the embodiment of the values of accessibility, equality, diversity, inclusivity, and climate adaptation.



Figure 15. One of the 30 timber piles that support the structure shows extensive rot



Figure 16. The rotting balcony supports, the dragon head shape no longer visible

The process of maintenance and restoring the building is also clear during the West Boathouse opening event where attendance includes former rowing club members visiting from Australia, from Texas and all around the UK. This wide interest indicates how much people care about the historic building and the rowing club. One man who has travelled from another continent, tells Rowan and me how he used to be a member in the 1980s with his father. He kindly consents to me writing down his story:

I used to help keeping it [the boathouse] together. My dad used to maintain the boiler as best he could. I am curious to find out if it still has that distinct smell. I don't mean of all the dirt and the water, but the smell of the history of the old boathouse.

The care practices of maintenance to “keep the building together” and the reference to the “smell of the history” highlight how caring for and with the building create a sense of embodied and affective connection, ownership, and identity through the

process of assemblage. While the man visited to see the restored Boathouse, his story also indicates a search for continuity and connection by wondering if the “smell of the history” is still there. This illustrates what Madgin (2021, 5) describes as “the relational, emotional and interactional nature” between people and historic places. It shows how experiences of place as sensory and embodied are renegotiated after a renovation process. During this renovation process, elements of the past are negotiated to create future-focused narratives as outlined in the next section.

	
Figure 17. The timber frame with circular windows during restoration works	Figure 18. New wood-carved dragon head supports for the balconies based on the original design

5.3 Change Making: Using ‘the Past’ to Make ‘the Future’

As the vignette at the start of this chapter illustrated, the GBPT team consider Glasgow’s envisaged future as a better-connected and more resilient place amidst the turmoil of continuous change. Reassembling a building and its associated communities ties in with the idea that the adaptive reuse of historic buildings is a future-making practice aiming to resource an anticipated future (Harrison 2020, 36).

Heritage as future-making practices can be applied to both the process of historic building restoration as well as to the creative practices of heritage engagement. These creative practices aim to resource and empower people in the present to improve their ability to participate in imminent futures. By creating new meaning and connections through creative heritage activities, GBPT aims to create what Sam and Blair describe as connected communities, or social cohesion. Additionally, for small heritage organisations such as building preservation trusts, the anticipated futures may not be so vague as strategies and projects are defined within specific timelines and funding specifications. Ideas of the future in conversations sometimes refer to the same year or are more abstract notions of ‘the future’ without being specified.

More intense talk among the team and reflection on future horizons was prompted by the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic and was most clear when discussing strategies and funding. During an online team meeting in May 2020 in the early stages of the Covid-19 pandemic, Jamie explained their concerns for the future. They break this down into “the next 1 – 3 years” which they feel are at risk as applications for funding have been halted by NLHF to create an emergency fund. They feel this is “absolutely the right thing to do right now”. Jamie continues to explain that other funders have suspended funding calls and “will struggle, a recession will follow with very low-interest rates and small trusts will take a nosedive [...] This is worrying for the medium–long term for GBPT and other organisations in the sector.” This uncertainty about funding for these imminent futures leads to thinking about exploring alternative funding models as well as a realisation by Jamie that the future lies in “more of a focus on and delivering of community outcomes”.

It is recognised among the team that the dual purpose of restoring the built environment and working towards community outcomes is situated in both place and time as discussed by Blair and Robin in the office. “It is all about place. This may sound a bit glib and overused but look at Whitevale. We are creating a new place and community. We are re-making places.” The team nods in agreement. Robin adds: “We are time-making, it is temporal”, indicating the way that GBPT remakes places represents values held in the present highlighting the use of heritage as

“crafting particular imagined and desired futures” by engaging with and using specific pasts in the present (Harrison 2020, 37; also Smith 2006). For GBPT, this process of reflecting on and defining social purpose involves actively carving out its role in crafting desired futures for specific areas in Glasgow. As GBPT develop their heritage engagement programme with the West Boathouse and other new projects, the positive and active language embedded in future thinking also becomes apparent in their more recent annual reports: “We [are] using the *Old Dalmarnock* [my italics] film as a springboard to reflect on how the community has changed and how the children see its future” and “investigating the future of the building and the opportunity to create a flexible, open, and inclusive community hub and asset for the people of Govanhill” (GBPT 2021, 9-10).

The active language of change-making above illustrates how dialogue can be used in a more proactive way to better describe transformation and “innovative practices which are already being developed by practitioners” (DeSilvey et al. 2021, 420). Being a ‘maker of change’ involves a sense of agency which is reflected in the use of active language such as doing justice, re-making places, connecting communities. During a day in the GBPT office, it is demonstrated how discourse produces the world as we understand it, equates knowledge with reality and as such, generates power (Smith 2006, 38). Robin is sitting opposite me and sighs, clearly frustrated about something. When prompted, they tell me they are trying to convince another organisation to change the word ‘mankind’ into ‘humankind’ on their website. Robin explains they received a response suggesting the organisation would have to have a meeting about making this change. Robin tells me they gently nudged them to indicate maybe they don’t need to have a meeting to add two letters to their website to make it less gendered. Robin’s endeavour illustrates how making a small change suggesting the use of inclusive language, can be an act of redistributing power which can meet with reluctance even on a very small scale. Robin’s action highlights language *is* action and affects change in the world (Winograd 2006). Language as action is also highlighted by meetings such as those in the opening vignette which produce meanings and values as well as themes and actions for communications and events. Meetings therefore function as an organising practice (Jones and Yarrow 2022; Mol 2002) through language. Robin’s practice of care aims to create a

more inclusive world. By actively addressing the past and present exclusion of women's voices in heritage discourses, Robin focuses on social justice for a more just and inclusive future, an important aspect of sustainability. This example illustrates how 'talk as practice' is part of resourcing future-making practices.

Sustainability is often referred to when discussing future thinking in GBPT's resilience review (Community Enterprise 2018). The term is mainly used for the economic side of the business such as finances and business models. As illustrated above, here too, 'talk as practice' reveals more about social purpose and the desired futures which, as pointed out by Harrison (2020, np) can be vaguely defined and "anticipating and resourcing more or less distant futures in the present". As project lifespans and funding criteria shape projects and deadlines, the desired futures are often within reach in GBPT's practices. GBPT undertook the first feasibility study for The West Boathouse project in 2002, completed the building in 2022 and celebrated the opening in the summer of 2023, meaning a total project duration (with gaps) of over 20 years. Another project, Castlemilk Stables, took 11 years. These very specific project durations mean desired futures are relatively imminent and can be experienced and visited in the near present. Taylor (2013) raised the question of whether we are held back by a lack of clarity as to who future generations are. However, I would argue that in the case of GBPT's projects, past, present, and future generations are in close proximity. Considering the relatively short timescales and using the past to negotiate heritage in the present, I would argue small heritage organisations such as GBPT are 'present-making' while hoping to lay foundations for better futures that are more just and inclusive. This 'present-making' is appraised more closely below and shows who is involved in heritage projects and how these communities are concretely defined through definitions of both social and geographic communities.

5.4 Heritage 'for Everyone'

Communications around the West Boathouse project, clearly state the aim to include wider communities:

The West Boathouse is for everyone. Consultation and engagement with local communities has revealed a perception that the boathouse is an exclusive space, and that rowing is a sport exclusively reserved for the privileged, white middle classes. Changing these perceptions will be the most challenging and also potentially rewarding aspect of the project (Shearer 2019, 6).

This perception of the West Boathouse as a place for wealthy people is confirmed in interviews with GBPT volunteers like Malcolm, who says:

I am talking about the early 1960s when I was a kid. I think the view of the West Boathouse when I grew up, I think I would possibly be talking for a lot of the people at the east end of Glasgow. It was somewhere that wasn't for locals. It was somewhere where, the Glasgow University people, the west end people kept rowing regattas on the Clyde in the 1960s. It was a great attraction. But it was for better-off people.

Removing barriers to participation, including perceptions of who the Boathouse is for, physical barriers and providing access to 'everyone' is a recurring theme during the ethnographic research period. As discussed in Chapter 1, 'everyone' is defined specifically as communities who live along the rowing reach. This need to include specific geographic communities is highlighted as an important funding requirement as explained by Callum, grants officer at a national funding organisation: "if you're going to apply [for] funding to buy a building, then you have to be a geographic community. It can't be a community [of interest] but they will fund a geographic community." These envisaged geographical communities are further defined as non-rowing groups and "those communities defined as under-represented in the clubs' Equalities, Diversity and Inclusion Plan" (Shearer 2019, 7).

The goal is to reconnect local communities to the river Clyde which is recovering from the effects of heavy industry (Shearer 2019, 7) and is perceived as "dirty and dangerous" (Shearer 2019, 33). The aim to re-animate the river shows how aiming for recovery and resilience includes aspirations to disrupt the current negative narrative of decline and replace it with a more positive story of recovery and resilience with communities. This shows how care is

[not] a human-only matter. Affirming the absurdity of disentangling human and nonhuman relations of care and the ethicalities involved requires decentring human agencies, as well as remaining close to the predicaments and inheritances of situated human doings (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 2)

Changing stereotypical narratives of communities and Glasgow's green and blue spaces requires approaching heritage from a holistic perspective which supports decentring human agencies as outlined below.

5.4.1 Holistic Approaches to Cultural and Natural Heritage

Perceptions of barriers to access and exclusion extend to both cultural and natural heritage spaces. A survey undertaken in 2017 by Northlight Heritage for GBPT showed that in addition to the perception of the Clyde being dirty and dangerous, access to the river through rowing is also seen as mainly accessible to the white middle classes. The emphasis on elite-level competitive rowing has obscured the potential "social, physical and psychological benefits of recreational rowing" to non-rowing audiences (Shearer 2019, 33). In the past, nature and culture were often presented as two separate realms with notions of nature as not being human-made. This dichotomy has been institutionalised in charters determining natural and cultural heritage significance since the 1970s (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016; Harrison and O'Donnell 2010; Labadi 2022).

However, more recently, the influence of environmental thinking has changed the distinction between natural and cultural heritage resulting in more joined-up thinking about landscapes as a result of human cultural activity (Harrison and O'Donnell 2010; Hewison and Holden 2004; NLHF 2023). This is also expressed by Robin: "I think landscape is the unifying element ... I always see heritage from a landscape perspective". The influence of environmental thinking is visible in GBPT's heritage practices and described in their strategic plan:

Demonstrating ethical and environmental good practice – whilst the re-use of existing buildings is inherently more sustainable than rebuilding, the Trust will

strive to reduce its environmental impact and demonstrate good ethical practice across the Trust's activities, investments, projects and events
(McConnell 2020, 23)

The strategic plan illustrates the link between “ethical and environmental good practice” linking both nature and culture as ‘matters of care’ (Jones and Yarrow 2022; Labadi 2022) consistent with Puig de la Bellacasa’s (2017, 3) notion of the ethicalities of decentring human agencies above. A holistic approach to heritage includes the multiple tangible and intangible dimensions of both natural and cultural heritage (Labadi 2022). Like cultural heritage, natural heritage is considered “a concept that reflects particular values which can be used to create and promote various forms of national and local identities” (Harrison and Donnell 2002, 122). Additionally, conservation approaches have moved towards concepts of representation based on biodiversity values in landscapes just as the representation of diverse communities in cultural heritage practices (Harrison and Donnell 2002; Hewison and Holden 2004).

Robin’s holistic approach to heritage ‘from a landscape perspective’ is evident during a visit to the Humane Society, a practical lifesaving organisation which also educates people about water safety. When Robin, Rowan and I arrive at the Humane Society at Glasgow Green just a few hundred metres from the West Boathouse, I can see boats tied to the pontoon and a variety of metal sculptures around the enclosed space. It looks like a creative boatyard with a mix of artwork and boating gear and bits and bobs lying around. During the meeting, Robin, Rowan, and the Humane Society Officer discussed safety on the water for the West Boathouse’s new pontoon as well as collaboration and water safety during events for the West Boathouse. Robin indicates GBPT is also developing an app with walking trails for families and schools around the river Clyde and asks the officer for an indication of which animals can be spotted around the Clyde. The Humane Society Officer tells us he has seen a corn snake, a turtle (both possibly escaped or released pets), otters, porpoises, seals, mink, swans, and many bird species like pigeons, ducks, and kingfishers. He adds the fox is nearby and has taken some of the geese. Back in the office, Robin

and I discuss the walking trails. Robin explains “we aim to keep it low-tech and not too big and shiny; we want to keep it democratised.”

This on-site meeting at the Humane Society shows how the dynamics of people, landscape, and wildlife form the context for the renovation of the West Boathouse, organise knowledge and shape heritage narratives for stories such as walking trails (Jones and Yarrow 2022). The meeting illustrates social purpose is not limited to issues within the social realm but extends to things, people, landscapes, and non-human species. As Robin points out, the aim to keep the walking trails accessible by keeping it ‘low-tech’ and ‘democratised’, illustrates how the ideal of ‘the Boathouse is for everyone’ extends to blue and green spaces too. The Boathouse activity plan further illustrates this point by describing health-related activities for people, caring about the health of the river and the eel population in the Clyde (Shearer 2019). Attitudes and practices of care for historic buildings are conveyed through language such as “give the building the love and care it deserves” (GBPT 2021, 22). As highlighted above, the West Boathouse’s activity plan states the West Boathouse is ‘for everyone’ (Shearer 2019) despite this broad definition, project-related communities become very specific and well-defined over the duration of a project as detailed below.

5.4.2 Including ‘Everyone’: Equality, Diversity and Inclusion

As discussed in section 5.4 the West Boathouse’s audiences are geographically defined as determined by funding criteria. As part of the West Boathouse project, GBPT and the rowing clubs developed an Equalities, Diversity and Inclusion Plan. This plan addresses the inclusion of people not traditionally involved in rowing or heritage within the specified catchment zone reaching from the Glasgow Tidal Weir to the Cuningar Loop and includes 67 data zones on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). Of these, 30 are among the 5% most deprived areas in Scotland measured. Another 22 areas fall within the 10% or 20% most deprived areas. However, the activity plan warns not to exclude

the lived experience of local people. Missing from these raw statistics is the enthusiasm and energy of the many organisations and individuals that live and work in these areas to provide opportunities and support for their communities (Shearer 2019, 11-12)

The specific project audiences are further described when discussing specific activities such as boat building with the Glasgow Disability Alliance, specific student placements, filming with the children from Riverbank Primary School, film projects in the pipeline [...] with Clydesdale ARC Junior” (Glasgow Building Preservation Trust 2021; 2020a). Although words such as ‘everyone’ or ‘communities’ are an attempt at being inclusive, they also risk sounding non-specific. In practice, this is mitigated by focusing on specific geographic communities which creates broader local access to resources rather than denying them to contemporary communities for the sake of conservation for the future a concern expressed by Taylor (2013).

Despite the increase in access and aims for inclusion, there is a strong awareness among the team of the ‘myth of community’ (Cooke and Kothari 2001) with experiences of communities as not homogenous and harmonious. As GBPT strives to re-assemble and connect communities in an inclusive manner, the intense labour of shaping this process is a recurring topic of conversations about working with community groups. This is illustrated by Rowan when they explain: “We had to ask [our] Board to tell their Board that they would not work with them until they had sorted out their internal strife.” Difficult conversations addressing discord or contestation of mission and purpose are a regular occurrence when working with communities. During the process of connecting communities with social purpose, a lack of diversity in current audiences has been raised by Jamie: “They’re mostly older and ... have a bit more time on their hands, as is typical of a lot of heritage organisations, when it comes to the audiences around our projects...”. There is an awareness that to achieve inclusion of wider audiences in projects, it is key to create a space that allows for difference, a plurality of heritage, and contestation rather than uniformity and exclusion.

To support and empower communities to tell their own stories is also an important part of designing the programme for GDODF. The talk in the office addresses which groups the team would like to make more visible and give a voice both by presenting at and participating in GDODF. This has resulted in a wider variety of participating organisations, representing different stories of Glasgow. However, Sam expresses their exasperation at the low speed of change in audiences when discussing the data from their evaluation report:

participants don't change, they don't reinvent themselves. Fifty percent of the audience is [still] over 60, they have seen it all. I want [young people] to be presenting. We [already] have BLM, Indian and Asian communities, a gay audience.

The inclusion of diverse participating organisations, events and a multiplicity of narratives is expected to result in more diverse visiting audiences too. This links with the concept of cultural diversity as a goal of sustainability in its own right, by being able to "foster multiple scales of heritage and identity" (Auclair and Fairclough 2015, 206). GBPT has been working to provide a platform for a plurality of voices and an awareness of 'who speaks' is highlighted by Robin when they express their frustration about gender representation:

I am fed up with male narratives. The Local Authority, academia, the heritage sector, it is about how information is disseminated and what voices are being heard. Women are removed from the narrative, diminished, just taken. It is about permission to speak. Within organisations, it becomes a different beast, especially archaeology and built heritage are very far behind. It's having the data to whack people over the head with.

The question of whose voice counts is part of critiques of participatory approaches as communication with gatekeepers or spokespeople for communities may risk promoting dominant voices and genders while excluding diverse or dissenting voices (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Lynch 2011). Being mindful of who speaks and who is invited to participate are important parts of cultural diversity which is place-specific and a product of particular histories and geographies as noted by Auclair and Fairclough (2015). This is illustrated by Robin who explains they are working with a

diverse community which has over fifty languages. They are in the process of exploring different groups and people:

we are still doing the consultation... We're having starter conversations... We did the ESOL [English for Speakers of Other Languages] ...and the kids were doing some translating as well. There is a big Roma community ... they are great. I want to tap into youth groups. The age range was straight across the board, lots of younger active people

GBPT has discussed including Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion among other goals as part of their social purpose (why they do what they do), and their mission (what they do) in collaboration with the Board. The activity described by Robin above included people from different backgrounds across different age groups. Feminist, queer and race scholar Sarah Ahmed warns diversity is an open term and can be defined as deemed suitable. As such, it has the potential to be defined in ways that reproduce social privilege rather than challenging it (Ahmed 2006, 749). Ahmed warns not to replace the social mission with 'diversity' and to "challenge inequalities within organisations" (Ahmed 2006, 745). Lynch too warns participation and empowerment-related aims need to be embedded as part of the organisation and its purpose rather than as part of short-term funded projects (Lynch 2011). GBPT are aware of the need to become more diverse and inclusive within its governance structures as set out in the next section.

5.5 Governance and Leadership in Flux

I am not the boss. Let's be communist... You are Lenin, I am Stalin ...

Hanneke, you are Trotsky" (Rowan). Oh no, you get the ice pick! (Robin).

It's a cold January morning in 2022. Three GBPT employees and I have gathered in our shared Zoom space to discuss themes for GBPT's 40th anniversary. Due to the departure of the previous Director, GBPT is recruiting a new Director during the winter of 2022. The team jokingly refer to this period as 'the interregnum'. The team are cheerfully navigating the dynamics of a lack of formal leadership allocating all of us equal roles, albeit unpleasant ones, in the discussion. I am pleased to have been

allocated an equal role among the team and take it as a sign of integration. They have been working without a director for a couple of months and, being experienced professionals, have continued to work independently on the West Boathouse project, planning for the next GDODF and various other projects guided by regular check-ins with the Chair of the Board of Trustees.

Allocating equal roles in principle is part of the team's democratic approach to heritage and is reflected in the organisation's flat organisational culture. To represent the social and cultural values associated with working with social purpose requires GBPT's governance structure to be based on these same democratic values. Governance structures encompass the way collective decision-making is constructed and reflect changes in society such as democratisation (Chhotray and Stoker 2009, 2). In practice, governance is about the combination of the formal and informal, the 'rules in use' (Ostrom 1999, 38) which determine what people decide, how to decide and who decides, the three "classic governance issues" (Chhotray and Stoker 2009, 4). Furthermore, governance systems make a difference to the wellbeing of societies with practices determined by values and politics (Ibidem, 5).

The importance of values for effective governance transpired during this research project. GBPT's resilience report noted the need to align the values of board members and employees and to rearticulate the mission statement (Community Enterprise 2018, 9). The report warns "the structure drives people to be on the board for their own organisations' reasons rather than for the common good of GBPT and the staff" (Ibidem, 51). This idea that some people are not on the board for GBPT's 'common good' but for themselves underlines a discrepancy between different values and ideas of power in the organisation that are not aligned with the 'matters of care' GBPT aims to address in their project communities. In addition, it was noted that the specific kinds of 'talk as practice' at Board meetings were "technically effective but stifles innovation and debate. It is very traditional and business like with papers, discussion and agreements" (Ibid, 8-9). These observations described in the resilience report reiterate that 'talk as practice' produces the world and generates power (Smith 2006, 38) and while language affects change in the world (Winograd

2006), this example highlights how talk can also prevent change and change in power relations.

This formality, and stifling of innovation and debate needed for democratic thinking in boards are also reported in *Democracy at the Top*, a study into community participation in governance and strategic decision-making in museums and heritage in England (Strauss 2022, 39). To enable change, GBPT has addressed the structure and the process of nominations onto the Board as explained by Jamie:

We have a Board of voluntary Trustees and the majority of them are from the membership or some co-opted, and there are two nominated councillors. And actually, it is quite a flat structure, and in the staffing sense, there isn't a huge hierarchy because we are such a small team [...] We updated our Articles of Association¹³ to remove the right of corporate members to nominate directors onto our Board. Now a very old-fashioned structure.

A lack of democratic thinking on GBPT's Board has consequences for the organisation's audiences and activities. Moreover, GBPT's process of becoming a Board member, is currently complicated and perpetuates a culture of gatekeeping in the Board. To qualify to become a board member, someone needs to pay to become a member first before they can be elected to the Board which only happens once a year. The awareness of the need to be more diverse to reflect values associated with being representative and social justice is stressed by Robin: "If people say, what's your board like and your staff, they are all white". Addressing these 'matters of care' by working towards becoming a more diverse and more democratic organisation implies making space for 'difference' which demonstrates that care can have disruptive power as well as transformative (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 12).

Pivoting to a more democratic, shared values-based and skills-based Board of Trustees as well as a more participation-based way of working are reflected in the

¹³ Articles of Association are internal documents and rules that specify the organisation's purpose, governance and operations.

new Articles of Association as explained above. The new process of nominating individuals, either from the wider membership or co-opted specialists involves identifying skills gaps through a skills audit. Funding criteria increasingly focus on these requirements as observed by Max, an employee at a national heritage organisation: “people are getting turned down for funding because they don't have the board competencies. This is the professionalization of the voluntary sector, I guess. Kind of an oxymoron there.” During 2020 - 2021, GBPT recruited five new Board members based on skill sets, gender, age, and background using specific pathways. One such pathway is the Arts and Business Scotland New Voices: Fresh Perspectives programme which focuses on recruiting young people for arts and heritage boards. However, concerns were raised that new members could be deterred by the discussions and tensions in Board meetings during a period of intense transformation. This inadvertently happened when a GBPT Board member resigned indicating feeling frustrated about the process of change they felt organisations like museums were undertaking “ten years ago”.

During 2022, an effort was made to recruit new Board members clearly defining the recent criteria set up by GBPT’s EDI working group. The advert for Board Members included the phrases: “Nominations for the board are open to any Member. Nominations from women are encouraged. Nominations from black, asian [sic] and ethnic minorities communities are encouraged” (email, December 2022). However, despite using social media, and personal and professional networks, no applicants came forward. This example shows that despite aiming to be more inclusive and breaking down barriers to participation in an organisation's governance, the criteria focusing on increasing equality, diversity and inclusion are set within the same institutional membership processes known to include barriers to participation. GBPT is aware of the risk of reproducing social privilege rather than challenging it (Ahmed 2006, 749; Chhotray and Stoker 2009, 180) and is working towards more structural change in their governance structure.

Like GBPT, many organisations are struggling to recruit volunteer Board members which was aggravated by the pandemic. During an interview, Callum, grants officer

at a national funding organisation agreed recruitment has become a barrier for organisations:

A lot of them are doing this skills audit and trying to change, doing all the diversity and inclusion. But we just don't get people of any kind, never mind [diversity and inclusion].

These examples demonstrate that, despite caring for 'matters of concern' such as a lack of diversity and inclusion, change will not happen by just rephrasing the language and criteria of recruitment without addressing the issue of a limited membership to draw from. To resolve the limited membership, the resilience review recommended creating "a more proactive "Friends" type group which can be self-regulating but supports work including communications, storytelling, events management, and fundraising" (McConnell 2019, np). The team regularly reflect on the cumbersome administrative process of becoming a member followed by a process of approval by the Board. This process is long and slow and has led to much frustration as raised by Jamie in a team meeting:

We need a 'friends' category on the mailing list. We want to bind them to GBPT. Members are stakeholders, they [friends] are other audiences, and we have no structured interactions with these. I would prefer to be a Friends organisation, [to] be a two-tier charity. This was discussed in a board meeting. It didn't go well [...] anybody should be able to join us as a follower.

The team agrees this Friends category could be recruited from existing communities of interest or practice who already volunteer during projects and Doors Open Days and are close to the organisation. The potential is clear among the team. However, as warned for by Ahmed (2006), the Board were not open to the idea that anybody could be a friend thus preventing systemic change and perpetuating privilege and hierarchies of power (Fontein 2013b; Strauss 2022). The section below elaborates on the difficult process of change in governance and leadership.

5.6 Transformation of Governance and Leadership in the Heritage Sector

The focus on reassessing governance and leadership as well as re-evaluating the organisation's place within communities has been a common thread among many

interviews. Following Mol's (1999) 'ontological politics,' reality is made and enacted through everyday practices. As such, when organisations are in transformation processes, envisaged realities need to actively be made. Discussions around societal changes and the values adopted by the organisation are not always shared equally, including members of the Board of Trustees. As Cooke and Kothari (2001) note communities are not homogenous, and neither are organisations. This section will reveal that the process of agreeing on shared values across all levels of the organisation is complex and seemingly contradictory to the notion of nurturing multiplicity in heritage and notions of democratisation. The friction caused by shifting values was described by many interviewees who invariably talked about being in the process of what they described as a strategic review, a governance review, or a resilience review. Their descriptions included a need to change governance structures perceived as 'outdated' or 'old fashioned' with a 'lack of participation' and insufficient 'impact'. As social purpose reflects an organisation's relationship with societal values which are fluid and inherently involve processes of change, many commented on the difficulty of this transformation process. This behaviour was experienced by some as 'resistance' and 'gatekeeping'. Former board member Angus told me:

The difficulties are that you are bringing people into the future, bringing people into 'now' is difficult. Because people still live in the past. [...] So, it really was dragging them kicking and screaming.

The issue of bringing people into 'now' is reflected in language used by many research participants when discussing the process of change through words such as: "fighting", "pushback", "resistance", "digging away", "changing their attitude", "entrenched", "unreasonable", "he was right and everybody else was wrong", "a need to revive [the Board]", "factions" and "opposing". Despite social purpose involving notions of "being good" (Malde and Kennedy 2018, 34-36) and working to create a more inclusive and more just world, the accompanying deconstruction of old values and structures meets with resistance and exposes that "it is about power and control" (Jamie). This illustrates governance as a practice is "constrained by conflicting power positions and perceptions" and should take place "in the context of a plurality of views and interests" with conflicting and dissenting views as essential ingredients (Chhotray and Stoker 2009, 6).

At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that board members are volunteers and face many new and extra requirements without being remunerated for their time. This in itself is likely to perpetuate existing power hierarchies where only those who have funds and time come forward to be part of such a board. A board may only come together a few times a year. Getting to know an organisation and understanding role requirements takes time. Angus highlighted, taking into consideration his board only meets a few times a year: “It takes five years to bed in ...and to understand what is going on and understand the people you are dealing with.” In the process of being a volunteer board member, relationships with others are formed. Board members contribute to the organisation and develop values and identities concerning their roles. Change is therefore also visible after the appointment of new Board members based on values of democratisation:

“the new members are aligned with the new governance. It is super positive that they have stepped in to address [an issue]. In the previous culture, the previous chair would decide, and the others just went with it” (Jamie)

The process of changing the values towards a more democratic and inclusive basis of governance happens incrementally and is a continuing process of change. Managing this process happens both by leadership from within and through external guidance. Although Chhotray and Stoker note, “no formal control system can dictate the terms of the relationship between [...] actors” or the decision-making process which makes governance “a world where no-one is in charge” (Chhotray and Stoker 2009, 3, 5).

As illustrated in the section above, small heritage organisations receive guidance on governance from funders. NLHF’s new strategy aims to support organisational sustainability through “strengthening governance and leadership” (2023,17). The Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator (OSCR) which approved GBPT’s new Articles of Association, provides broad guidance which stipulates collective responsibility in governance means running the charity “properly, responsibly and lawfully” (OSCR 2023, np). OSCR guidance recommends following the Scottish Governance Code for the Third Sector (2022). This Code requires charities to

underpin five principles: organisational purpose, leadership, board behaviour, control, and effectiveness with practices that “fully recognise diversity in all its forms (for example, diversity of background, thought and experience, as well as the protected characteristics defined by the Equality Act 2010)”. Considering ‘no one is in charge’ of governance, much talk is involved in changing attitudes and behaviour as illustrated above when changes in societal values lead to a desire to review governance.

This talk as a practice of change making, is often led by the role of Director which has a dual focus considering how they both lead the organisation strategically and operationally and work closely with the Strategic Board. In a job description for a new Director of GBPT, board liaison was described as an important part of this role including recruitment of trustees; induction and training; co-ordinating trustee appraisal and development of board reports. It also describes “The successful candidate will recognise that heritage projects need to deliver outcomes which address a community need, sustainability, diversity and inclusion” (GBPT 2021). These descriptions illustrate how the Director is positioned between governance, employees and project and funding criteria as illustrated by Isobel, a manager of a BPT:

I manage all the team [...] and I report directly to the trustees. So, the governance of the organisation, I have a responsibility there [...] I [also] have to spend time looking at paint colours [...] I spend a lot of time [...] across everything because that is the nature of my role really.

The director thus navigates and leads processes of change at several levels and different paces challenging undesired approaches and reassembling organisational values to achieve the desired result of more inclusive and democratic governance.

Managing this process of change was discussed in many interviews such as with Adam, Director at a UK-wide archaeological social enterprise. Adam explains how his care for changing values of power structures and participation led to the foundation of his new organisation:

there's a book that we often come back to by Jeremy Hymens and Henry Timmons called *New Power*, which contrasts the idea of old power organisations and new power organisations, those that are kind of built for this digital age of participation. And old power organisations are those that are very closed [...] used to doing things in a certain way, and kind of moving out of that old power mindset into a new power mindset is the biggest challenge. It is a cultural shift. It's that kind of mindset shift [...] the structures of the organisation don't allow innovation and change in the way that it needs to happen [...] I have a lot of compassion for it, because that's where I came from. And my only way out was to create something fresh to start our own thing. [...] So, our purpose is to scale civic participation in archaeological research in whatever way it can be [...] Everything that we do, we design *with* rather than *for* people. And that is what drives our mission.

Adam illustrates how, from his rejection of old power structures, he has found inspiration to build a more inclusive organisation built on the value of participatory knowledge production. He has demonstrated that:

The critic is not the one who debunks, but the one who assembles. [...] the one who offers the participants arenas in which to gather [...] the one for whom, if something is constructed, then it means it is fragile and thus in great need of care and caution (Latour 2004, 246)

I am grateful for the insight Adam provides and both GBPT's director and I ordered *New Power* for a better understanding of its ideas, many of which are highlighted in this chapter. It describes 'old power' as closed and inaccessible, leader-driven and based on competition (Timms and Heimans 2018, 2) while new power is made by many, is open, participatory, peer-driven, collaborative, and democratic (Timms and Heimans 2018, 18-19). People working with new power are described as makers, not consumers, and as having agency reminiscent of heritage as future-making practices (Harrison 2020) as well as the motivation of GBPT's team to 'do social justice' and 'connect communities'.

The interview with Adam prompts me to reflect on the concept of the AHD in heritage narratives and heritage dissonance (Chapter 4). Although presented as a dichotomy between old and new power, Timms and Heimans (2018, 19) stress that these are not binary modes of power but form a continuum where both forms of power can complement each other where appropriate. Power is thus presented as a spectrum. This power discourse is reminiscent of the dichotomy in heritage between AHD and dissonant heritage proposed by Smith (2006). However, as I discussed in Chapter 4, the idea of a spectrum or hybrid space applies. It seeks to revisit existing power hierarchies and achieve redistributive justice as also discussed by Ahmed (2006, 745) about diversity work in education. This example illustrates that representing a multiplicity of voices requires the organisation to reflect these values across the organisation and define its mission based on democratic thinking, participation and equality, diversity, and inclusion.

For heritage practitioners, changing governance structures in the organisation and encouraging behaviour change in others is a form of future-making too. Adam indicates the importance of visioning the desired organisation or future. When reflecting on positive or desirable elements in more diverse governance and leadership, many interview participants used words such as: “trust”, “understanding”, “communicating”, “reflective”, “the right skills”, “respect”, “more women”, “black people”, “ethnic minorities”, “disabled people”, “younger people” as well as “older people”, and people of different socioeconomic backgrounds. Strauss (2022) recommends ethical processes of democratising the organisation can be guided by alternative decision-making models or working in more creative ways such as creating a network for trustees from under-represented groups. She concludes that for organisations to be participatory and inclusive, participation needs to become permanent and strategic with involvement in oversight and decision-making. Participation needs to be embedded with all staff sharing responsibility and linked to core budgets. Finally, participation needs to be powerful with a diverse board and employees reflecting the community in power structures (Strauss 2022, 90). Making these changes both within the organisation and working with communities is demanding. Strauss recognizes the emotional labour involved in these processes which I discuss more broadly in section 5.7 below.

Despite the difficulties described, there are also examples of successful change. One interview participant commented on having successfully established a youth forum alongside their existing community board. Max, employee at a national heritage organisation and board member at a community heritage organisation describes how the community group are learning:

how can you integrate young people into your operations [...] That can then build resilience because you have got different people, different backgrounds, different kind of contributions to make.

Max describes resilience here as including a diversity of people, backgrounds, and ideas. GBPT too are aware of the importance of diversity when they recruit young people for internships or as volunteers which they successfully do on an annual basis with funding awards covering stipends for interns. Additionally, through GBPT's focus on diversity when hiring for internships and temporary roles, I witnessed a change in the office of what Ahmed describes as the experience of more diverse "bodies in spaces" (2006) illustrating that purposefully making space for difference and change can be achieved. Ahmed reflects on how doing this emotional labour of change-making is tiring and employees can become exhausted by "the necessity of doing this kind of work" (2006, 748). As described by Morse, Rex, and Richardson (2018) concerning museums, heritage practitioners make up the sector's "work-worlds" and shape everyday heritage practices. Professional and personal senses of purpose play an important part in working with social purpose and the politics of making change. This chapter explored how social purpose is 'enacted' through talk (Mol 2002), the next section reflects on the motivation and values expressed by those working in small heritage organisations as well as on the personal commitment this entails.

5.7 Social Purpose in Personal and Professional Selves

A recurring theme during the research period has been how professional and personal selves are often intertwined. As Graham (2012) noted, from her perspective of museums as peopled organisations, projects are made up through the interactions

of those working in organisations. As such, heritage practices as practices of care are not just a response to funding requirements, organisational aims and skilled practice, they also involve “personal commitment and often a profound investment of the self” (Jones and Yarrow 2022, 221). Belief in the positive contribution heritage and GBPT’s work make to people’s lives is expressed by Robin as: “I believe there is something good in the historic environment for everyone”. Personal and professional motivation stemming from a belief in the value of heritage to people’s lives is also highlighted in GBPT’s resilience report:

There is significant unity across the staff team who work well together and respect each other’s skills and qualities. There is a shared belief in the ultimate objective of saving historic buildings and making them accessible. There is job satisfaction in the achievement of organisational outcomes. (Community Enterprise 2018, 7-8).

The alignment of personal and professional selves and experiencing job satisfaction through heritage is also expressed by Malcolm, a retired scaffolder and local historian who has volunteered with GBPT on various projects. Malcolm expresses his motivation for providing access to people who experience barriers to accessing their own historic records, artefacts and places during our online interview:

[When] I say: ‘I do the history of Glasgow’ and almost, I can guarantee, 95 percent of you say, ‘I love the history of Glasgow’! There's a genuine passion. The big problem I believe that they face is they don't know how to access it. How do you access it? You can say to them: go to the Mitchell Library. The Mitchell Library for many of these people would be daunting. Yeah, this massive building. Come on, some of them have barely been at the local library [...] So, you have got to say, well, how can we take that to people? And I see that as my own crusade [...] So, I have got to reach out, to take the history of my city, which I love dearly, out to the people, to let them enjoy it and perhaps spark an interest.

In her book *Emotion Management in the Work Place*, Sharon Bolton (2005, 98) describes the entanglement of personal and professional selves as illustrated in this chapter by Sam, Robin and Malcolm as ‘altruistic motivations’ which provide a “new dimension to their identity; they give sincere performances and become committed to

the feeling rules of a profession". Building on sociologist Arlie Hochschild's *The Managed Heart* (1983), in the context of the public sector, Bolton highlights a typology of emotional labour can only be multidimensional through "a recognition of what motivates organisational actors to enact feeling rules in distinct ways" (Bolton 2005, 92). She indicates that through receiving and giving "philanthropic emotion management helps to maintain or to restore a sense of stability and even one's sense of self, not to mention establishing a precedent of reciprocity" (Bolton 2005, 98). Negotiating the meaning of the concept of social purpose at GBPT and how this is enacted in both talk and doing as practice, is created through the interaction of the team and those they collaborate with. The latter two, negotiating social purpose during doing as practice and collaborations are the focus of Chapters 6 and 7. Bolton (2005, 26) states "without the continual 'negotiation' between social actors, organisations would have no meaning or life".

How personal meaning and motivations shape professional meanings and motivations and vice versa is exemplified by other heritage professionals who participated in this study too. The question about purpose and meaning rendered affectionate responses during interviews with those from other heritage organisations such as Barbara, Manager at a charity focusing on addiction recovery through heritage:

I have people physically dying in front of me and some are not dying and seeing some of them, moving on and having families and moving out, that's great you know. [...] They move into the community and beyond. [...] Well, the word resilience, I would say I was very cynical about that word. I'd say, I have personally built quite a lot of resilience over the years. [...] Having the feeling of a team and the bonding and just feeling like you're not just there for you, or for something that's earning money for other people. You know it's not about money. It's all about people, and community and meaning. It's all about meaning. And I keep coming back to that word: meaningful. You're talking about human lives and what it means for communities. I want to see that impact long term. So, I am talking about resilience and sustainability now. Personally, and then for the organisation to be sustainable. That you want to

come along in 20 years and see what they've done and what it's meant to the town locally [...] a good sense of identity and sense of place for local people and that it's really helped people. That, to me, are resilient organisations that will survive.

Personal sense of purpose and personal resilience are being presented as related by Barbara. Creating a sense of place and identity through meaning-making are presented by Barbara as part of her personal motivation and values to achieve justice and resilient communities. This resonates with Sam and Rowan's senses of purpose and Robin's belief in the value of the historic environment for everyone.

The majority of participants further illustrate the entanglement of professional and personal selves when they talk about volunteering in their spare time. Volunteering takes place in a variety of ways such as at an operational level, being on a volunteer Board or being an active member in another community group, heritage organisation or museum. From these personal commitments, it transpires values, motivations, skills, and knowledge in professional and personal selves feed into and reinforce each other as explained by Lachlan about his volunteering at his local museum: "Although I am doing this as a [private] person, it is part of my quality of life, it is also my job and part of my social ecology". Not only does Lachlan illustrate how professional and personal selves are intertwined, but he also encapsulates how these form a network, or as he describes it, a 'social ecology' as addressed in more detail in Chapter 7. This genuine investment of the self in working with social purpose as a practice of care also requires the ability to set emotional boundaries.

A high level of personal commitment can result in high job satisfaction, however, it can also have negative impacts on personal resilience as expressed by Jamie:

what makes me a wee bit uncomfortable about it all is [...] sometimes having people that are committed to something is great and you know it helps you get through it [but] everybody's got a breaking point. [...] They need to be able to walk away at any point.

Jamie illustrates here how practices of caring for heritage and striving for social justice, crafting new realities, and connecting communities is intense emotional labour which can affect someone's personal resilience. The toll working for social change can take on individuals is highlighted by Ahmed as "the tiredness that 'blocks' hearing the message of social critique [...] one might speculate that 'tired words' are also 'signs' of 'tired bodies', bodies that are worn out by the need to this work (Ahmed 2006, 748).

Practices of care are not only moral and ethical interventions, they are also complex and ambivalent and require kindness, effectiveness, tenacity, and strength (Mol, Moser, and Pols 2010, 7, 12). They are also relational as we all are involved "in relationships of dependency" (Winance 2010, 111). Jamie emphasizes care practices as motivational and relational dependencies when, during an online interview, he describes the link between personal and organisational resilience to me as:

having sufficient capacity and buoyancy to withstand those shocks [...] those periods where you know you are not valued, or there's some other acute difficulty. It's not just about having that financial cushion. It's about having that emotional bank of reserves. And the support too and encouragement of your peer group to help do that [...] the emotional reserves. That's the key one because then it's the values of the organization that keep your staff and your volunteers committed.

Paradoxically, the increased focus by governmental and funding organisations on health and wellbeing puts an additional strain on the wellbeing of those working in heritage practices. Performing philanthropic emotional labour requires support and consideration for employees' mental wellbeing as employees "continually seek spaces in organisations where they can be their 'authentic' selves" (Bolton 2010, 99). This is illustrated by Graeme, Manager of a Community Charity when we discuss social prescribing. He wonders how this would be paid for and compares social prescribing to medical prescriptions for which the pharmaceutical manufacturer gets paid. Additionally, he wonders how his staff would cope:

dealing with people who are, you know, a bit sad or a bit lonely, kind of normal run-of-the-mill problems that people face from time to time in their life, is actually pretty straightforward for us. That's not an issue. It is that dealing with an individual who presents with occasional bizarre, and you know, potentially violent behaviours, put others' safety at risk. We want to be open and inclusive. But the pressure, you know, on the staff is absolutely enormous.

Jamie and Graeme show us the role of social purpose in funding criteria leads to an increase in pressure on staff and volunteers who are often not trained in working with people struggling with mental health challenges, substance abuse or other situations that require practices of healthcare rather than heritage-related care practices. This impact is also felt by those in leadership positions as is the need for support for their role. Jamie highlights the value of peer support when he explains he has a network of people in leadership positions during our online interview:

[they have] been utterly fabulous, just constantly, you know, throwing some encouragement back. So that's it for me. That's the value of the Heritage Trust Network [...] about giving you the support and encouragement to get through the stuff that [...] you just have to get through.

The importance of networks for personal and organisational resilience is further explored in Chapter 7. In addition to the challenges of performing emotional labour, project-based funding often leads to temporary contracts or limited contract hours sometimes blurring the boundaries between what constitutes paid work, overtime, and voluntary work. Some participants commented on the circular process of starting at the first step of the pay grade for each new project. This combination of precarious working conditions and emotional labour risks devaluing professionals and exploitation of volunteers, especially in combination with austerity and a profusion of heritage as pointed out by Fredheim (2018). Interdisciplinary scholar of cultural politics Belfiore (2022) comments on the systematic and embedded exploitative practices in socially engaged art practices. These amount to neglect of meaningful care by funders leading to artists providing care in their own time “due to their beliefs and a strong ethical and political drive in their practice” (Belfiore 2022, 62). She argues that ethics of care should be extended towards both funders and cultural

policy to provide an ethics of care towards practitioners and develop a cultural moral economy (Belfiore 2022, 62). Working towards sustainability and increasing participation seems to have invited the same risks of exploitation of beliefs, political, and ethical drive into heritage practice. This requires addressing at the appropriate levels and supportive, inclusive, and resilient governance and leadership in small heritage organisations. Ethical governance and leadership are therefore essential in guiding organisations through the transformations to a focus on social purpose in everyday practice.

Reflection and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how a focus on social purpose is negotiated and enacted through talk as practice. I have discussed how GBPT's documents may not reflect social purpose in their mission yet as changes in values happen in non-linear ways. However, it is clear that, in practice, social purpose is negotiated during daily practices of talk through informal conversations and meetings. This talk illustrates how social purpose extends beyond the social realm and includes addressing societal issues relating to things, people, the environment, and the non-human. This holistic approach extends to equality, diversity and inclusion in their practices, which reflects what Hewison and Holden described as the "resilience of whole systems depends on there being a rich diversity of individual elements" parallel to biodiversity thinking (2004, 27). GBPT's aim to address dereliction and social cohesion by creating resilient, connected communities as 'matters of concern', shows their belief that a better and more just world can be crafted through tangible, intangible, cultural and natural heritage. This process is driven by heritage practitioners' personal and professional senses of purpose negotiating and crafting social purpose for the organisations and communities they work with.

Through a lens of heritage as an assemblage, or as "processes and entanglements" (Macdonald 2009, 118), I have argued how dereliction is accompanied by an unravelling of communities and vice versa when the dispersion of communities may lead to community buildings falling into disrepair. GBPT addresses these 'matters of concern' through care as 'critically disruptive' (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017) by initially

deconstructing old tangible and intangible structures and values. Physically, by deconstructing the West Boathouse's old fittings and fixtures as well as its old values as an exclusive sporting heritage space. Subsequently, its restoration takes place following current conservation guidelines and is guided by social purpose aiming to create a more democratic and inclusive sporting heritage space. During this process of reassembling the West Boathouse, associated communities are also gathered and assembled in new ways through liaison by GBPT during the West Boathouse project.

This chapter has also illustrated how a parallel process is taking place within the organisation at governance and leadership levels aiming to drive systemic change to achieve more democratic, equal, diverse and inclusive governance. During the deconstruction of old values and old power structures, it has become apparent that power relations “shape the boundaries of participatory spaces, what is possible within them and who may enter with which identities, discourses and interests” (Gaventa 2004, 34). Borrowing from Latour (2004), I argued how deconstruction includes construction and assembling more inclusive spaces as matters of care. This change process in governance has been experienced as slow with a need to challenge existing narratives and attitudes.

However, democratic values and ideals also create clear visions of the desired more inclusive governance space and steps have been taken to strengthen the capacity for more democratic governance. The constant process of deconstructing and reassembling organisational and heritage spaces based on democratic values involves intense emotional labour that requires support through peer support, training, and networks to support and retain resilient heritage practitioners. Especially where the focus on participants' wellbeing is high, philanthropic emotional labour risks challenging heritage practitioner's resilience. However, entangled professional and personal senses of purpose simultaneously motivate heritage practitioners to craft a better future for the heritage and communities they care about. This highlights the need to be aware of the risk of exploitation of heritage practitioners during socially engaged practices as raised by Belfiore (2019). These

findings support Moriggi et. al.'s (2020, 281) emphasis on emotional awareness in the process of sustainability as a transformative process and caring practices.

Having focused on 'talk as practice' in this chapter, Chapter 6 discusses 'doing as practice' describing how social purpose is negotiated and enacted as well as how different forms of knowledge are used and (re)produced during creative cultural and natural heritage practices with a variety of communities and individuals. It illustrates how GBPT connects with themes of justice, equality, poverty and environmental issues through collaborations with relevant community groups and advocacy organisations.

Chapter 6 ‘Doing as Practice’: Heritage Engagement with Social Purpose

Introduction

On 14 May 2023, I arrive at the West Boathouse before the opening event for which I volunteered to help. I notice the new shelving made from old stair risers, one with a residue of black paint and one with a residue of blue paint. Each club used to paint their side of the building and the stairs for many years leaving evidence on the fabric (Figure 19). Several people comment on the symbolic nature of the stair risers brought together in a shelving unit (Figure 20) which gives a sense of uniqueness to the building. As people of various backgrounds start flowing into the building, members of the clubs explore the collections on display in the three display cabinets designated to Clydesdale ARC, Clyde ARC and the recent addition of Strathclyde University RC. Some people have conversations about the items or comment on how objects they expect to see are absent. The keys have been left in the cabinets, and some people open the doors to touch items or just move them to a slightly different spot. Others bring things to add and some pose in front of the cabinets to take pictures.

This process of connecting and reconnecting with objects in the building illustrates the process of attachment to place and objects and caring about and for the collections by the rowing communities. It reiterates that collections are an “assemblage of people, material and practices in a dynamic state of making” (Jones and MacLeod 2016, 208) where change and adaptation are part of a constant and ongoing process of meaning-making (Morgan 2018, 161). With people attending the opening event who have spent much of their lives at the West Boathouse as well as people who live along the rowing reach in areas of socio-economic deprivation, the West Boathouse project has involved an extensive process of curating assemblages of people, material, practices and the natural environment. GBPT has applied their methods of co-design and co-creation to address matters of care such as marginalisation, poverty, and negative narratives of decline by using creative activities focusing on creating more equitable spaces, recovery and resilience. This

chapter tells the stories of GBPT's methods and experiences of 'doing as practice' with a range of communities.

	
Figure 19. The West Boathouse October 2019, painted in different colours by each club.	Figure 20. Former stair risers with different paint colours representing each club painting their side of the stairs, now made into shelving.

This chapter investigates how GBPTs aim to address dereliction, create connected communities, and environmental action as part of their organisation's purpose and values are performed through 'doing as practice' (Yarrow 2019, 11). I illustrate how knowledge is produced through interactions (Law 2004; Franklin 2021), an epistemological position that supports a democratic approach to both heritage and creative practice as processes (Chapter 2). This position emphasises the importance of heritage and creativity as "relational and emergent" (Franklin 2021, 13) and as knowledge-forming embodied practices residing in cultural and social processes (Clarke 2014; Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Graham 2017; Franklin 2021; Jones 2017; Smith 2006). To better understand the opportunities for heritage organisations to achieve their social purpose mission, I explore the role of creative practices in heritage as both a future- and a place-making practice through equitable relationships with communities. Vergunst and Graham describe this process of inquiry and doing heritage with communities as "an ongoing process of finding out, sharing, debating, and undertaking small-scale acts of stewardship" (2019, 2).

Heritage and creative practice can enable people to relate to their past in the present and give opportunities to sustain their heritage into the future. However, it is important to note heritage can be used not just to retain heritage but also as social action and, as emphasised in GBPT's evaluation of the West Boathouse project serve "to push against [...] deeply ingrained and damaging stereotypes" (Shearer 2023, 28). Importantly, when working with people in marginalised communities, sometimes described as 'hard to reach communities', Robin highlights: "There is no such thing as hard to reach, it just means they didn't go in!" This idea of "going in", is an important part of GBPT's daily heritage practices and highlights the importance of meeting communities in their spaces, as opposed to inviting them into spaces that may not feel 'theirs' and may therefore present participants with barriers.

By using GBPT's practice examples, I elaborate on how heritage and creativity can be used as future-making practices by focusing on empowerment, recovery, and change (Harrison 2020) and feed into resilient communities (Robertson et al. 2021). Using heritage and creativity as part of an ethics of care with communities can replace negative origin stories to shape new narratives to support "a kinder and unfamiliar world" (Haraway 2004, 3) and help communities seize the tools used to stereotype them. These "are often stories, retold stories, versions that reverse and displace the hierarchical dualisms of naturalized identities" (Haraway 2004, 33) rather than reproducing authoritarian discourses (Colomer 2021; 2023). This approach to heritage as a future-making practice fosters plurality and consequently, recognises heritage as both shared and contested (Labadi 2022; Storey 2015). These notions are consistent with discourses of sustainability and the need to focus on local differentiation of experiences, local empowerment, democracy, and innovation (Auclair and Fairclough 2015; Labadi 2022).

I reflect on four projects related to the West Boathouse project. Firstly, engagement with school children centred around rowing and the river aiming to let the children express themselves. Subsequently, I describe a boatbuilding project with the Glasgow Disability Alliance (GDA) whose members created a skiff (rowing boat) by using traditional and modern boat-building skills to support the boat builders in

making their processes more accessible to people with disabilities. In the third vignette, I discuss walking as a critical heritage practice with communities, using their memories and stories as equal knowledge. Finally, I describe the process of cataloguing and reinterpreting the rowing clubs' sporting heritage collections reassembling the values of the West Boathouse thus producing different futures.

I reflect on the language of care and more activist notions of social purpose. I conclude that creative approaches with an ethics of care perspective require creating equal spaces of power through co-design and co-production of activities and knowledge. However, the legacies and sustainability of heritage practices as care practices can be fragile (6.7). They call for embedding in grant applications, project design and wider partnerships to ensure continuity beyond the project duration. Due to the emotional labour involved for the heritage practitioner (Chapter 5), ethics of care approaches need to be extended to heritage practitioners too.

6.1 Working with Communities: Creativity and Curiosity

GBPT's community engagement practices have recently gone through a period of rapid change from doing community consultations, which Rowan describes as: "we were just doing surveys", to include a wide variety of community engagement approaches. GBPT's current practices of working with communities can be considered an assemblage of approaches each serving different aims and producing different knowledge (Law 2004). In the West Boathouse project, engagement is described as reaching out "to surrounding communities and work in partnership and collaboration to support their needs" (Shearer 2019, 7), indicating input from communities as part of the process. In the *Activity Plan* the communities around the West Boathouse are encouraged to use "their own heritage as a creative resource" (Shearer 2019, 7) consistent with Labadi's recommendation relating to sustainable heritage practices (2022). The *Activity Plan* indicates opportunities to work with creative industries located in the nearby Trongate and Bridgegate areas (Ibidem 11). It describes three key themes concerning heritage interpretation: "how boats and buildings are made", "communities of the Clyde", and "the river is alive" (Shearer 2019, 58), indicating elements relating to people and communities, intangible and tangible, natural and cultural heritage. In addition, a range of options for creative

activities are described, including the creative arts and performances (Shearer 2019). The *Activity Plan* details how people will engage with reuse and remake workshops:

People will have engaged creatively with heritage. People will reflect on what they value about their heritage and why it's important [to] them. Encourage critical and creative thinking and approaches (Shearer 2019, 85)

The aims of these activities are to:

Create connections between West Boathouse and communities living along the rowing reach. People be better informed of issues affecting the river and local area. People will engage creatively with natural and cultural heritage” (Shearer 2019, 94)

Firstly, the *Activity Plan* encapsulates engaging through creativity as involving reflecting on individual meanings and values of heritage as well as critical and creative thinking. The quotes from the *Activity Plan* indicate the importance of social values, which include people’s attachment to place, sense of belonging, sense of identity, memory and meaning foregrounding the importance of the participatory nature of creating and sustaining meaning and value rather than assuming or imposing expert values with communities as passive recipients of the benefits of heritage-related activities (May 2020; Fredheim 2019; Jones 2004; 2017; Throsby 2005). Additionally, it shows how creative activities can be used to connect communities by participating in joint activities centred around tangible, intangible, natural and cultural heritage. Before I turn to exemplify GBPT’s ‘doing as practice’, it is useful to concentrate on approaches to the concept of creativity.

Creativity and creative activities are often advocated for in recent policies relating to culture and heritage (HES 2019b; The Scottish Government 2014; 2020; Shimko 2020). As discussed in Chapter 2, since the inclusion of intangible heritage in heritage conventions, charters and policies, dominant assumptions of heritage as “static or ‘frozen in time’” have been challenged widely and are at odds with heritage as a process which encompasses established meanings and values as well as new

meaning-making and value creation (Smith 2006, 48). The role of creativity in this process is expressed clearly by Lachlan, a heritage consultant who regularly collaborates with GBPT. We are on a phone call about my potential participation in community engagement in March 2020, just before the first pandemic lockdown, when Lachlan tells me:

I would like to merge this with projects through creative arts, qualitative methods and evaluate the visitor experience... how do we make and reveal knowledge? [it is] not [about] revenue but [about] value creation.

Lachlan's comments illustrate his understanding that creativity and heritage are practices that "make and reveal knowledge" consistent with Law (2004) and Franklin (2021). His description shows that creativity can play a role in engaging with heritage as a process of meaning-making and value creation in the present. In the same way as GBPT's *Activity Plan* and Lachlan's comments, creative methods are considered useful for both complex knowledge production and knowledge translation as described in a large-scale literature review of health research by Fraser and Al Sayah, who point out that:

The arts have been used to communicate, to express feelings and thoughts, to reflect on experiences, and for therapeutic intent as well. Art has been used to deliver messages that are not easily articulated." (Fraser and al Sayah 2011, 111)

Furthermore, curiosity is a key concept related to the foundations of creativity. In his reflection on creativity in education, Shonstrom describes creativity as "a trait that is curiosity in action", which thrives on ambiguity and comes with uncertainty (Shonstrom 2016, 138). This is echoed by Clarke (2014, 188), who reflects making knowledge is messy and uncertain. In addition, Shonstrom highlights the importance of safe places which are open to heterodoxy and self-determination for fostering curiosity and new ideas as opposed to spaces of institutionalised structure which can stifle curiosity (Shonstrom 2016, 137). As "creativity takes root in the soil of curiosity" it is creativity which leads to new narratives and allows for multiplicity (Ibidem, 139). Thus, curiosity and creativity as approaches may allow people to reflect on what they

value about their heritage and why this is important to them as highlighted in the *Activity Plan* described above.

GBPT brings people together to produce values and meanings that allow space for complexity and contestation which is illustrated in the next sections. Clarke (2014, 186-187) warns about the instrumentalisation of art and the appropriation of art practices, which she describes as “a focus on ends not means.” Clarke stresses although the use and variety of methods should be unlimited, the practice needs to be embedded in training and experience (Ibidem, 183). GBPT’s practices show a high level of training and experience and when I ask Robin how they decide on appropriate creative approaches, they reply “experience, I guess”. Reflecting on Clarke’s distinction between making art and using artistic methods, it is important to note that GBPT uses creative practices for the value of its process rather than to make art. Where making art is an aim, they collaborate with local artists. How GBPT’s ‘doing as practice’ fosters curiosity in action in their creative approaches to collaborating with local communities is explored in the next three sections.

6.2 The West Boathouse: Making Voices Heard

My first visit to the West Boathouse takes place on a wet October day in 2019, just three weeks into the PhD. I arrive with my bike on the train to meet Robin at the West Boathouse where they guide me around the building. Robin grins as I walk into the leaking women’s toilets full of buckets as water has leaked in through various gaps in the ceiling and the roof. The cramped women’s changing rooms and toilets are tucked away on the ground floor of the building near the river and smell of damp. A poster highlights how a visiting primary school child observed the smell saying: “It smells like Dunoon in here¹⁴”. It describes how women were first admitted to the West Boathouse rowing clubs in 1980. These toilets were a makeshift solution at the time. However, Robin explains women now make up 50% of the membership. The poster invites the women of Clydesdale Rowing Club to participate in making a 3D model of the “much-maligned cludgy”¹⁵ and embed the model with stories and

¹⁴ Dunoon is the main town and ferry port on the Cowal peninsula in the south of Argyll and Bute, Scotland.

¹⁵ Cludgy is a colloquial Scots word for toilet.

anecdotes. The facilities in the building need updating to be more functional and more representative of gender equality. We walk up the beautiful old wooden staircase and I admire what I learn are wooden finials on the newel posts. The Diocletian windows provide wide views over the Clyde and the walls are adorned with historic photos, prizes, and oars in various spaces. A range of rowing machines is lined up in the gym on the west side. I navigate past buckets and wheelbarrows gathering rainwater (Figure 21) to arrive at the kitchen where a small electric radiator provides a little bit of welcome heat. After my introduction to the dilapidated building, we head out on our bikes to cycle the full stretch of the river up to the Cuningar Loop.

Robin wants me to have a better understanding of the project so I can situate my research in the context of the geographic area and the river. They tell me stories about Glasgow Green while we pass the Glasgow Humane Society and other boathouses in varying conditions of repair. We pass bridges old and new, a historic building that used to be a school stands derelict while a little further down, new flats are being built in large numbers. We cycle along the Athlete's Village, built for the 2014 Commonwealth Games¹⁶, and cross the Cuningar Footbridge to the other side of Dalmarnock into Cuningar Loop, a former water reservoir and mining area which was filled in with the rubble of the demolished tenements of the Gorbals in the 1960s. It is currently managed by Forestry Commission Scotland (FCS) as a park.

¹⁶ The Athlete's in Dalmarnock was built for the 2014 Commonwealth Games to house up to 6500 athletes and officials. After the Games, the houses were converted into 700 homes consisting of a mix of social (400) and private (300) housing. <https://c-c-g.co.uk/project/commonwealth-games-athletes-village/>

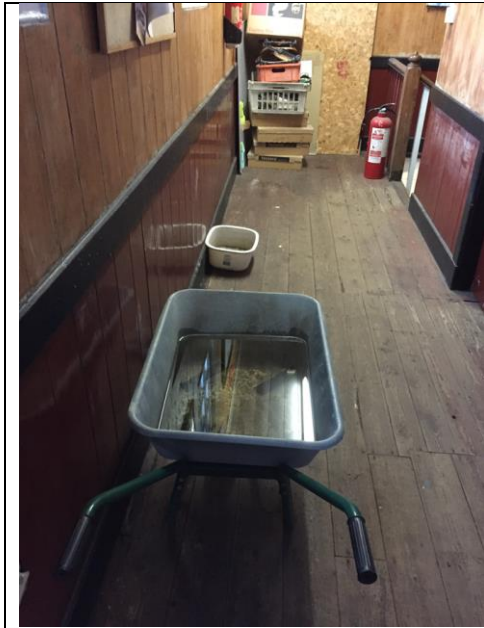


Figure 21. Wheelbarrow and bins catching rainwater at the West Boathouse, October 2019



Figure 22. Primary school children on the rowing machines at the West Boathouse, October 2019

Robin shares their deep knowledge of Glasgow's history, landscape, and communities, which gives me a better grasp of why GBPT want to involve people from the communities along this reach of the river in rowing and heritage. Despite having newly built houses along the river, much of the area along the rowing reach looks dilapidated with derelict buildings interspersed with vacant land and no facilities in sight. The negative aftermath of the Commonwealth Games has removed communities' resources and diminished their opportunities to develop a sense of community (Paton, Mooney, and Mckee 2012). Robin wants to reconnect the people to their heritage via the West Boathouse project, a process which is elaborated upon in the section *This is Your Dalmarnock* below (6.3).

The first engagement I participate in takes place a week later. Robin and I meet at the West Boathouse with Jim, who is in charge of the youth program. We head outside to meet with a group of children and their teachers from a primary school in the Gorbals located on the other side of the river, which is an area of socio-economic deprivation on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) (Shearer 2019). Robin and Jim aim to introduce the children to the West Boathouse, to rowing and

the river. Despite the West Boathouse being on their doorstep, the children confirm they have never visited. After an introduction to the project, the river and its wildlife, we all head inside for a tour of the building. Subsequently, the children row on the ergometers and Jim allocates the role of giving the start sign by shouting 'go' to a different child for each round. Every time they shout out, Jim tells them to shout louder as their voice will need to carry far if they were out on the river. They find this very funny and quickly gain more confidence. The children agree being allowed to shout at the top of their voices is their favourite part of the visit. After the children and their teachers have left, Jim and Robin agree "children are so often told to be quiet, it is good for them to be allowed to make their voices heard".

Despite the fact this West Boathouse schools' programme had to be abandoned due to the pandemic, giving women, children and young people a voice, either for "emancipation or to explore or reflect on their specific circumstance" (Fraser and Al Sayah 2011, 140) is a recurring theme in this project, like the 3-D toilet model and the humorous plaque installed later to commemorate the place of the former women's toilets (Figure 23), as well as in other GBPT projects. In 2022, As part of the wider 'My Historic Neighbourhood' project, and in collaboration with the 1820 Society, Culture Junction and four local primary schools, GBPT investigates the relatively unknown 'Radical Wars' of 1820¹⁷ which took place in Sighthill. They use drama, storytelling, discussions, and art activities to discuss and act out the role of protest in history, how the children at present get their voices heard, what freedom of speech means and how people can achieve change in the world. This focus on empowering children and young people from marginalised areas to have their voices heard in society echoes Bernadette Lynch's recommendations based on her research into community participation in museums in which she encourages organisations to make space for solidarity, as well as for resistance and struggle where social change is their goal (2017, 24-27).

¹⁷ In Sighthill, after several years of unrest, 60,000 people came out in a General Strike on April 1st, 1820. Their leaders proclaimed a republic; but soldiers beat the strike down and strike leaders Andrew Hardie, John Baird and James Wilson were executed. However, their demands which included fair pay, better working conditions, and universal male suffrage led to the foundation of the Labour Party and working-class rights. For more information on the Radical Wars project: <https://glasgowdoorsopendays.org.uk/my-historic-neighbourhood/>



Figure 23. A commemorative plaque installed on the ground floor where the women's toilets used to be, reads: "This site marks the spot of the Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Club Women's and Girls' changing and shower facilities. Installed in the early 1980s, this tiny 2m x 5m space once provided a less-than-luxurious experience for over 70 female club members. It featured one toilet, one shower, numerous leaks from the men's showers on the floor above, and a diverse ecosystem of mystery moulds and spores. It was damp, cold and smelly. No one will miss it."

6.3 This is your Dalmarnock: Envisaging Better Connected Futures

Solidarity and empowerment are also part of the values promoted for the rejuvenated West Boathouse (Shearer 2019, 14). They are emphasised again during the project 'This is Your Dalmarnock' in 2021, with a local primary school, a combination of the West Boathouse project with additional funding from Glasgow City Council's Education department. Unfortunately, I am unable to attend the activities in Dalmarnock due to ongoing Covid restrictions, however, GBPT asks me to provide feedback on drafts of the film the children are creating, and Robin gives me regular updates in online meetings. They tell me "The school activities [...] in Dalmarnock

went well and started with a child asking; ‘what is the point of your job?’ an excellent question!”

Robin is pleased that after explaining saving old buildings is “good for the environment and good for communities”, the day ended with a child asking them “can we sue people for knocking down old buildings?” Robin is pleased with the children’s critical responses to the stories of dereliction and restoring historic buildings in Dalmarnock. They tell me “My approach is how to be a history detective and how can you look for clues around you.” They let the children look at primary and secondary sources, historical maps and pictures and explain how to look for bias. Robin says, “I teach them the basics of how to do research and try to make it exciting”. Robin offers a space which encourages curiosity, critical, and creative thinking and allows for ambiguity and playfulness to foster learning as an adventure (Shonstrom 2016, xiv, 138).

The activities connect to place-making as Robin and the children make a timeline of Dalmarnock and consider:

“what the community needs and what does it take to make a community [...] I use a modern map and give them a section each to colour in. They get a key for each type of land use, red for housing, transport, roads, green for parks. They also look at the amount of space that is derelict and compare the land use between the 1950s and modern times so they can see the changes and learn about the history.”

To compare land uses, they watch a film made by Minister Rev Gordon Strachan about Dalmarnock in the 1960s. The film was passed on to Robin by a GBPT volunteer. The children record each other’s responses and co-produce the film *This is Your Dalmarnock*¹⁸. It gives an insight into the history of the local area and explains how much of it has been pulled down to make way for the 2014 Commonwealth Games.

¹⁸ The film *This is Your Dalmarnock* can be watched here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BV1li_ogmVY

The Commonwealth Games promised to be a big regeneration of the area, which would include houses, jobs, roads, and bridges. Although this happened before most of the children were born, a playworker at Baltic Street Adventure Playground observes in the film:

When the Commonwealth Games came here, as you can see, every facility, people's homes, all the shops, the playground, the community centre, the doctors, the dentists, everything went. [...] local people were promised there will be a regeneration, you will get facilities [...] unfortunately, the legacy is, there wasn't a legacy [...] they ripped the heart out of the community. We now see the green shoots of a community rebuilding" (This is Your Dalmarnock 14:46 – 15:40)

The lack of attention to the needs of local populations and amenities, including local cultural and sporting facilities, has been criticised in the aftermath of the Commonwealth Games (Gray and Porter 2015, Haynes 2020) and has left notable scars on the current communities. As sociologists Paton, Mooney and McKee (2012, 1472) conclude about the Glaswegian Commonwealth Games, regeneration based on large sporting events is based on neo-liberal ideas of consumer-citizenship. It excludes those who cannot afford to consume, leading to compound class inequality in similar ways as the regeneration efforts in the twentieth century described in Chapter 4.

In addition, as also highlighted by the playworker in the Dalmarnock video, it excludes local people from the regeneration process, removing their heritage and facilities, echoing GBPT volunteer Robert's reflections on the loss of built heritage and community facilities in Parkhead as reflected on in Chapter 4. In addition, it undermines community resilience by removing communities' resources and spaces to gather to enable integration, social ties and connections (Robinson et al. 2021), which obstructs achieving resilient communities as described in the SDGs and GCC's strategy (Glasgow City Council 2015; United Nations 2012). This recurring narrative of the loss of a sense of community that accompanies the loss of built

heritage and community facilities is reassessed in the activities with the school children in an attempt to rebuild and assemble a sense of community.

GBPT use a variety of creative practices with the school children to connect them with the past of their local area and to support them in envisaging a better-connected future. When comparing Dalmarnock in the 1960s with the present day, a child observes: “Back then the community was very connected, compared to now [...] it is not a very popular place” (This is Your Dalmarnock 11.12-11.20). The children learn basic interview and filmmaking techniques to co-produce the film and Robin tells me there are elements of co-design “they get to develop their own questions.” The film ends with the children expressing what they think Dalmarnock needs to become a more connected community again. The children’s wishes for their community are genuine and mundane; more shops, more houses for poorer people and more homeless shelters, “a garden centre to make the area look nicer”, football places, “a playground would be good”, more bins, more trees, and plants (This is Your Dalmarnock: 10:00-16:44). The film ends with the children performing a poem about a red and white butterfly which is silent but quietly undergoing a beautiful transformation. It is symbolic of what can emerge when art, film and poetry are used as methods to create a voice for change and a vehicle of hope. The film is shown to wider communities during a red-carpet event with popcorn. The results of this project and the children’s wishes are shared with GCC both as an output of their funding and as a representation of what the children would like the council to develop in their area.

The projects discussed above serve as vehicles for hope and encourage the children to imagine positive change for the future using co-design and co-production. Using stories of struggles in the past and present to mobilise their imagination, critical thinking, resistance, and hope (Lynch 2017, 25). Through activities such as counter-mapping, skills building, filmmaking, and art, the children learn to express themselves by helping them to navigate complexity (Clarke 2014; Lewitt et al. 2015, 4). Robin’s approach to co-design and co-production with groups of children

illustrates nurturing creativity as ‘curiosity in action’ (Shonstrom 2016, 138), as a bottom-up approach to creating a multiplicity of meanings, values and knowledge.

As emphasised in Chapter 5, the projects illustrate the process of GBPT accompanying communities “back to their gathering” (Latour 2004) by supporting them to express which stories, meanings and values address the ‘matters of care’ important to them, shaping an alternative future. Care as such has the potential to be “critically disruptive” by engaging with “troubled presents” (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 12). Working with social purpose as a vision to create a better world, or to “do social justice” and “connect communities” (Sam, Chapter 5) through heritage requires curiosity and creativity to produce more inclusive, complex, and sometimes contested narratives. GBPT’s approach to heritage shows how heritage and creative practices as a different way of knowing can be used for social action “to push against [...] deeply ingrained and damaging stereotypes” (Shearer 2023, 28). This is also demonstrated in the next section discussing boatbuilding with people from the GDA.

6.4 Boatbuilding: Equal Partners in a Creative Conversation

During a frosty week at the end of November 2019, members of the Glasgow Disability Alliance (GDA) and Archipelago Folk School make two Caravelle skiffs¹⁹ using hand tools and traditional and modern boatbuilding skills in the former Fish Market Hall of the Briggait. The hall smells of wood shavings and, despite the cold, the atmosphere is upbeat illustrated by our jumping up and down and doing the floss dance²⁰ to keep warm in the unheated hall. I see the participants learning the embodied skill of wooden boatbuilding working at their own pace and ability. Some people are planing the edges of a boat and others are using clamps to keep the various parts together while the glue dries. A facilitator from Archipelago Folk School explains the use of epoxy varnish to make the skiffs watertight. While the facilitators and the members of the GDA work on the boats, Robin and I prepare for the primary

¹⁹ A Caravelle skiff is a wooden lightweight rowing boat.

²⁰ The dance called ‘the floss’ was a popular dance move around 2014 – 2021. The idea was to repeatedly swing your arms, fists clenched, from the back of your body to the front, on each side resembling dental floss movements. It was started by an online content creator and went viral through other online content creators: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Floss_\(dance\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Floss_(dance))

school activities, drawing boat shapes on long pieces of wallpaper. We attach the pieces of paper to the wall so the children can draw and paint on it the next day.

When I try my hand at creating a wooden boat shape out of a rectangular piece of wood as an example for the children, I realise I lack woodworking skills. With guidance from the experienced Robin, I get by. When the children visit, they can see the skiffs and learn about boats and boatbuilding through crafts. The envisaged outcomes are described as:

People will have developed skills and learned about heritage [...] More people and a wider range of people will have engaged with heritage. The new boats will allow more people access to the river - raising awareness and consciousness of the river and rowing more generally (Shearer 2019, 79).

However, the aim of the boatbuilding activities is twofold. Robin explains it is “more of a conversation” between Archipelago Folk School and the GDA members. The participants are learning about boatbuilding, skills, tools, and materials while working together, building friendships, and making connections (Shearer 2019, 79). At the same time, Archipelago Folk School is learning how to adapt their boatbuilding processes to make them more accessible to people with disabilities. As such, the conversation brings two equal partners together who are both bringing specific knowledge and skills to learn from each other. By creating this equitable space of knowledge production, GBPT addresses ability and accessibility as a ‘matter of care’ (Mol 2002). To realise an alternative, more accessible and inclusive future, essential to transformative sustainability agendas, GBPT has encouraged “alternative understandings of why and how things are, and how they could be [...] by offering up co-creative ways of ‘mobiliz[ing] the critique through the alternative—by showing that another way is possible’” (Franklin 2021, 3).

GBPT’s method of offering co-creative ways of focusing on ability and access shows how this activity is good for confidence building and about more than ‘just’ building a boat. They indicate the importance of giving the facilitators the confidence to work with people with disabilities, and for those with disabilities to focus on their

knowledge and abilities. Robin describes how a participant told them they feel happy “they were trusted to ‘do stuff’ and to be trusted to be able to use tools”. The importance of building confidence through traditional and modern skills is echoed in the wider sector by heritage consultant Lachlan during a phone call in which we discuss skills and measuring value:

The outcome focus is often on skills like lime mortar... but what does skill mean? People gain an understanding, an appreciation. Real skill comes with years of practice. Don't get me wrong; skills for life and employability are all relevant and very interesting. Why train hundreds of people for [...] years? We are supporting them to achieve other outcomes, to have good and meaningful experiences. To not feel awkward, to gain confidence. It's about what happened when we came together. What is more important, social cohesion, creating new stories, making memories.

Lachlan's critical attitude towards economic outcomes which are often part of funding criteria, such as skills-building and employability, articulates the tension between the instrumentalization of heritage for economic purposes (Baxter 2015) and the appreciation of heritage as a social process of creating meaning and values through the uses and experiences of heritage (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Jones 2017; Smith 2006) (Chapter 2).

Like Lachlan's observations about skill and craftsmanship, Jones and Yarrow's research on stonemason's conservation practices around Glasgow Cathedral (Jones and Yarrow 2013; 2022; Yarrow and Jones 2014) highlights how skills only become expert practice after many years. However, although a week of boatbuilding may not create expertise, it provides those involved with an embodied way to connect with boats, traditional and modern skills, and a better understanding of accessibility in a short period. These short-term engagements can offer “alternative ways of knowing about and with people and the environments of which they are part,” as described by Pink and Morgan (2013, 359). The boatbuilding week enables different ways of understanding accessibility and inclusion in boatbuilding processes and boats as skilfully created wooden objects.

Additionally, the process brought people together through boatbuilding, music and song to celebrate the boats at the launch allowing expression and translation of experiences (Fraser and al Sayah 2011). The skiffs as objects embody the memories, meanings and values created when members of the GDA came together as a community of practice with Archipelago Folk School as facilitated by GBPT. Symbolising ability and a sense of community have laid a foundation for further incorporation of members of the GDA into a wider network of people and organisations around care for and use of the boats, the river and the people involved. At the same time, Archipelago Folk School was able to work with people with a wider range of abilities through their adapted processes. GBPT as facilitators of these processes and activities has used their role to create an equitable space of knowledge production while critically addressing narratives of ability and disability by 'caring with' all participants. Care as such can be "critically disruptive" and make change by showing alternatives to "troubled presents" (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 12; Franklin 2021).

The examples in this and the previous section have focused on GBPT's 'doing as practice' focusing on assembling new values and meanings through creative engagement with different communities in Dalmarnock, the Gorbals and with the GDA. As Franklin (2021, 8) highlights, these encounters provide an opportunity to recognise and celebrate participants'

commitment to making a difference, or simply their daily struggle to overcome the micro, meso and macro level injustices of our unsustainable systems and institutions. This is particularly so for those individuals whose voices otherwise remain silenced or marginalized.

The examples have shown how GBPT curates and assembles different narratives with participants and mobilises the critique by showing that other ways are possible. This enacting of different realities enables participants to have their voices heard and to envisage a different possible future (Franklin 2021; Harrison et al. 2016; Bernadette Lynch 2017). However, participatory care practices are not always sustainable beyond project durations, an issue that is addressed in 6.7. Continuing with the theme of equitable knowledge production, the next section focuses on a

walk around Glasgow's East End led by a walking group to include local people's memories as input into both the West Boathouse project and Glasgow Doors Open Day Festival (Shearer 2019).

6.5 Walking Memories

On an overcast day in late November 2019, I cycle from Queen Street Station to the Legacy Hub in Dalarnock to meet with Robin and a local walking group. Robin and four walkers from the Thriving Places walking group are waiting for me, and we introduce ourselves. Robin explains they would like to explore the East End of Glasgow and specifically the former textile quarter, represented by the street names French Street, Baltic Street and Muslin Street, as this area is underrepresented in GDODF activities. The walkers confirm they are happy to be asked any questions as they bring a wealth of lived experience of the area where they live or work.

During the walk, the group members explain this area was bustling with businesses and factories operating in the historic buildings, mostly made of red brick or sandstone. We halt at an area of grassy, derelict land between Police Scotland, French Street, and a former primary school on Solway Street. Liam, one of the walkers, tells us this is where he used to live. He points in the general direction of the vacant space in front of us and explains it used to be occupied by the sandstone tenements where he lived. While he is talking, I can see him quietly counting his steps and he stops. "Yes" he says. "Here it is. This was my house". As he tells us how he used to go from his house to the large brick primary school in Solway Street behind us, I am touched to see that, for a moment, he is moving his arm out in front of him as if he is opening an imaginary front door. I realise in that moment, that in his mind's eye, he is there, surrounded by his memories of 'going home' and he has taken us all on this journey.

Liam's embodied enactment of his memories illustrates how different memories and backgrounds shape how people experience spaces and how absent physical heritage can still be shared and visited in its seemingly vacant space. This resonates

with geographer Doreen Massey's concept of space as "stories-so-far" which invites us to the notion that places are "collections of those stories, articulations of the wider power-geometries of space" (Ibidem, 130). Massey further defines her concept of space as a "product of interrelations", a "sphere of the possibility of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality"; and "always under construction" (2005, 9). Massey's recognition of a multiplicity of stories-so-far resonates with GBPT's choice to approach knowledge gathering through walking rather than reading a map or doing documentary research about the area. Maps define spaces and buildings in abstract and unilateral ways determined by power relations which (Jacobs et al. 2023, 1, 3) define as "powerscapes". As such, maps deny spaces the opportunity to imbue multiplicities of stories, memories, everyday values and meanings.

Liam's story illustrates how "our experiences of place – and its social, physical and intangible components – are inextricable from the invocation, creation, and reinvestment of memories" (Pink 2021, 38). Landscapes in this sense, function as an archive of stories including stories about vacant in-between or liminal spaces. This is illustrated by Liam's memories of his demolished house, now a piece of vacant land, but still part of him and his sense of place. This is well-expressed by Glaswegian Industrial Heritage expert John R. Hume:

When a building is removed [...] it becomes a memory. For the people who knew it, lived in it, passed it every day, it remains still there until the day they die. Buildings rest in our consciousness. We all have a library of them in our brains. Some of them are there, and some of them are not there, and some of them were gone before we were here; but they're all part of us" (cited in Gray 2021, 7).

Hume highlights how, even though some buildings may no longer be here, or we may have never experienced their physical presence, they are still part of our collective memory and heritage.

The walks, led by the walking group, support GBPT's aim of representation and social justice by hearing and acknowledging the everyday values, voices, stories, and memories of people's lived experiences in an equitable way. Walking through a

space with those who have lived experience of it and have the ability to reveal hidden stories, is a performative act which reveals personal memories, meanings, and in this case, stories of class and deindustrialisation as also highlighted in Chapter 4. The walk forms a political and ethical act of enabling subversive stories to physically ‘take up space’ and make noise by walking and talking and creating new memories. Deirdre Heddon and Mischa Myers (2017, 32) describe these types of walks as “an ambulant space of knowledge production” in which local people’s stories and memories are used as an equal form of knowledge revealing hidden and contested stories of underrepresented groups by taking up space in public spaces. By co-producing this knowledge, the story becomes part of the GDODF program and part of this PhD through my writing about it. This resonates with Pink’s (2021) observation about researchers’ entanglements and participation in the production of knowledge through their presence in the ethnographic places as described in Chapter 3. The act of walking collectively conserves the stories in the collective memory rather than being forgotten like the demolition of the tenements caused their erasure from the map.

The importance of walking as an everyday political and ethical act of shared meaning-making is also used by GDODF volunteer and local historian Malcolm who explains during our online interview:

everything I have done in terms of walks and talks, a lot is ... [pauses to think] I am a very Glasgow guy. I grew up in the Gorbals. I moved from there when it was getting demolished to the east. And so, I think I am a credible person. Yeah, so, we’re going to meet people, I am not coming as an academic, I am not coming as a lawyer. I am not coming as somebody who doesn’t understand. I was here. I was brought up [here] and I think I can make a link. [...] I can associate with people very readily. [...] you do get quite a wide variety of audiences and they’re all great, and you learn something from them all.

As Malcolm negotiates both his authenticity and his authority as a local, he asserts his position of power over specific narratives about his local area presenting himself as the expert. At the same time, Malcolm suggests he is co-producing his knowledge

and lived experience by sharing it with others as well as learning from those who participate in his walks. It further highlights the importance of power relations in knowledge production and the value of local knowledge as a different form of expertise. It foregrounds heritage as a practice that fosters a plurality of narratives, shared and visible and less visible consistent with the “counterpublics,” a democratic widening of discursive contestation which Fraser notes, requires social equality “for participatory parity in public spheres” (1990, 65) (Chapters 2 and 4). Malcolm too uses his experiences of the Gorbals to invoke, create and reinvest his memories (Pink 2021) to produce his narrative for participants on his walk. Assembling and renewing narratives through reinvesting memories is part of attachment to places and things. The next section about the West Boathouse collections demonstrates how actively changing narratives, or what Mol (1999) described as practising ontological politics with social purpose requires a reinvestment of memories and an investment of a plurality of “things, people and values” (Morgan and Macdonald 2020, 65-66).

6.6 Caring for the West Boathouse Collections: Reassembling Values

In 2019, Robin introduces me to the veteran rowers in the West Boathouse kitchen. They sit around a table and share stories with me of how they came to be rowers, some through family or university. Someone tells me they were a teenager mucking about the Gorbals and the river and were invited by a passing rower to try rowing. There are stories of friendship and rowing adventures. At Robin’s prompt, they turn to discuss what should be done about caring for the collections during the restoration of the building, which leads to more stories and banter about which objects hold meaning for them or not. They discuss what to keep and what may be discarded. Robin interjects and tells them not to discard anything. Despite more jokes being made about unpopular items, Robin stresses different people may want to keep or discard different things. The discussion centres around themes of profusion, fear of disposing of things that may be missed by others, including future generations, and a lack of space and resources to catalogue and store the collections. As I observe the group, I can see expressions of approval or disapproval non-verbally through raised

eyebrows and nodding or shaking heads indicating agreement or disagreement with what is suggested by others.

In March 2020, just before Covid restrictions come into place, volunteers from each club help take down the collections. They undertake a rapid inventory of the collection by photographing and recording all items before the collections are packed for transportation and stored. The photographs, archives and objects that make up their sports heritage are stored in GBPT's meeting room doubling up as an archive room. Due to the pandemic, cataloguing the collections is deferred until summer 2021. During this period, Robin trials cataloguing systems and processes. However, GBPT struggles to find volunteers from the rowing clubs to undertake the considerable task of cataloguing the collections. Robin says, slightly exasperated: "they just want to row". Upon reflection, Robin explains maintaining a connection to the West Boathouse during renovation works compounded by the interruptions of the pandemic, spending time on legal agreements and fundraising, and keeping up a busy rowing schedule, people were just not able to give more of their time.

To solve the lack of volunteers, Robin includes learning opportunities for young people, as described in the *Activity Plan* (Shearer 2019). Through Glasgow University's Archaeology department, several archaeology students volunteer. They catalogue the collections guided by Robin who adopts a buddy system for the student volunteers based on advice from Community Archives and Heritage Group Scotland (CAHGS). When I attend a meeting between Robin, student volunteer Mya, and Eilidh, community archives practitioner at CAHGS, Robin explains there "are different types of collection here. There are objects, bits of the building, archives, a real mix." Until the West Boathouse project, this gathering of memorabilia was not considered a collection in the more formal and seemingly coherent sense as physical evidence of collective memory (Merriman 2008; Morgan and Macdonald 2020). The memorabilia had never been considered for systematic "classification, ordering, regulating and governing" (Jones and Yarrow 2022, 126). Embarking on this journey through collaboration with GBPT has awakened members of the rowing clubs to the importance of looking after their collections coherently.

However, cataloguing systems need to be user-friendly and Robin, Mya and Eilidh discuss the best digital systems to share the collections more widely with the public. Robin explains:

I have evaluated a bunch of systems. Some have lots of specs, it is too much [...] very technical with high data standards, the clubs won't be able to deal with that.

Eilidh highlights the importance of using a paid-for platform for sustainability: "When you pay, it is maintained. Anything free has the concern of being discontinued."

Robin agrees and explains the rationale behind their decision-making process on what is displayed and what is not.

The building used to be divided into two, now they will be sharing one space. They are having a bit of a crisis of identities. There are now 140 Clydesdale members and 14 Clyde Amateur Rowing Club. It is also about the significance and value of their heritage. They have lost a lot of it and many of them have passed away. They are at a panic station. They feel they will lose it if we don't get involved. I have to balance it.

Robin's approach to balancing the collections between the two existing users of the West Boathouse indicates the sense of custodianship they feel for the collections and the responsibility to give equal importance to both clubs' heritage despite the difference in membership numbers. After discussions, GBPT and the clubs settle on using eHive as a user-friendly online collections system²¹.

As part of increasing the financial viability of the West Boathouse and rejuvenating the membership, Strathclyde University Rowing Club (SURC), is welcomed as a new user of the West Boathouse. This means three clubs and their heritage need to be integrated into a single club space. Robin aims to integrate the clubs both physically, through the display of their collections in the building, as well as through including all clubs in activities and events. Robin explains the new SURC representative was "upfront about not having experience in working with collections. He does not know yet what there is in their collections, and he will look into their archives." The

²¹ The West Boathouse Collections can be seen on eHive: <https://ehive.com/collections/9195/west-boathouse>

negotiation of curating the collections as representing all three clubs equitably despite the majority of things belonging to one club illustrates that curating and conservation processes are “situated reconciliations between different forms of expertise” that depend on “specific material circumstances” (Jones and Yarrow 2022, 82). As such, the collections are a provisional result of assembling “plural enactments” (Jones and Yarrow 2022, 10; Mol 2002, 54–55) as well as being about “things, people and values” (Morgan and Macdonald 2020, 65-66).

When the restoration is complete and GBPT has handed over the building to the clubs in May 2023, I have a conversation with Jonathan, a veteran Clydesdale Amateur Rowing Club rower, who is working through a range of photographs in GBPT’s storage room. He tells me he collaborates with a Clyde ARC rower to decide which photographs, both historic and recent, and objects such as old wooden skiffs, oars and trophies will be on display in the West Boathouse. The clubs are struggling with limited space for a profusion of items and a lack of time and skills for documentation, highlighted as common issues by Merriman (2008) and Morgan and Macdonald (2020). Jonathan explains the original historic photos will go to The Mitchell Library as “they need to be looked after properly, some of them have already been damaged by water”. The public Mitchell Library, which houses Glasgow’s City Archives, comes up in several conversations about finding a storage solution for the collections to make them accessible to the public and keep them safe for the future.

However, concern is expressed over the Library’s capacity to catalogue and store in addition to its already vast existing collections and reduced public funding for libraries. In contrast to its perceived function as guarding against “anticipated loss” (Morgan and Macdonald 2020, 56), Rowan comments that “things get lost there.” Referring to the endless accumulation of material without sufficient capacity to catalogue and make items available to the public, no decisions are made to dispose of any items in the West Boathouse collections. However, there is acceptance of forms of decay by reusing and repurposing material (Morgan and Macdonald 2020, 61) illustrated by an artist who uses wood from the old building to create key hangers and other items with school groups.

Reinterpreting and reassembling spaces to become more accessible and inclusive may include challenging current narratives (Chapter 5). Particular objects on display can enable the reproduction of existing stereotypical narratives and thus social privilege as noted by Ahmed (2006, 749). During the journey of reassembling the space, the collections “generate specific affects and worries for different people” resulting in ethical tensions and decision-making in a political process of power relations (Jones and Yarrow 2022, 220). At the West Boathouse, this process includes confrontational conversations about the impact of displaying certain images and items. Although these uncomfortable conversations take courage to start, they resulted in a clearer sense of how the clubs’ Equality, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) policy is reflected in the display of collections. As such, choices about collections display are a form of ontological politics, foregrounding particular stories while deliberately removing others.

The process of developing an EDI action plan happened in conjunction with “realigning their club values and mission statement to reflect a more inclusive outlook, with less emphasis on sporting excellence a [sic] more focus on participation and openness” (Shearer 2019, 14). The new Boathouse values include being supportive and respectful, open, and welcoming, person-centred openness, solidarity, and fulfilment and empowerment (Ibidem). After collaboratively defining these values, an active process of applying and reflecting on their meaning follows. Having discussions and sometimes conflicts to prevent reproducing inequalities (Ahmed 2006) shines a light on how the coexistence of multiple values among communities produces different connected realities which can produce different presents as much as futures (Harrison 2015, 24; Mol 2002).

The decision-making process in curating collections is an ongoing ethical process about what constitutes good and bad care within the resources and time available. Making these choices requires a process of “attuned attentiveness and adaptive tinkering” instead of “impartial judgements and firm decisions” (Mol, Moser, Pols 2010, 15). It shows that the embodied practice of active care means:

To care is to tinker, i.e. to meticulously explore, “quibble,” test, touch, adapt, adjust, pay attention to details and change them, until a suitable arrangement (material, emotional, relational) has been reached. The work of care involves a transformation of what these entities are, of their materiality and their sensations, of what they do and, above all, of the way in which they are linked to one another. (Winance 2010, 111)

Curating the collections as a deliberate intervention (Jones and Yarrow 2022) to enact the rejuvenation and the new values of the West Boathouse has resulted in a decision by Jonathan and other members on what they want the collections to convey. Jonathan tells me he will put up 11 historic photos and 23 photos of younger rowers. Not only because “they like seeing themselves up on the wall.” Jonathan is pleased that the more recent photographs, some of which were taken by him, will be part of the Boathouse’s history and collections.

6.7 Are Care Practices Sustainable?

Towards the end of my research period, the physical legacy of the boatbuilding project seems under threat. There are issues with finding a place for the two wooden skiffs as the embodiment of the process of care and the connections made. The skiffs were originally intended to be housed at the West Boathouse as “multi-purpose, accessible craft to get non-rowers out on the water” (Shearer 2023, 27). However, Robin explains due to the new rowing club joining the West Boathouse, pressure on space means the clubs are reluctant to provide space for the skiffs.

This legacy issue highlights how precarious the ongoing sustainability of aspects of funded projects can be when funding ceases. It also reveals how processes of accessibility and inclusion can collide with economic priorities such as the West Boathouse’s financial resilience. Prioritising space and access for the new user group in the West Boathouse is based on an economic approach to running the rowing clubs and the building. Although having found a new rowing club that widens and rejuvenates membership is a positive development for the rowing clubs, the

values of elite competition sports and community rowing may be at odds here as reflected on in the West Boathouse project evaluation report (Shearer 2023).

This development prompts GBPT to reflect on the sustainability of embedding diversity and inclusion within their project communities beyond the duration of the funded project. In their evaluation report, GBPT expresses their “hope that we have lain the foundations for the continuation and growth of those community links” (Ingrid Shearer 2023, 29). Robin finds a solution housing the boats at two different charities which were involved in the West Boathouse project. These charities have agreed to support the skiffs and the GDA through their own volunteers providing a potentially long-term solution. Despite these difficulties, this example of the precariousness of project legacies exemplifies the importance of embedding community engagement in wider existing geographical organisations and community groups. Without these strong links, the skiffs may not have found a home and the connection between the GDA, the river and other communities may have been lost.

The ethical issue of aftercare processes is discussed by Belfiore (2022, 63) in her work on the hidden costs of socially engaged arts labour in which she addresses what she describes as “the moral failure of cultural policy.” Belfiore (ibidem) points out the impossibility of providing aftercare within the scope of projects due to limited funding timescales and criteria. Her findings have been confirmed by my research where heritage officers or volunteers continue care practices beyond the project duration due to a lack of alternatives. Due to financial constraints, no resources are available to provide “for relationships of mutual respect, solidarity and reciprocity to be forged between those delivering the activities and those participating in them over a sufficiently sustained period” (Ibidem, 64). As such, building relations is a vital part of social justice and empowerment and key to the sustainability of an ethics of care approach. Obstacles in project legacies and aftercare practices chime with the issues raised in Chapter 5 on the emotional labour of doing engaged care work and the level of investment of self. No structural long-term feedback mechanism is in place to address this issue in both grant applications and funding criteria due to the lack of long-term impact evaluations with qualitative feedback gathered from

participants (Labadi 2022, 197). Chapter 9 further discusses and makes recommendations about the role of evaluations.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the four theme-based sections above, I have illustrated how GBPT's 'doing as practice' is intertwined with creativity as "curiosity in action" (Schonstrom 2016) producing and articulating new and revisiting existing knowledge. Through these activities, people are enabled to use their voices for both emancipation and expression which applies to the women at the West Boathouse through a 3D model of the former toilets; and to the primary school children in the Gorbals, Sighthill and Dalmarnock by using filmmaking skills, song, and arts-based work; and to people with disabilities by supporting Archipelago Folk School how to adjust their processes of making a skiff to different levels of ability.

I have shown that walking can be used as an "ambulant space of knowledge production" (Heddon and Myers 2017, 32) using people's memories as an equal form of knowledge rather than using maps as fixed and power-based information about spaces. Finally, I have highlighted how the process of deconstructing, recording and reassembling the collections at the West Boathouse produces new knowledge and new narratives which shape more connected and inclusive futures for the rowing clubs and the West Boathouse at Glasgow Green and beyond. At the same time, witnessing the end of the funded project demonstrated how the impacts of some of GBPT's working with social purpose are at risk of being seen as for the project period only, as illustrated by the situation of a long-term place for the skiffs.

These processes of people coming together achieve tangible, creative outcomes such as films, boats, flags, and a fully catalogued and renewed display of the collections, and intangible outcomes, consisting in this chapter of gaining confidence, making memories, creating new, more inclusive stories, new collaborative networks, attachment to place and social cohesion. A prerequisite for these experiences to be meaningful and to produce new narratives is for the heritage practitioner to create

safe spaces that allow for ambiguity, heterodoxy, and self-determination, which fosters curiosity and new ideas, as opposed to spaces of institutionalised structure (Shonstrom 2016, 137) that can stifle curiosity. It also means heritage practitioners need to feel comfortable with a “manyfoldedness of perspectives” (Mol 2002, 84).

Drawing from Jones and Yarrow, who conclude that:

diverse skilled practices, mediated by specific tools and materials, create different objects of attention and concern, for instance through drawing, documentation and stone cutting. Distinct forms of specialist knowledge do not simply exist as different perspectives, but rather reside in the differing techniques at their disposal: a hammer and chisel literally offer different points of leverage to a pen and paper (Jones and Yarrow 2022, 162).

It can be said diverse creative approaches – film, art, walking, boatbuilding- and creating flags and stories provide processes that are different ‘ways of knowing’ objects such as boats, collections, a commemorative plaque for a toilet space, buildings and landscapes. GBPTs heritage practices show that using care with communities as a critically disruptive practice mobilises an alternative reality (Franklin 2021, 3). Using heritage and creative practices as a way of knowing, can thus assemble more inclusive and more just. The envisaged futures emancipate people and give hope by doing things with rather than for communities by embracing complexity and continuity (May 2020) and contestation within its approach of a “manyfoldedness” (Mol 2002) of heritage.

Returning to Latour’s ‘matters of concern’ as described in Chapter 5, I am reminded heritage is not about facts or objects in themselves, it is about the process, the gathering and connections made (Latour 2004, 233) in the same way that Lachlan explained what happens when people, things and places come together. The language of care and ‘matters of care’ being ‘matters of concern’, which require protection (Chapter 5), seems appropriate when discussing stories, things, objects, archives, and buildings. However, when addressing care for people, there is a danger of the discourse of care being patronizing or oppressive (Mol 2002, 1). In this process of engaging with people with social purpose, it is injustice, inequality, lack of diversity and inclusion, and lack of social cohesion that are the ‘matters of care’

GBPT wishes to address. This risk of care being reactive and patronizing is discussed during my interview with Max, an employee at a national heritage organisation:

[the] level of community engagement, the goodwill that you have, there is no point, raking in millions of pounds every year if you're actually alienating everybody that lives locally, [if] you are not creating opportunities for *them*. So, I think there is work and thinking to be done around precisely what we mean to try to get everybody bought into that. [...] I guess the challenge sometimes in public sector organizations is, everybody is really helpful. You know, it is like, oh we want to help people. How can we help people? And you start with a very reactive position.

Like Max, Lynch (2017) problematises the moral and political implications of helping as gift-giving which can result in eroding dignity and autonomy among communities (2017,11-12). GBPTs heritage practice increasingly aims to assemble contemporary communities and positive futures “through patient complexity and embodied engagement, rather than through anxiety and anticipated loss” (May 2020, 72) and by using creativity as ‘curiosity in action’ as described above. Consequently, GBPT’s ‘doing as practice’ is designed to work with currently engaged, often middle-class communities, as well as with marginalised communities to increase the array of heritage narratives.

I have observed, researched and understood the different ways GBT cares with people, the meaning and long-term impact of caring remain ambivalent as noted by Mol (2002) and Puig de la Bellacasa (2017). I have highlighted considerations of what Belfiore calls “sufficient, successful or complete” care through the example of bringing equal knowledge to what Robin called a conversation about creating an accessible process of making accessible skiffs and the choices being made in the processes of cataloguing the collections (2022, 67). These considerations require both what Belfiore (Ibidem) describes as “the moral quality of responsiveness” and an improved evaluation process of long-term impacts beyond the project funding as also noted by Labadi (2022). For funders, this could include considering ways to build in the sustainability of care in funding criteria and resources. This reiterates the

importance of the embodied practice of active care as tinkering until a suitable material, emotional, and relational arrangement for that particular local situation has been reached (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 3; Winance 2010, 111).

GBPTs 'doing as practice' has demonstrated that by using care as a "critically disruptive" practice (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 12), broad-spectrum issues such as governance of heritage, democratic participation, and social equity (Dessein et al. 2015) can be re-calibrated without stereotyping and erasing the needs and aspirations of local people (Shearer 2023). Labadi notes that in the past, negative portrayals of local communities have been intensified by a siloed understanding of culture, heritage and nature (2022). However, GBPTs holistic approach to heritage including cultural, natural, tangible, intangible heritage, and non-human values supports a rewriting of narratives with communities. It has been illustrated that strong local links and partnerships are vital for their continuity. The importance of relations, partnerships and networks in sustainability is discussed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7: Heritage Networks as Resilience

7.1 Introduction

On a cold and wet December day in 2019, members of the Thriving Places walking group, Robin and I, are being guided around Baltic Street Adventure Playground in Dalmarnock. I am struck by the creativity of the play area which is made with recycled materials ranging from tyres, wood, ropes, and artificial sand hills. Despite the rain, several employees and volunteers tend to a log fire in a sandpit which provides some heat. It has a real 'mucking about' kind of atmosphere and the coordinator explains the playground is about play, exploring, and empowering children to gauge risk and their own abilities. The charity is based on the right to play expressed in Article 31 of the United Nations Declaration on Children's Rights²². The coordinator shows us a range of raised beds which spell the word 'love' (Figure 24) and tells us that, in addition to play, the playground provides food to children daily. There are hutches with rabbits and several hens providing the cook with eggs which he kindly shares with members of the walking group. The cook prepares lunches for many children in this deprived area, especially during the school holidays when there is no access to school dinners.

²² Article 31 of The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child states that "Every child has the right to relax, play and take part in a wide range of cultural and artistic activities" and parties will "respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity".
<https://www.unicef.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/unicef-convention-rights-child-uncrc.pdf>



Figure 24. Raised beds which spell the word 'love'

After the walking group has left, Robin and I meet several people in the playground office to make introductions and to connect and discuss how the playground can be involved in 'the river is alive!' element of the West Boathouse project through heritage activities. GBPT aims to connect with the playground to meet the West Boathouse's project aim to integrate natural and cultural heritage and to raise awareness of ecological issues through "historic and contemporary human interactions with the river, including sport and play" (Shearer 2019, 7). On Robin's invitation, a representative from environmental charity The Conservation Volunteers (TCV) arrives, and more introductions are made. Robin suggests joining forces to focus on natural and cultural heritage-inspired activities linked to the origins of the name of Baltic Street. Robin elaborates on how linen, made from flax, used to be imported from the Baltic and how people in this area of Glasgow used to work in linen and jute factories. Robin suggests using the linen heritage of the local area to grow flax with the children teaching them about both the cycle of plant life and local cultural heritage. Once the flax is ready for harvesting, the children can learn to use

natural dye to colour the linen in the way the Picts used to dye fabric. This idea which merges natural and cultural heritage is well-received.

All parties continue to discuss further activities including food foraging in the local area. They agree activities can focus on creating knowledge of edible plants by foraging along the Clyde where apples, hawthorn, and elderflower grow. The project brings children and families from local communities together to undertake a river bio-blitz to learn about the environment, and the dangers of litter while also surveying the quality of the water and the state of nature around the river Clyde. It is suggested the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) can participate and focus on insect and amphibious life using magnifying glasses. The representatives from the different organisations discuss resources, time allocation and budgets after which the meeting is wrapped up and Robin and I head back to GBPT's office.

The vignette above illustrates how heritage practitioners and other professionals working with communities use social relations and interactions to both facilitate and mediate knowledge production using their professional expertise of cultural and natural heritage. Anthropologist Marilyn Strathern (2020, 1) provides me with a useful lens on relations by centring on relations as a concept, intentionally making visible what is abstract and ubiquitous and therefore easily overlooked or assumed. Haraway (2003, 24), describes relations as companionship and as: "the smallest unit of analysis". She approaches the relation as being about "significant otherness at every scale." Following Haraway and Strathern, I use relations as an analytical tool from a political and ethical point of view (Strathern 2020, 13) where relations are mobilised to achieve social and political goals. I have chosen instances of relations, connections and disconnections which illustrate how weaving in and out of relations forms part of the organisation's fabric and is an essential element of both resilience and sustainability (Robertson et al. 2021; Pendlebury & Veldpaus 2023). In doing so, I explore the situational and embodied role of creating and curating networks as assemblages of relations in a more-than-human environment (Latour 2005; Haraway 2004; Waterton and Watson 2005; Puig de la Bellacasa 2017).

The process of connections and disconnections (Strathern 2020, 12) illustrated in the vignette above, takes place across an array of values, interests, and social purposes such as advocating for children's rights, addressing poverty, food insecurity, environmental concerns, and human – nature relationships. It illustrates how relations go beyond social sustainability alone going beyond what Merriman (2008, 19-20) suggests in relation to museums where he proposes relationships as a measurement of the success of social sustainability rather than the "ownership of material". Acknowledging Merriman (Ibidem), as well as Dempsey et al.'s (2011) argument that networks are a dimension of social sustainability (Chapter 2), I extend these propositions and argue that relationships form the basis of the interconnectedness of all aspects of sustainability. This is illustrated by the vignette above demonstrates the links between community engagement, environmental action, and financial viability. Relations affect the financial resources of the West Boathouse project and of the participating organisations in meetings potentially offering economies of scale. The concept of relations among this group of people illustrates how humans are relational to their surroundings and include the human, "animal and machine", "natural and crafted worlds" as proposed by Haraway (2004, 7). By applying a holistic approach to heritage, GBPT and the other organisations work together to address current local societal needs while focusing on building knowledge and resilience aiming to resource an anticipated future (Harrison 2020, 36; Strathern 2020) by using heritage as a vehicle.

The original contribution of this chapter constitutes an in-depth empirical account of how small heritage organisations are embedded in offline and online networks as essential to the resilience and sustainability of both small heritage organisations and communities. The opportunities for creating relationships through heritage projects not only interconnect all aspects of sustainability and resilience, but they also form the basis of the longevity of sustainability beyond projects as illustrated in Chapter 6 when discussing project legacy issues with the accessible skiffs. Furthermore, reflecting on GBPT's social purpose and ethics of care, this chapter provides insight into how the space between interrupted relationships during a crisis, and the efforts

involved to restore them, become significant for our understanding of daily practices of connections and disconnections (Denis 2020, 285). In conclusion, I reflect on the accumulative impact of GBPT's practices of assembling networks and creating communities of practice embedded in local communities on infrastructures of care (Alam and Houston 2020; Berlant 2016; Puig de la Bellacasa 2017) across Glasgow. Berlant (2015, 393) defined infrastructure of care as the patterns, habits, norms, and scenes of assemblage and uses. As such, it goes beyond physical infrastructures like transport and housing. Berlant positions infrastructures of care in relation to commons as social action while also part of ambivalence about democracy (2015, 395). Following political scientists Ruscio (1997) and Fukuyama (1996), I explore the emerging theme of trust as related to ethical practice. I connect trust to ethics of care as practice (Mol 2002; Puig de la Bellacasa 2017) and to longevity while reflecting on the risk of relations being considered as 'for the project' and thus sometimes discontinued when project funding ends. This can be especially damaging when working with vulnerable communities.

7.2 Networks as Resilience

GBPT identifies the need to strengthen relations and develop strategic partnership agreements which include working with non-heritage organisations across the third sector as well as developing commercial investments and partnerships (McConnell, 2020, 11). The need for partnership working has grown due to the increasing pressure of reduced funding and resources as also noted by Leck and Simon (2013) in the context of climate change adaptation. In addition, GBPT aims to diversify the organisational audiences beyond heritage (Chapters 5 and 6), develop a communications strategy for the website and social media, and connect Doors Open Days and project audiences with GBPT's wider activities (McConnell 2020). The need for connection between networks as assemblages of relations and resilience emerged as a salient theme in my research. In conjunction, resilience also became a prominent concept during the Covid-19 pandemic in relation to adaptation and recovery from crisis. So far in this thesis, resilience has featured in relation to organisational change, as a process of adaptation during crises, recovery, and re-emergence by GBPT and in interviews with others. Resilience features as a purpose and a value of 'being resilient' and is described by GBPTs Director Jamie as "having

sufficient capacity and buoyancy to withstand [...] shocks”, “a financial cushion,” and “emotional reserves” which are supported by peer support, networks and the “values of the organisation”. Others have described emotional resilience as “the blood, sweat and tears of staff” (Anna, Coordinator at an organisation involved in establishing and maintaining networks) or in more practical ways such as Grace, Project Manager at a social enterprise in a rural area who describes support from peers as:

the more we're in touch with one another [...] the fewer of us will be struggling along reinventing the wheel when actually someone already has solved the problem, or at least made significant strides towards solving it.

These descriptions from participants above indicate the importance of relations and networks as part of the process of becoming more resilient as colleagues and organisations. This resonates with community resilience as a process: “Community resilience represents the ability of communities to use their available resources to prepare for, respond to, endure, and recover from extreme events such as floods, economic shocks and disease outbreaks” (Robertson et al. 2021, 1). Not only do they recommend the importance of a “physical space for community groups to share their experiences, memories and knowledge” (Ibid, 6) which can be a “repurposed building” where communities have “autonomy and ownership of use” (Ibid.), they also highlight the importance of community co-production and knowledge exchange through nurturing relations and partnerships while making use of local community knowledge and lived experience.

7.2.1 Language of Relations, Networks and Resilience

During the ethnography, I noticed how the level of connection or disconnection to a particular relation or overarching network influences the language people use to describe it. Or, to follow Strathern’s (2020) approach to relations, the language used shows how relations behave and are curated and boundaried through creating assemblages of relations with particular political and ethical purposes. Apart from the word ‘network’, Jamie at GBPT describes the Heritage Trust Network affectionately as “extended family” indicating a close companionship.

In an online interview in April 2021, Isobel, Manager at another BPT, describes how she experiences networks surrounding small heritage organisations rising to the challenge to provide support so organisations can adapt to mostly working online:

In some ways, I have never felt more supported. I think this year I think it has been a great strength of organizations like HTN, and the Heritage Fund [NLHF] like the sort of business networks, the social enterprise networks. They have already gone flat out there to say: What do you need? Here is training, here is money and here is one-to-one mentoring, and support, here is coaching. There has been...I probably tapped into more of that over the last year than I have previously 'in the room'. [...] Obviously being able to do training so much easier like this [online]. It can be easier to fit it into the day again. So yeah, in that kind of wider network, there is a lot out there. And for me personally, I have a very supportive chair and our Chair of Trustees is really good, and always available if I need to talk things through. The board are actually really good and will discuss things and the team likewise are excellent. [...] You are relying on people being fantastic at their jobs, which they all are. And knowing more about the details of those jobs [...] and the way we work together, I find it supportive.

Isobel's description highlights how she views networks as supportive relations that are attuned to the needs of her organisation and enable her to pull through a crisis to perform everyday practices. In this sense, like communities, organisations also "use their available resources" to recover from an extreme situation such as the Covid-19 pandemic (Robertson et al. 2021, 1). Isobel's experiences show how networks of different scales provide different layers of support ranging from the team, the Board, HTN, and wider networks and funders such as NLHF while also highlighting the digital nature that enables this support. Being embedded in a range of networks of different scales provides a cushion for employees and organisations as a whole to deal with adversity, adapt to a crisis and provide emotional resilience and practical support.

Other descriptions of certain networks, particularly by Lachlan, a heritage consultant who regularly collaborates with GBPT (see also Chapter 5) are “my social ecology”, in reference to his assembled personal and professional heritage network; and “ecosystem of organisations” as illustrated in his description of heritage networks as ecosystems, silos, alliances, and partnerships in a telephone conversation:

this is part of the ecosystem of the current heritage sector and has different purposes. They [national heritage organisations] both have properties of scale, the same vision, and similar remit... [I see] an analogy with the John Muir Trust and the Woodland Trust. The key point for all is that silos are part of the problem. Partnerships and alliances are the way forward like Cairngorms Connect.

In contrast to networks of relations as ecosystems, Lachlan also uses the word silos to describe a sense of distance and a lack of connectedness to other organisations or communities. In addition, his description indicates a tension between actors operating at the same level due to overlap in remit. Similar environmental references are also used on Twitter to describe moments of disconnection such as “ecosystem collapse” in reference to heritage professionals leaving Twitter creating gaps in once-valued online networks. These environmental analogies indicate the level of interdependency participants experience when describing offline and online relations between actors (Waterton and Watson 2005) such as volunteers, communities, professionals, and organisations. Consistent with more-than-human approaches and holistic approaches to heritage, an ecosystem is place-based, focuses on relations to surroundings and contains living and non-living elements. This sense of tension in collaborations illustrates balancing competition, boundaries, collaboration, and trust in relationships which are further discussed in the next section on networks and resilience.

7.2.2 Networks and Collaborations: Trust and Ethical Practices

During my ethnographic research, it became apparent that increasing the focus on collaborations and partnerships comes with a need to define organisational identity, boundaries, and purposes of relations. Many organisations, including GBPT, have

indicated a need to raise their profile. Jamie at GBPT explains the need to do so when stating:

whether it's Kelvingrove Bandstand or St Andrews in the Square and Castlemilk Stables ... They recognize a lot of these buildings, but they don't recognize our role in it. Which just means that we're constantly reintroducing ourselves.

The process of both raising GBPT's profile and increasing partnerships includes political tensions and a need to define the organisation's remit and role in the collaboration. Blair, at GBPT, describes this to me during a meeting in the office in May 2022:

I want to raise GBPT's profile [...] [employees] come from backgrounds like archaeology, architecture or art history that can be technical. They want the work to speak for itself, but GBPT needs more profile. I don't mind being a wee bit shouty. GBPT needs to find its place in the network of heritage organisations and to be distinguished from [other organisations]. To know who to collaborate with, we need to know where we are complimentary to the other organisation. In the past, I have seen that despite agreeing on who does what, activities came to overlap, you end up being in competition and having discussions and the collaboration breaks down.

This curatorial process of both connecting while also carving out roles and boundaries to prevent encroaching on one another shows there is a fine line between collaboration and trust, and competition and rivalry. Blair's explanation implicitly shows how building relations and collaborations is both a political construction (Strathern 2021, 13) and about relations as "significant otherness" as noted by Haraway (2004, 6). The political and ethical nature of curating relations transpired during this research when GBPT decided to cut an organisation from its network due to this organisation accepting sponsorship from an organisation involved in the weapons industry. Reminiscent of managed disposal processes in collections management in the context of profusion, curating relationships involves a "form of organised loss" (Morgan and McDonald 2020, 57). These curatorial processes lead to developing both the identity of the self and that of the partner

organisation and reiterates Strathern's (2021, 12) observation that reaching decisions together seems to suggest an emphasis on "similarity or convergence of purpose" which risks the exclusion of difference and disconnection from the analysis of relations. Blair's description of the balancing act between collaboration and competition illustrates the processes of finding common ground and acknowledging differences happen simultaneously.

The difficulties of balancing collaboration and competition were reiterated during an online interview in March 2021 when Jamie described relations with a community group:

They are quite competitive and because they're so focused on their own activity, they like to sort of bolster themselves up. So, I remember very early on in the feasibility stage where [they] are trying to pass off all of the feasibility study work as their own.

Jamie illustrates the daily tensions and contradictions of the ethics and politics of relationship building (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 5; Strathern 2020, 13) while each group aims to achieve their own goals by undertaking the feasibility study. The community group tries to enhance their own identity and raise their profile while taking credit for work done by GBPT which is perceived as unethical by Jamie. The community group taking credit for GBPT's work diminishes GBPT's profile and risks a lack of recognition for work delivered. The convergence of purpose at this stage of the relationship sits around restoring a historic building and obtaining funding for this process. However, the competitive nature of the exchanges simultaneously leads to a moment of difference and disconnection (Strathern 2021, 12) prompting the need for repair and reconnecting in the relationship by discussing boundaries and finding ways forward.

This friction between competition and collaboration can lead to a breakdown of partnerships, mistrust and conflicts. As Ruscio (1997, 455) argues, trust has been interpreted by economists as a strategic matter with an expectation of benefits. However, Ruscio argues the contrary is the case. Trust is an ethical relationship

based on shared values as also illustrated above by GBPT cutting ties with an organisation perceived as not sharing the same values, and “is a suspension of the self-interest axiom” (Ibid.). Based on my ethnographic observations, I propose Blair and Jamie’s examples are evidence both interpretations of trust can co-exist. I argue relationships are formed and curated with a particular purpose to achieve certain organisational goals. Some goals of the different partners may converge, and some may diverge, leading to differences and moments of disconnection but not necessarily breakdown. Building relations with trust as a shared ethical practice between different parties can be described as an “amalgam of variants-in-tension” which are “more likely to contribute to the rich, adaptable, and yet tenacious character” of practices (Mol 2002, 115).

During my conversations with other organisations about GBPT, I have been told on several occasions “you will find they are highly regarded” in the sector. The importance of this high regard and the role of trust and confidence from funders is a salient theme in interviews and conversations and is well expressed by Angus, a former Board Member of GBPT:

confidence from funders is the most important task. And we can go to them. [...] if we were struggling [some people] didn’t want us to approach the bank. But if you bring them along and you have another member supporting you, you gain access to a lot of finance as well. Yes, again it is talking and information. Give them information. You have got nothing to hide, the information goes to you, copy in, don’t blind copy, just copy in. So, if you put anybody into it, the bank, and the council everybody sees the same, the whole thing. We are a Trust, we have got nothing to hide. And then people know you will not be playing games with them.

As described by Angus, working in a transparent and trustworthy manner is highly important in building trust and gaining confidence from funders and stakeholders, as is mutual accountability and focusing on outcomes (Timms and Heimans 2018, 234). Angus’ comments reiterate the co-occurrence of trust as a strategic issue with an expectation of reaping rewards, in this case gaining financial support, and shared

ethical practices (Fukuyama 1996; Ruscio 1997). Not only does Angus consider this transparent and collaborative attitude an ethical way of working for GBPT, but he also considers having relations based on trust and transparency as crucial to financial resilience. As Angus highlights, trust and confidence from stakeholders and funders may lead to financial support during a crisis. Furthermore, gaining the confidence of stakeholders is crucial for being granted large-capital projects such as the restoration of historic buildings.

Relations of trust have a "moral side...frequently at cross-purposes with selfish interests" (Fukuyama 1996, 41). This is evidenced by Jamie's explanation of prioritising the needs of others during the pandemic in 2020 in their endeavour to work with social purpose:

We took a view that when we were looking to raise sponsorship for Doors Open Days, we wouldn't push it as much as we maybe normally would. Because if people did have spare cash to go around, you know, they were treating it as a donation when they were giving it to us, not sponsorship. And we thought, well if they did have that money available, [...] I think people would probably prioritize feeding starving children over, you know a sponsorship for a digital festival. [...] I think there were bigger causes that needed a lot of support.

Jamie's comments illustrate how approaching relations with an everyday practice of care (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 6) requires a sensitivity to the place of heritage in deprived communities as well as to the place of the organisation among its networks. Furthermore, it indicates how 'matters of care' depend on the ways 'matters of concern' are gathered in shifting contexts such as here in the context of crisis during a pandemic. The interconnectedness of both strategic and ethical trust (Fukuyama 1996; Ruscio 1997) and ethical practices of care create the glue that keeps the assemblage of relations together. As such, my research chimes with Robertson et al. (2021) and evidences relations are a resource that organisations can use to prepare for and recover from crises contributing to community resilience and wellbeing as further evidenced in the next section.

7.3 Networks and Heritage Practice for Emotional Resilience

Community resilience is embedded in supportive networks that enable the production of meaning and value and contribute to a sense of identity through participation in heritage practices. Using relations as an analytic, this section reveals that when networks are curated around joint goals, they can achieve resilience at organisational and community levels without losing sight of differences. Manager Barbara's project, a charity focusing on addiction recovery through heritage, is supported by a positive relationship with a local museum which provides a space for the project to take place. In addition, a supportive relationship with the funder NLHF provides financial resources for this project. NLHF defines their wellbeing criteria as "how we experience life – quality of life, good physical and mental health, and being part of our communities. It's about how external conditions affect our lives and how we function in society" (Heritage Fund 2019). Barbara explains the relationship between the funder's financial support for the development of grassroots local initiatives and wellbeing as follows:

It's quite an interesting model, you know because I have not seen any museums start like this before that's coming out of grassroots and from looking at what people need really. And yes, we've got the boat, but the boat is almost secondary. Even the Heritage Lottery Fund, they're really interested in what we're trying to do here. They see this as a new model potentially for future museums, for future communities, or communities today, to own their own heritage, in a way, and tell the stories. And do it in a serviceable way that functions, that meets the needs of people locally.

Barbara shows how grassroots initiatives that focus on wellbeing and are embedded in communities where communities are empowered and have agency to tell their own stories are valued by NLHF as a funder. She indicates the tangible heritage they work with "is almost secondary" implicitly stating the project is all about building relations and caring with people and communities for tangible and intangible, cultural and natural heritage. By enabling participants' agency to care, caring with people creates more democratic relations which aim to achieve empowerment, reduce participants' vulnerabilities (Alam and Houston 2020, 3; Puig de la Bellacasa 2017)

and achieve wellbeing outcomes. Despite critiques of everyday heritage practices that focus on wellbeing and quality of life as instrumentalization of heritage (Baxter 2015), Barbara's use of the word "almost" subtly stresses the key role the tangible heritage plays in the process of heritage as meaning-making. Without the derelict boat, this project would not exist, nor would the associated values of recovery, resilience and wellbeing be used to support the participants. Using heritage activities and stories as steps in the process of creating resilience, is an important part of the narrative of Barbara's work as is finding a partnership that offers a physical and more permanent home for their activities and link them to wider resources. Using a partnership in this way illustrates the link between how social relations are used to achieve social purpose and combine local knowledge, co-production, and tangible and intangible heritage to achieve resilience (Robertson et al. 2021). So far, I have discussed the use of relations from two different perspectives; using assemblages of networks around heritage organisations and communities to produce values and meanings and secondly, to illustrate how heritage practices embedded in communities can support a process of empowerment and resilience.

During the pandemic, it became clear how being embedded in purposefully curated networks is vital to adaptation during a crisis. Networks provide the scaffolding for organisations and communities to adapt and survive. This was confirmed during an online interview in March 2021 with Anna, Coordinator at an organisation involved in establishing and maintaining networks:

Anyone who's got that kind of really core community focus, as opposed to the heritage focus, all of them leapt into action for you know, providing meals and supporting their community in some way or another. Getting people, whatever they needed, essentially, particularly people isolating and things. So that was just absolutely full pelt, full-time for them and it has been for the past year. So, they've been incredible, and they've come up with incredible ideas and activities to kind of keep people engaged remotely, which has been really, really impressive. It was really inspiring work that they do, and we don't necessarily hear from them that often because right now their heritage project is not the priority.

In addition to the ability of organisations rooted in their communities to adapt very quickly, it is striking how Anna distinguishes between a “core community focus as opposed to the heritage focus”. Like Barbara’s comment about the boat being almost secondary, it illustrates how people working in heritage practice understand how important community work and being embedded in the local community is, consistent with the process of making more resilient communities as proposed by Robertson et al. (2021). This finding is confirmed by Stephanie So, in a collection of contributions about museums during the pandemic when she concludes: “Communities rally around those who rally around their communities” (Cobley et al. 2020, 119).

How funders are perceived as part of networks is confirmed during interviews with several representatives of funding organisations including Jack, a case officer at a Scottish funding organisation:

[We are] making sure that the team are aware of things like sustainability and post-acquisition funding as well, making sure that they're connected to other organizations that might be able to offer the money beyond just simply acquisition costs. [...] I'd like to think that we offer more than just, you know, that competitive funding environment. The team are out there [and] actually champion community ownership, supporting groups and helping too. In the sense that, even if someone submits an application, I'll look at the application and then go back and say, can you submit again but change AB&C because it's not strong enough. We don't make it like a purely hands-off competitive process, it wouldn't work otherwise.

Jack’s description illustrates how funders consider themselves part of the network of support surrounding communities either directly or indirectly via small heritage organisations or community groups. Providing feedback and checking the organisations are connected to a network as well as to their communities confirms the importance of relations and networks to resilience.

Many examples used in this thesis have illustrated positive relations with funders. However, to be eligible for the Heritage Emergency Fund (NLHF 2020), an

organisation needed to be already funded by NLHF. The fund initially focused on making sure existing projects were able to continue. The implication for organisations without NLHF funding is their lack of eligibility potentially exacerbating their already difficult circumstances. At the time of my interviews, none of the organisations I engaged with reported being in this situation. A possible consequence of the emergency funding criteria may be that poorer communities which already find it “more difficult to bid for heritage resources than rich ones” (Clark 2006, 62) may have been impacted more adversely than others. Another concern expressed by Jamie during a Zoom meeting in May 2020 relates to the mid- and long-term future:

NLHF has stopped applications to create the emergency fund. This is absolutely the right thing to do right now. Other funders will struggle, a recession will follow with very low interest rates and small trusts will take a nosedive. [...] The second round of a grant GBPT had applied for has now been suspended. This is worrying for the medium – long term.

Jamie’s concern exemplifies how networks are assembled differently for different organisations and communities and stresses the importance of networks with funders as part of economic resilience and financial sustainability. A lack of such access has financial implications as well as consequences for relations which embed the organisation in opportunities for adaptation and resilience. Through the lens of networks as part of everyday practices and an important element of resilience, many relations were disrupted and disconnected due to the decision to lockdown the UK to contain the Covid-19 pandemic in March 2020. A period of loss of in-person work with geographical and deprived communities followed. GBPT, among many organisations, moved to work online via Zoom shifting its focus to developing its social media strategy, creating new networks including an online community of practice and moving GDODF online. The next section focuses on this process of assembling and curating relations with social purpose online.

7.4 Assembling and Curating Relations with Social Purpose Online

Networks as assemblages of relations that include social media require thinking about what relations need to be put in place to mobilise the knowledge, meaning and value of and through the digital (Strathern 2020, 9). During my online presentation at a GBPT team meeting in June 2021, Jamie responded to my social media findings by saying “we do not think of social media as an exchange or a conversation. I feel we are just transmitting.” After discussing a range of GBPT’s Tweets that performed well, Jamie tells me they feel “energised and optimistic” about what can be achieved online with a considered approach. However, online practices during the ethnography reveal producing knowledge online in a more-than-human environment can be unpredictable and involve trial and error. Jamie’s response illustrates how “transmitting” information into online spaces can feel disconnected from other people and organisations. As noted by Hine (2015, 3) not knowing when and if others see or understand information on social media the same way as us can be experienced as a lack of relation-building and consequently as not valued or valuable. Experiences of posting on social media as sending things “into the void” have been topics of conversation throughout the research period.

From the perspective of building relations and networks, the apparent question is: how do you build rapport with and through technology? And how do you create positive narratives online with social purpose to address dereliction, social cohesion and to ‘do justice’ as part of public discourse in a “complex ecosystem in which both cultural organisations and digital tools/channels play their part?” (Malde and Kennedy 2018, 16). To address these questions, my ethnographic research assumed online and offline spaces as a continuum and part of everyday practices as recommended by Hine (2015), Postill and Pink (2012) and Bonacchi and Krzyzanska (2019, 1238).

Despite Jamie’s indication of feeling optimistic about what may be possible online, practice shows building relations in an online environment can be unpredictable and time-consuming. In response to time and effort spent on social media posts with limited success, Sam expresses their frustration with a heartfelt “I hate social media!”

Sam's frustration highlights the ambivalent relationships people may experience when working with software-supported platforms. These are often associated with trolling, spam, and other forms of political and social manipulation, amounting to a complex process in which malevolent bots are often experienced as the "unwanted non-human 'other'" (Gerlitz and Weltevrede 2020, 348). This automation includes:

all forms of software-supported platform practices, ranging from bots, cross-syndication (automatically posting from one platform to another), algorithmic content selection or creation, sensor-triggered engagement and other scripts. (Gerlitz and Weltevrede 2020, 347)

In addition, third-party apps may be used to connect to other platforms through their application programming interface (API) which is regulated by platform rules and policies. GBPT uses these same automation practices to write and schedule social media posts and to cross-post on multiple platforms. Simultaneously, there is an acknowledgement at GBPT that technology and "the algorithms" are human-made.

In practice, online platforms are often experienced as originating in unkind intentions and considered as being at odds with the ethics of care adopted by GBPT. Haraway however, urges not to demonise technology by stating "We are they, the machine is us" (Haraway 2004, 38) thus acknowledging the tensions of what it means to be embodied in a high-tech world (Haraway 2004, 31). The challenge for GBPT has been how to translate their social purpose, addressing 'matters of care' often addressed through creative approaches to an online environment they regularly experience as uncaring. However, as Mol, Moser, and Pols (2010, 15) highlight in relation to medical practices, technologies "do not work or fail in and of themselves, Rather, they depend on care work". As such, online platforms depend on care work too. Negotiating, understanding, and articulating when digital practices can or cannot be used to "support and promote the social values that matter most to people and to organisations" (Malde and Kennedy 2018, 6) has been a key element of the process of pivoting heritage practices to online platforms during the pandemic. Building relations with and through digital platforms took place via social media which I

illustrate with my Twitter research and secondly, by discussing the setting up of an online Community of Practice, 'Play Like a Lassie'²³.

7.4.1 Co-producing Knowledge on Social Media with Social Purpose

Working with social purpose online presents similar ethical, social, political, and cultural implications as offline practices. It became apparent during the pandemic how online access and use of particular platforms are often not as democratic and inclusive as desired. As highlighted in Chapter 5, Robin aims to keep technology use "low-tech and not too big and shiny" and accessible for as many people as possible. However, as in-person contact was heavily disrupted by lockdowns of varied intensity, connections with those in deprived communities in particular were interrupted. As an embedded researcher, working online with GBPT allowed me to gain a unique insight into their journey to becoming digitally purposeful (Malde and Kennedy 2018, 35) revealing technology as a companion able to make interventions that humans cannot, and applying an ethos of care to online practices meaning "persistent tinkering in a world full of complex ambivalence and shifting tensions" (Mol, Moser, and Pols 2010, 14).

As set out in the methodology chapter, GBPT uses Twitter only as their online communication channel. For GDODF and individual projects, they use a combination of Twitter, Instagram and Facebook. During the research period, I focused on Twitter and downloaded GBPT's Twitter timeline as well as the timelines of thirteen other small Scottish heritage organisations. I compared these to the Twitter timelines of ten larger national heritage organisations, arms-length organisations (ALO's) and funders. In the next section, I highlight the injustices systemic to social media use that contribute to the challenges of becoming digitally purposeful. Firstly, the volume of heritage-related knowledge produced on Twitter is dominated by the narratives, values, and meanings from a variety of brands produced by larger, often national organisations. Secondly, offline political landscapes and power relations are reproduced online. And finally, bias towards certain socio-demographic

²³ Lassie is a Scots word for girl.

characteristics are reproduced online too as elaborated upon below (Blank and Lutz 2017; Hine 2015; Bonacchi et al. 2023). However, the subsequent sections on social media”, online communities of practice and digital GDODF stress the opportunities through digital network-building around social purpose.

7.4.2 GBPT in the Scottish Twitter Heritage Landscape

Quantitative analysis of the Twitter data I generated indicates small heritage organisations have fewer resources and limited communication and social media strategies compared to policy, ALO, or funder organisations. This is illustrated by the fact that, during the research period, the fourteen small Scottish heritage organisations collectively produced 4,232 organic Tweets²⁴ which averaged 1.13 Tweets per working day. In this Twitter landscape, GBPT’s timeline produced 72 organic Tweets during the research period. This averages at 0.27 organic Tweets per working day which is significantly less than the average of small heritage organisations in my sample. The ten organisations representing policy, ALO or funder organisations collectively produced 14,058 organic Tweets averaging 5.3 Tweets per working day, more than four and a half times as many Tweets as produced by small heritage organisations. Furthermore, the division of type of Tweets (organic, retweets and quote Tweets) illustrates that policy, ALO and funding organisations create more organic Tweets, as a percentage of their total Twitter output highlighting they have more resources to produce original content. In addition, hashtag use illustrates that heritage policy, ALO and funders have more organized strategies and defined audiences indicating keywords and topics in their online conversations with 51.8% of organic Tweets having a hashtag compared to only 36.6% in organic Tweets produced by small heritage organisations. By tagging specific topics or places, hashtag use intends to create connections, albeit momentarily, with other users around a topic or place as suggested by Bonacchi et al (2023, 13). Arts and media scholar Michele Zappavigna points out hashtags can both expand the visibility of a message as well as coordinate discourse within a silo or

²⁴ Organic tweets are original posts produced by the user without money spent on Twitter ads or promotions to promote the posts. Retweets are Tweets created by others which people can share on their own timeline. Quote Tweets are Tweets created by others which people can share on their timeline while also adding their own content. This research took place before Twitter was renamed X. Under ‘X’ a Retweet is named a repost.

echo chamber (2018, 201). Producing fewer Tweets with lower hashtag use indicates small heritage organisations' narratives risk not being seen in an online landscape dominated by larger organisations with more resources, better developed social media strategies and an ability to connect and create relations and networks online.

The findings above are confirmed by ethnographic work with GBPT and in conversations during online Network Natters organised by HTN. In July 2020, one participant indicates their organisation is "not very active on social media" and explained they are looking for a volunteer to take on their social media account. Depending on volunteer efforts is in stark contrast to the social media strategy of large national heritage organisations as described during an interview with Max, an employee at a national heritage organisation:

"We have challenges around our social media because we just have a lot of brands. You probably realize this. We've got, you know. [Organisation's] own social media channel and brand [organisation] for the properties that we manage has its own social media channel and brand. [Other parts of the organisation] will have their own brands. This is before you get to things like ... the online learning resources. So, it becomes quite a nightmare to how you kind of navigate those to promote your, well, both your identity and your brand, but then your service."

Max's explanation of the challenges of distinguishing a range of brands with their own Twitter accounts from each other within one organisation highlights the skewed representation of heritage-related knowledge produced online. While larger organisations with marketing and social media strategies work on their branding and different ways to present themselves to different online communities, small heritage organisations are struggling with a lack of visibility of mostly just one brand and one account which was illustrated by Jamie at GBPT:

Our content, our methods just aren't cutting through because it's a saturated market. You know everything is online. It's very difficult. It's even more difficult now to get people's attention, and it seems to be that, in order to get people's

attention, it needs to be loud and controversial. When that's absolutely not what we do...we're looking for sensible.

Jamie's frustration at a lack of visibility and connection through online platforms aligns with Bonacchi (2022, 3) who notes that "social media are a natural ally for populist politics" through an often binary discourse of inclusion and exclusion. This populist discourse or what Jamie calls "loud and controversial" is not a natural ally to small heritage organisations that aim to convey often local and nuanced stories. These issues have also been described as a "barrage" or "plethora" of "free heritage" online in conversations among the GBPT team and are compounded by the perception of a lack of quality Tweets that contribute to something more meaningful, especially during the beginning of the pandemic. As noted by digital heritage scholar Cassandra Kist (2021, 282), skepticism about social media is common in the heritage sector as illustrated by Adam, Director at a UK-wide archaeological social enterprise who already had a strong online presence before the pandemic:

one thing we saw really clearly there was a kind of last-minute distress digitization from everyone from nationals through to, you know, local museums, where everyone just rushed to literally vomit their collections online, and just think that the world is going to be a path to that door, and it didn't. And really, the quality of that material was often really poor ...it wasn't a resourcing issue. It was poor from the Nationals downwards. There was a lack of real appreciation of how people interact online and how they learn online. And how that could be scaled. So, what we had already was the basic infrastructure.

The systemic issue on Twitter that knowledge production is skewed towards organisations with highly developed marketing and social media strategies does not imply they have a thorough understanding of how to build relations online and how to create online communities using social media. As Adam indicates, building online relations requires a deeper understanding of online interaction and learning shifting the place of participation beyond the physical limits of the organisation (Wilkins 2020) rather than what Jamie describes as "just transmitting." As the pandemic and the move online progressed, so did the learning from online heritage practices.

It has become clear during the research period, that social media is a connected performance where the online network mirrors inequalities and injustices, and the political and ethical performances of personal and professional identities of off-line networks. The situated ethnographic approach to social media research supported insight into who participates online. As research guidance advises removing Twitter handles to allow for aggregated reporting on data, people's Twitter names and profiles were no longer visible in my data. However, due to the ethnographic approach, conversations and interviews provided insights into the context of online relations.

These discussions revealed those participating on Twitter are often people connected to the local topic or building being discussed performing their political and professional identities online. A range of Tweets regarding a historic building restored by GBPT in the past illustrates this. Several people commented online on the positive role of the housing association in this particular project and recommended this should be replicated elsewhere in Glasgow. During a discussion about this thread of Tweets in GBPT's office, it transpired many of those participating in the online discussion had a political stake in this online conversation. Some were former directors of the housing association mentioned, members of the board of directors and members of the community group who were managing the building. These discussions revealed a context that would not have been transparent from my download of aggregated Twitter data if I had approached this Twitter data at face value. My ethnographic experience therefore reiterated the importance of undertaking ethnography across offline and online spaces (Hine 2015; Postill and Pink 2012; Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2019, 1238).

In addition to the performance of political identities online, social media platforms show bias towards certain socio-demographic characteristics (Blank and Lutz 2017; Hine 2015; Bonacchi et al. 2023); Twitter users are more likely to have a higher income which makes it unlikely for GBPT to connect with their communities in areas of socio-demographic deprivation through this platform. Other platforms are used

more by young people such as YouTube, Instagram and TikTok. Although these platforms are not used by the GBPT brand, they are used for GDODF events which is discussed in the section below. This bias towards socio-demographic characteristics on Twitter adds a second layer of injustice and an additional challenge to producing knowledge online with social purpose. Not only are small heritage organisations a minority voice in the Twitter heritage landscape, those who are in positions of privilege offline, also perform these political identities online. In addition, Twitter user profiles show the communities available on this platform do not necessarily correspond with GBPT's aims of social justice, connecting communities and diversity and inclusive approaches.

While they invest time, efforts and resources in their social media approach, Robin tries simultaneously to find ways to solve the disconnection with the geographical communities around the West Boathouse with whom they do not have an online relationship. Robin hopes to be able to provide community groups with outdoor activities that can be done in socially distanced ways to get families out of the house and keep the relationship with GBPT going rather than trying to connect online with areas that are known to have limited internet access for financial reasons. However, Robin's plans need to be abandoned due to new restrictions around use of certain outdoor spaces. Digital deprivation and the lack of an online network with the geographical communities around the West Boathouse create a disconnection in relation-building. Consequently, GBPT's practices focus increasingly on creating a new online community of practice addressing the gender imbalance on Wikipedia while Sam moves GDODF online as explored in the next section.

7.4.3 Slow Media: A Storied Approach

In response to the issues about bias and reproduction of offline injustices to online spaces as outlined above, GBPT's team develops and applies their organisational values and identities to create an appropriate social media strategy that Robin dubs "slow media." The process of navigating online platforms and encountering a lack of engagement so central to GBPT's offline practices of creative and environmental activities has prompted questions of "how to care" (Puig de la Bellacasa 2011, 100).

GBPT develops an increased focus on storied writing to achieve more connection to their core values of doing social justice, connecting communities and producing more meaningful knowledge. In addition, incorporating the agency of technology (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 2), Robin sets up an online community of practice addressing the gender imbalance on Wikipedia and Sam moves GDODF online. These approaches to assembling new networks mark the significant efforts involved in restoring interrupted relations during a crisis, deepening our understanding of daily practices of creating connections (Denis 2020, 285).

Developing a meaningful “slow media” presence is accelerated by a lack of access to project-related sites during the pandemic which results in storytelling inspired by natural and cultural heritage rather than focusing on being present in heritage spaces. GBPT explores ways to research and curate stories in the online environment and experiments with social purpose online. Rather than co-producing knowledge through creative activities with project-related communities, GBPT produces longer Tweets, stories existing of several Tweets linked together in a thread as a team or in collaboration with other organisations. Platform accounts are often considered as belonging to an individual user, however, especially for organisations, accounts are often managed collaboratively between different people and functionalities offered by automation (Gerlitz and Weltevrede 2020, 354). The stories are well-researched and balanced and focus on Glasgow’s history and GBPT’s origin story within that history. Stories relating to natural heritage focus on the history of the river Clyde in relation to the workings of the weir near the West Boathouse, pollution and recovery, highlighting signs of wildlife such as seals and birds. Some Tweets engage with more political topics such as Black Lives Matter (BLM) and Glasgow’s slave trade history. These ‘BLM posts’ are shared across both Twitter and GDODF Instagram and are among the best-performing posts during the research period resulting in over 1,000 new followers on Instagram. This encourages GBPT to continue to apply its aims to address social justice and issues relating to equality, diversity, and inclusion online. Due to the use of the international hashtag #BLM, these posts also create connections beyond the usually more local audiences which is apparent from the responses.

However, during an online conversation, Robin stresses that “there are capacity issues too” with the process of developing a digital strategy. After attending a course on developing a social media strategy, GBPT develops a collaborative approach asking supporters to like, retweet and comment on posts soon after they are published in an attempt to boost exposure. GBPT does the same in return for Tweets produced by organisations they collaborate with while also agreeing on hashtag use with the West Boathouse. This strategy of collaborating to amplify their own and others' voices resonates with others in the sector. The importance of visibility online is also highlighted as an issue in an interview with a funding organisation. Jack, a case officer, explains that their social media is not very visible and they are often mistaken for another organisation: “We really need some sort of a better profile because often we get missed out. You know those guys? [Organisation] gets missed out on the publicity for its own projects.” Jack’s comments reiterate how many heritage organisations including some of the funders had underdeveloped digital strategies before the pandemic. However, the lockdown has accelerated the formulation of digital strategies and increased the focus on storytelling and collaborations. An example of a collaboration online to tell stories with social purpose is Robin’s initiative to pivot addressing gender inequalities in sporting heritage for the West Boathouse to an online project with Wikipedia. How this project initiated new relations and assembled a new network online is the focus of the next section.

7.4.4 Online Community of Practice: Play Like a Lassie

During a socially-distanced outdoor meeting on Glasgow Green in September 2021 between Robin, two Glasgow librarians and myself, Robin explains their involvement in Wikipedia’s Women in Red project:

Wikipedia has evolved much and has many volunteers fact-checking and editing too. This contributes to free knowledge of women’s sporting heritage. This is going well but it needs confidence in computers, in editing in encyclopaedic style so although it says this is open to everyone, it may not be for everyone.

Robin's explanation highlights important aspects of what Wikipedia calls the 'Women in Red' project: it contributes to more gender-equal and more just online repositories of knowledge and connects volunteers in an online community of practice (Squires and Van De Vanter 2013; Wenger 1998). It is highlighted on Wikipedia that in "October 2014, only 15.53% of English [medium] Wikipedia's biographies were about women" which increased to "19.64% as of 28 August 2023"²⁵. Although the community of practice is open to everyone, Robin acknowledges there are barriers to participation relating to a certain level of access to and confidence with online working, computer literacy and encyclopaedic writing. Their description of the project illustrates how Wikipedia as a knowledge common is based on a social common where producers of knowledge cooperate and devise a governance process to provide free knowledge (Hess 2006; Ostrom 1990). Robin assembles a group of volunteers to contribute to the Women in Red project focusing on women and sport in Scotland aiming to create more equal knowledge commons. The group of volunteers have been assembled through relations in existing offline networks as well as some responding to the Twitter call to join this project. Several people from a mix of backgrounds and genders join the group from across the UK and I participate in several online sessions.

During one of the sessions, people discuss their motivations for joining this group and describe: promoting women in sport, upskilling themselves, providing free knowledge, and being able to connect with people with similar interests during the pandemic. Their motivations illustrate how these relations converge around the project aims while acknowledging that the volunteers are interested in a wide range of sports including rowing, football, swimming, running and roller skating. In a playful response to negative expressions about women in sports, Robin suggests the group adopt the name 'Play Like a Lassie'. In collaboration with the Wikimedian in Residence²⁶, training is provided, and Robin facilitates collaboration online through

²⁵ For more information about the project Women in Red on Wikipedia:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject_Women_in_Red

²⁶ The primary role of the Wikimedian in Residence (WiR) is often to serve as a liaison between the host institution and the Wikimedia community by assisting with events and training that support the missions of both organisations.

access to a shared drive enabling shared practices (Squires and Van De Vanter 2012, 300; Wenger 1998, 72– 73).

The online group ‘Play Like a Lassie’ meets the criteria for communities of practice (Wenger 1998) through their online ways of working which show parallels to the communities of practice anchored locally around heritage sites as discussed in Chapter 6. The group mutually engages and builds collaborative relationships connecting the volunteers as a social entity, or social common (Hess 2006; Ostrom 1990; Wenger 1998). Together, the volunteers establish “a shared repertoire” in which they produce a range of communal resources, which they use to perform their shared practices (Squires and Van De Vanter 2012, 300; Wenger 1998, 72– 73). This is illustrated during an online training session when the Wikimedian in Residence confirms the co-production process: “Wiki is a collaborative space which works by consensus”. She explains briefly there are five main elements to editing for Wikipedia: firstly, it is an encyclopaedia; secondly, it shows a neutral point of view; thirdly, it has free content that can be used, edited, and distributed and should not contain anything copyrighted; fourthly, respect and civility are important values and finally, there are no firm rules as to how to be an editor on Wikipedia.

The Wikimedian in Residence explains there is a requirement to use at least three references evidencing an entry is notable enough to make it to Wikipedia. However, she points out media outlets report more on men than women which creates an extra barrier to meeting the Wiki minimum requirement for entry. Gender inequality in the media therefore has a knock-on effect on the Wikipedia entry requirements which seems at odds with its proclaimed neutral point of view. The group agrees there is bias and systemic gendered representation across offline and online knowledge production platforms. These discussions highlight how their participation enacts political and ethical practices of redistributive justice. In addition, the group notes that when reading articles about women in sports, some articles describe women’s looks focusing on their gender more than on their sports achievements. The group agrees to be consistent about their feminist approach and focus on reliable and preferably less gendered references to avoid perpetuating stereotypes. In doing so, they

establish a shared approach to and understanding their shared practices (Squires and Van De Vanter 2012, 300).

The project connects online and offline spaces by combining people from offline and online networks, while Robin also integrates the project into outdoor activities with children after the return of in-person working. Robin aims to add to online visual knowledge about a variety of areas in Glasgow and teaches school children how to upload their photos under a Creative Commons License so anyone can access them for free:

when I do school projects, we take photos of the local area. They can upload these to Wikimedia and add [the photos] to the bank of visual knowledge. This is what I do during Wiki Walks. This can be photos of buildings, trees, animals [...] and tag it with a description.

By teaching and sharing the practices of Wikimedia with schools and children, the skills and ways of working are given a broader basis and longer-term impact. Wikipedia entry practices are an investment in longer-term co-production of more equal free online knowledge on what is currently the most used encyclopaedia online. The Play Like a Lassie group enjoys being part of this community of practice to the extent they decide to continue as a group beyond the West Boathouse project funding period evidencing the sustainability of GBPT's approach to network building. It reiterates Malde and Kennedy's point that using digital practices for social purposes can contribute to more equal representation online and increased accessibility (2018, 34). However, although the continuation of the group is a reflection of its success, it emphasises the issue raised in Chapter 6 about unsustainable care practices beyond project durations for Robin. This section has evidenced how online networks are anchored across both offline and online spaces and can be spaces of more equal knowledge production and action, contributing to a sense of meaningfulness and connection for participants. However, as highlighted above, online relations and access often require a certain level of digital skills to enable participation. This is further evidenced by the process of moving GDODF online as described below.

7.4.5 Digital Glasgow Doors Open Days Festival: Upskilling and Connecting

As illustrated by the Play Like a Lassie project above and the digital GDODF, a crisis can provide opportunities to assemble new networks in an attempt to repair the breakdown of distributed offline and online networks and infrastructures (Kist 2021). In summer 2020, during an online meeting, Sam and Robin tell me they envisage digital GDODF as a unique experience with new audiences. Sam adds: “I want to try lots and evaluate and see what we will carry on”. They aim to create good quality content “through trial and error”. As if to illustrate this point, Sam’s internet connection fails, and they go offline to sort it out. When they are back on the call, they explain “There is a silver lining to this all, we are now forced to develop our audiences more quickly as a priority and this will feed into sustainability”. Continuing the focus on storytelling and being off-site, they decide on the theme of ‘Untold Stories’.

Sam’s positive attitude towards experimentation is particularly important to the digital environment by enabling digital innovation, supporting social purpose (Malde and Kennedy 2018, 18, 20) and digital social inclusion. By moving GDODF online, Sam sees an opportunity to assemble new networks. By developing an online audience Sam aims to repair the disconnection between GBPT and their audiences and recognises long-term opportunities for these new audiences too. This online pivot evidences how technology can be part of providing care (Pols et al 2010, 10) and enables the link between digital practices and social purpose by considering issues of accessibility and digital literacy (Malde and Kennedy 2018, 34). This is demonstrated during an online team meeting when Jamie expresses his excitement: “GDOD is going digital. We have had a fantastic response across 100 buildings: it’s fabulous. It’s pretty tricky learning the tech and teaching this to participants.” Robin echoes the importance of the upskilling element of this year’s events:

The participants have created more this year, there has been clear creative and digital upskilling, using new technologies, and gaining new and different audiences.

Jamie and Robin's experiences show how the process of upskilling the team as well as those working at the participating heritage sites have resulted in an online infrastructure of upskilling. In addition, each of the 100 participating buildings has been able to reach out to their audiences extending the infrastructure of digital upskilling and creating new online networks. GBPT ran training sessions on how to use Zoom, PowerPoint, Facebook Live and video editing. Visitors of digital events received an email with a video that would play at the start of every session explaining the features of the platform. Additionally, Sam associates creating digital access with connecting people and creating meaning as illustrated during a conversation about evaluation in October 2020:

Seeing older people in their houses, and some of them were self-isolating and you could tell that they just came in for a chat. It was really lovely. It's a tangible positive impact on their health and wellbeing so I feel better. I feel good about that. I don't feel good when I have to do constant posting for marketing, I feel bad contributing to that.

GBPT's focus on digital upskilling and Sam's reflection emphasise digital literacy and social purposefulness are interdependent as proposed by Malde and Kennedy (2018). Sam's happiness about the positive impact of digital GDODF on people's health and wellbeing and his doubts towards marketing online show "the good, the bad and the ambivalent" in the relation between "technology and humanness" as pointed out by sociologist Winance in relation to wheelchair tests (2010, 112).

This ambivalence is also demonstrated during the evaluation of the impact and value of GDODF by Sam. They tell me Instagram analytics has changed impacting key insights into audience demographics: "The legislation has changed recently, so they stopped doing demographics". The consequence of this legal change is that it reduces insights into GDODF Instagram audiences, particularly age groups and gender. Many of the digital live events and videos were well-attended, however, discussion quickly arose about how to measure these audiences. Very few people filled out online feedback forms making it difficult to understand these digital audiences. Sam explains they only received 35 online surveys compared to 344 visitor surveys in the in-person year before. They tell me the Scottish Civic Trust, the

national organisers of Doors Open Days, have reported a similar decline in online survey responses. The lack of transparency of audiences demonstrates how working in an online environment poses new challenges for existing evaluation practices.

When I use my social media research to support GBPT to compile a report for GCC, the main funder of GDODF, it transpires it is difficult to measure what people did online and what constitutes a visit, or who is an actor. Links to videos are often sent out through social media platforms which analyse the interaction with the post through algorithms. However, interaction with the embedded video can consist of just a quick glance, watching only the first few seconds, halfway or to the end of the video. In addition to these practical barriers to evaluating audiences and despite reconnecting with some existing and engaging new audiences, “the equity of access available” (Malde and Kennedy 2018, 34) still means those who did not have access to the internet were not served by GDODF. This is also recognised by Lachlan, a heritage consultant who collaborates with GBPT: “It is about relevance and reach. There have always been issues with widening participation through the digital. It is a privilege to have a rewarding experience online.”

Using pre-existing networks and infrastructures for GDODF and Play Like a Lassie enabled an assemblage of new networks. Applying GBPT’s social purpose produced specific aims around producing new and more equal knowledge and access to online spaces such as a fairer gender representation on Wikipedia and access to digital GDODF. Providing upskilling opportunities to participants and developing shared ways of working reduces barriers and creates public access to more inclusive, more equitable storytelling. However, it is acknowledged these opportunities were available to people who had good internet access to start with and socio-economic demographic injustices remain a challenge.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has made visible the intensive work that goes into assembling relations with social purpose, particularly during a crisis such as the Covid-19 pandemic as

well as in epistemic crises of marginalisation processes. It has been evidenced that relations are a resource that both organisations and communities can use to achieve social purpose as well as to prepare for and recover from a crisis (Brown et al. 2017; Robertson et al. 2021). It has shown approaching relations with an ethics of care and strategic and ethical trust (Fukuyama 1996; Ruscio 1997) are essential to the sustained workings of the assemblage of relations. Such relations and supportive networks support emotional resilience among employees and volunteers of heritage organisations as well as community resilience. In addition, organisations embedded in networks which adopt both strategic and ethical trust are more likely to be financially resilient being able to mobilise their network for financial support in a crisis.

In this chapter, I have argued how networks are anchored across online and offline spaces and illustrated relations need to be in place to allow for mobilisation during a crisis such as the pandemic. Organisations already embedded in communities were able to pivot and serve their communities well during a period of disconnection due to the pandemic in the same way those with strong online communities were able to expand and mobilise their communities for a meaningful online experience (Wilkins 2020). These abilities to curate, re-assemble, repair and pivot networks, support community resilience and illustrate the intense everyday work involved in creating and maintaining relations. They also demonstrate how relations support sustainability as a transformative process that improves people's lives, particularly in marginalised communities consistent with Labadi's notion of the SDGs (2022).

However, this chapter has also emphasised that online spaces replicate offline injustices and are not set up to be inclusive and accessible for many people in deprived communities. Online knowledge production is skewed towards larger organisations with digital marketing strategies and a range of brands making it more difficult for small heritage organisations and the social purposes they advocate for to be seen and heard in digital spaces. A process of building rapport with technology, often experienced as the "unwanted non-human 'other'" (Gerlitz and Weltevrede 2020, 348), allowing for trial and error and investing time and resources in upskilling network members are steps towards creating better access and more inclusive online spaces. While building new networks that converge around social purpose

was a positive outcome, it is apparent that in-person relations allow GBPT to meet people in marginalised communities where they are as illustrated in the opening vignette and Chapter 6. The link between online spaces and community resilience in this study is therefore limited and would require improved access to the internet.

I have illustrated in this chapter how heritage practitioners and other community workers enable and facilitate a process of communities connecting around the care for tangible, intangible, natural and cultural heritage by providing activities, materials and online and offline spaces. These more-than-human approaches to relations (Haraway 2004; Mol 2020; Puig de la Bellacasa 2017) support infrastructures across Glasgow which can be curated and mobilised for collective and inclusive action to achieve social purposes such as restoring and adapting historic buildings, addressing dereliction, social justice and cohesion and environmental action. As such, networks are political and ethical devices.

GBPT's everyday practices of assembling relations into networks with social purpose as discussed across all chapters, are congruent with theories of infrastructures of care (Alam and Houston 2020). Infrastructures of care produce "radically inclusive and community-driven" life-sustaining activities (Alam and Houston 2020, 2). As such, they enable culture and heritage to be 'carried' within landscape on different levels ranging "from the ultra-local to the supra-national" (Auclair and Fairclough 2015). Inclusive infrastructures of care contribute to cultural diversity and multiple scales of heritage and identity, a key element of sustainability.

This chapter, alongside Chapters 5 and 6, has evidenced how the cumulative social and cultural impact of 40 years of building preservation projects and 30 years of GDODF by GBPT are both in the physical legacies of restored buildings, objects, archives and natural environments as well as in the intangible and sometimes invisible, curated assemblages of relations that collectively form these infrastructures of care. These assemblages of relations and participation in creative activities enable a variety of communities a place where their voices are heard as they become part of the processes of knowledge production. As such, GBPT enacts everyday

practices of connections to address matters of care and co-produces diverse knowledge, values and social purposes which support the sustainability of localities.

Chapter 8 Heritage, Sustainability and Participation across Contexts

Introduction

I am visiting an open-air museum near Oslo for an interview and I wander around the picturesque historic wooden Norwegian houses. I walk past an area with buzzing beehives and notice the gardens are well-kept with many flowers while chickens roam and scatter. I am speaking with Inger, the manager of the museum. During the interview, we discuss the process of adaptation during the Covid-19 pandemic. Inger tells me:

We closed for a few months and opened as soon as it was allowed. We were ready. Schools were working in bubbles but they did not have enough spaces, so we had school classes here for five weeks. We had three clusters coming here every day. We earned money and every day we had guided tours. We did well. [...] People could do a digital rebus and things outside. We did a quiz and did different things 2 or 3 times a week. We also registered all the birds living in the gardens and the sounds of the birds.

Inger's story reminds me of the Scottish stories of adaptation and community connections during the Covid-19 pandemic presented in Chapter 7. Organisations embedded in local communities were able to pivot through activating their networks to provide for local needs. The ability to adapt contributed to their financial resilience. Comparing mundane organisational and heritage practices across two countries has provided rich material for analysis. In addition to similarities in approaches to resilience and adaptation, there are also differences rooted in national histories and geographies.

In this chapter, I compare daily practices of heritage in relation to resilience, sustainability, and participation in Scotland and Norway. The aim is to draw lessons from different contexts and conceptualisations of heritage. Consistent with Chapter 4 about notions of AHDs and heritage dissonance, the comparison reveals that notions of top-down and bottom-up are not straightforward in either context and illuminates how the public realm influences the civic realm and the 'work-worlds' (Morse, Rex,

and Harvey Richardson 2018) of practitioners in small heritage organisations mediated by policies, strategies, funding criteria and accreditation schemes.

As described in more detail in Chapters 1 and 3, the aim of my visit to the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU) was to advance international understanding of heritage policies and practices by comparing Norwegian and Scottish policy and funding landscapes as well as practices in small heritage organisations. The research questions repeated those used in my Scottish ethnographic research and focused on understandings and configurations of resilience, sustainability, and community engagement and participation. It also revealed how creativity was approached in my Norwegian case study. To discuss the findings from the Norway case study, the same themes are evaluated as in the Scottish ethnographic study. I apply the same approach to heritage practices as care practices (Jones and Yarrow 2022) and continue to consider heritage practices as “processes and entanglements” as proposed by Sharon Macdonald (2009, 118) that create and perpetuate heritage (Chapter 1).

I explain the Norwegian political and policy context briefly below and emphasise the methods used by the Norwegian Government and Riksantikvaren, the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage. I reveal how small Norwegian heritage organisations enact social purpose through methods of engagement such as traditional skills, storytelling, and dance. Themes of relations, networks and resilience discussed in a Scottish context, are explored in a Norwegian context too. I conclude that despite contextual differences, there are many similarities in everyday heritage practices of care and the constructions of particular social purpose assemblages in relations and networks as resilience.

Although both countries are situated within Northern Europe and share similarities in terms of population sizes of approximately 5.4 million people and similar types of landscapes, Scotland and Norway have several socioeconomic differences relevant to this research. The Norwegian state has a centralised approach to economics and

owns the world's largest sovereign wealth fund. It owns key industries such as petroleum, natural gas, and minerals which, through the Government Petroleum Fund, later the Government Pension Fund and other equity portfolios such as real estate and renewable energy (NBIM 2024) provide the financial foundation for many public services. Despite this wealth and a comprehensive social security system, poverty rates in Norway, defined as persistent low income, were 10.1 per cent of the total population with 11.7 per cent of children living in poverty in 2019. In Scotland, these rates were considerably higher. During 2019–22, approximately 25% of children lived in poverty while the poverty rate for working-age adults was 19% (Birt et al. 2023). Norway has a relatively egalitarian income distribution and promotes egalitarian values while Scotland, as part of British society, is “more class-divided than the Norwegian” (Løkka, Hjemdahl, and Kleppe 2021, 12).

Despite economic and societal differences, both governments approach heritage and participation through the lens of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) applied within their national contexts. Both countries have a rich tapestry of voluntary groups concerning themselves with heritage, arts, and culture-related activities within local communities. This provides interesting opportunities for comparison and insights into sustainability and resilience in small heritage organisations beyond one particular context. In the next sections, I introduce my Norwegian case study, its Norwegian policy and heritage management context. Subsequently, I present several ethnographic sections revealing how Norwegian small heritage organisations negotiate ideas of funding criteria, social purposes, care, common good, sustainability and resilience, interspersed with comparative Scottish material to draw conclusions from both studies. The next section briefly describes the Norwegian Policy context followed by a section discussing my visit to Riksantikvaren, the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

8.1 Norwegian Policy Context

The Norwegian Ministry of Climate and Environment is responsible for heritage monuments, heritage sites and cultural landscapes jointly defined as cultural environment. In the Norwegian government's white paper of 2019–2020 (Meld. St.

16 2019), the cultural environment is defined as a monument or heritage site in its landscape context (Cultural Heritage Act 1978) and is described as a common good. The cultural environment is considered an important societal resource that contributes to environmental, social, and economic sustainability. The white paper aligns the Norwegian Heritage policy to international frameworks such as the European Landscape Convention and the Faro Convention, and aims to increase the focus on participation as well as the UN's SDGs (Colomer 2023; 2021). The policy sets out three national aims: everyone should have the opportunity to get involved and take responsibility for the cultural environment; the cultural environment shall contribute to sustainable development through comprehensive community planning; and a diversity of cultural environment must be preserved as a basis for knowledge, experience and use (Meld. St. 16 2019). National goals two and three describe how diversity relates to cultural monuments, cultural environments, and landscapes as opposed to the application of the term diversity as relating to people in a Scottish context of the democratisation of participation in heritage.

The Norwegian national heritage policy focuses on physical heritage in the landscape as a human legacy. While this is also described in the Scottish national strategy, Scottish policy adopts a broad anthropological approach to heritage and culture as social processes with a focus on people and identity (HES 2019b). The Scottish heritage strategy connects meanings, significance, and values that people attribute to physical heritage through stories, traditions, and concepts (SG 2023b) (Chapter 2). In Norway, the Ministry of Culture is responsible for museums, collections, and the arts including the intangible such as memories, stories, traditions, language, and song. This separation of heritage as environmental 'fabric' and culture as relating to objects, the intangible and identity, were replicated in NIKU's team structure and a recurring theme during many conversations. Coming from different conceptual backgrounds sometimes confused conversations and caused the need to clarify whether we were talking about heritage as a process and from a holistic perspective including the tangible, intangible, natural and cultural, or buildings and landscapes as monuments only.

With regards to heritage management, Riksantikvaren, the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage, implements and advises on heritage policy and is the advisory body and protection agency for national monuments, cultural heritage and environments. Riksantikvaren does not look after properties in the care of the state which is an important role for Historic Environment Scotland. However, the Norwegian Directorate's role can be compared to the Heritage Management Directorate of Historic Environment Scotland which plays a regulatory and policy role as Scotland's national heritage agency. In addition, Riksantikvaren looks after five regional archaeological museums and five regional maritime museums and is responsible for all archaeology above and underwater.

Regional reform in 2020 delegated national responsibilities to the regional level to strengthen decision-making processes in local communities (Colomer 2023). Like in Scotland, Norway's eleven regional authorities are responsible for regional heritage management, land use and planning and have decision-making authority within the relevant legislation. Norway follows guidance on Indigenous cultural heritage from The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) for its separate Sami Parliament. The Sami Parliament governs and safeguards the Sami language, culture, and society (Meld. St. 31 (2018–2019) with all Sami heritage from 1917 or older automatically protected by law.

At a local level, the local municipalities manage and safeguard local heritage and are responsible for local planning and land use through The Planning and Building Act as well as being responsible for providing grants and property tax exemptions. Both regional and local authorities manage their heritage assets through a Cultural Heritage Plan. Having briefly set out the Norwegian policy and heritage management context, I outline the findings of my visit to Norway. Given the policy separation of the physical cultural environment and culture including the intangible, I pay particular attention to the implications for participation and sustainability.

8.2 National Heritage Management, Planning and Participation

When I visit the historic building that houses Riksantikvaren in the centre of Oslo, I am struck by the homely atmosphere, the visibility of the wooden beam structure of the building and the welcoming team awaiting my visit. It becomes apparent during our introductions that these heritage professionals share the same kinds of personal and professional selves in their roles as curators and narrators of heritage as my interviewees in Scotland. Their backgrounds and activities illustrate their love for and their expertise in heritage. During the meeting and from the resources provided by the three representatives, I understand their focus is on the cultural environment as a resource for sustainable development. This resource focus is considered from three perspectives: a socio-economic resource, relating to income from tourism and property values in heritage environments; an environmental and climate resource linked to concepts such as the circular economy and reuse and renovation of the existing building stock in contrast with a previous approach of demolish and rebuild; and a socio-cultural resource which focuses on experiential values of cities and places including the idea that heritage enhances the quality of life. The team explained that although each Directorate remains within its remit, they have a cross-departmental committee that works collaboratively on issues of cultural environment and culture policy bridging tangible and intangible heritage. Activities around heritage mainly relate to conservation and future uses during processes of preservation and adaptation within the existing planning framework. Opportunities for participation at this level mainly consist of consultation processes on physical changes to the landscape similar to approaches taken by Historic Environment Scotland to properties in their care.

When discussing planning and participation, the team at Riksantikvaren explained they developed a heritage analysis tool in collaboration with NIKU called DIVE. It stands for the four steps described in the approach: Describe, Interpret, Value and Enable while also alluding to diving into the history of a place (Riksantikvaren 2010, 2). The team explained the DIVE tool links social perspective and urban morphology. As such, it is considered an engagement and change management tool which can also be used for climate issues. The tool includes concepts as walkability and the

ten-minute town, place quality, belonging and liveability. It aims to facilitate an “interdisciplinary, participatory and open process for inquisitive, critical and creative ideas” which includes community representation in a working group and can include public meetings, questionnaires, participatory groups, or digital ways of reaching out to local communities (Riksantikvaren 2010, 12).

Norwegian policy’s conceptualisation of the cultural environment seems in danger of creating a fabric-focused heritage concept with a focus on historic, architectural, or aesthetic and environmental values only. However, its practical application reveals aims to connect tangible and intangible heritage to social sustainability and social value. This practice bridges debates in critical heritage scholarship that express concerns for the marginalisation of social values and affect (Jones 2004; 2017; Madgin et al. 2016) on the one hand and for a “dematerialised ‘value-centred’ conceptualisation of heritage on the other (Veldpaus and Pendlebury 2023, 378).

How community consultation and participation are shaped in practice is revealed in a meeting with two members of staff at an Oslo-based social sustainability consultancy organisation that collaborates with NIKU and with government organisations. Along with two other researchers, one from the University of Stirling and one from NIKU, we discuss the new Norwegian Planning and Building Act which stipulates the planning process should include participation with adults, children, and young people and consider accessibility. However, it does not describe how to do this. The representatives of the social sustainability organisation explain they support organisations achieve this by helping them navigate participation as part of a new accreditation process developed by the government.

Astrid, a member of the management of the organisation, explains: “Social sustainability and participation are compulsory if you want to have the ‘Future Built’ label. Also, planning permission processes will happen more quickly if you do it via this model”. Her colleague Karl adds:

“it is interesting to see this [participation] is on the rise so much. It has been discussed as a paradigm for over 30 years. There has been a problem with implementing this in practice for a long time. [...] we must not repeat the mistakes of the past. We are making local intangible knowledge visible”.

Astrid points out that “anthropologists are people who actually want to talk to people, this surprises some developers!” She explains they focus on different perspectives and see the project from different angles and “different social needs” rather than focusing on achieving consensus. The accreditation also has an environmental approach to building materials and an ethical approach which includes a consideration of human rights at the place of production.

This conversation has given me a better understanding of the steps the Norwegian Government is taking to develop the concept of participation at a national level of heritage management and protection. Although the social sustainability approach is not necessarily part of all place development, the government are using legislation and the ‘Future Built’ accreditation as behaviour-change tools to connect people’s meanings, values, ideas and practical uses and experiences to heritage within their context of planning, landscape, and environment. Or, in Karl’s words, they are “making local intangible knowledge visible.” Notably, there is attention to “different social needs” (Astrid) and the different relations different people may have to the historic environment based on identity, power, and resources (Pendlebury, Veldpaus, and Garrow 2023).

Astrid’s explanation of allowing different perspectives, angles, and social needs to co-exist illustrates their understanding as anthropologists that different heritage engagement practices create “different points of leverage” (Mol 2002, 155). As also discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to GBPTs use of different creative engagement methods for different communities these different points of leverage, produce multiple connected realities, which Mol describes as a “manyfoldedness”, but not pluralism” (2002, 84). Social sustainability is carried out by this organisation as a

research and evidence-based business practice. This business opportunity arose as a consequence of the 'democratic turn' which situates people at the centre of heritage with the intention of giving 'non-experts' the opportunity to partake in decision-making processes (Holleland and Skrede 2019, 827).

These developments in the Norwegian planning legislation, accreditation, and approach to participation highlight how both heritage and participation can be part of sustainable development of places through the planning process despite heritage not being allocated a clear place in the SDGs (Labadi 2022). Having gained a broader understanding of national approaches to heritage, planning, and participation, I explore how small heritage organisations are embedded in the Norwegian funding landscape and how they approach the SDGs in their practices.

8.3 Norwegian Funding Landscape and the Sustainable Development Goals

After meeting up at an agreed point in town and a transfer by boat, we arrive at the yellow wooden boathouse (Figure 25) where the volunteer boatbuilding group is located on the west coast of Norway. While serving coffee from a flask in their workshop full of tools, machinery, wooden items and ropes, Fredrik, Chair of the volunteer boatbuilding group, explains that funding and reporting are based on trust and are "very manageable, [because] there is no reporting required at all, not even for the accounts." His colleague volunteer Marit adds "We get the money from the municipalities." Fredrik responds: "Yes, and we also fundraise through food and drink, and we can apply for tax refunds and use that as funds. And part of our income comes from member payments."

This conversation with Fredrik and Marit revealed that due to the level of mutual trust, there are relatively low levels of control measures such as reporting and evaluating. Fredrik and Marit further explain that voluntary organisations must register and get the municipality's approval. Once they are established as a volunteer community group, they receive annual funding on a rolling basis. This provides them with an economically sustainable foundation to cover their running costs. The mix of funding from the local government and self-generated income

through activities is similar to GBPT's funding situation although they have a very different remit. Local government funding support does not apply to most Scottish volunteer community groups with a comparable set-up as this boatbuilding community group. Voluntary community groups in Scotland have to self-generate their full income. They regularly apply for competitive funding sources which usually fund new projects and exclude regular running costs often creating economically precarious situations.



Figure 25. The yellow boathouse, Norway



Figure 26: A sleigh turned into a rocking chair

When discussing the funding landscape and requirements relating to the SDGs with the Directorate, they described volunteer community groups as a reliable route into community development and creators of economic value. The team at the Directorate explain they try to resource the volunteer groups by appointing someone at each municipality to support them in navigating funding applications. Similar to my conversations with representatives of national funders in Scotland, the team at the Directorate recognises that some communities have more experience and are better equipped to apply for funding than others. By building capacity at a local level, the

directorate aims to create more equal access to funding through this role and considers this part of its transition to a sustainable community development approach.

This mix of funding sources and relationships is further illustrated by Inger, the manager of a local open-air museum near Oslo, who explains they receive half of their income from the municipality. Another twenty per cent is funded by the Norwegian Government. They need to generate the remaining thirty per cent through visitors. Inger explains the funding situation is positive and has been improving recently:

We earn more than most others. Through exhibitions, we earn income. Our motto is 'History is Fun!' To make history fun, we need to earn money. This is different from England I know, they need to earn more income themselves. [Our income] is increasing a bit. The situation in Norway has increased immensely. Electricity is inexpensive. The museums in Norway have had really good times.

As the museum where Inger works includes both historic houses and collections, I ask her how reporting on funding works in everyday practice having two different ministries to report to: the Ministry of Culture for museums, collections and the intangible and the Ministry of Cultural Environment which focuses on historic buildings and landscape. She explains:

We only report to the council or the Ministry of Culture. Only to one Ministry for all of it; the building facilities, the objects, the artefacts, and visitors. Only if we do work on the buildings, when we do conservation and protection, it is delegated to the county. If we want to do works, we ask the county. We don't always for small works but if it is large works, we are in dialogue with them. But not for simple maintenance.

Both examples of reporting illustrate how bureaucracy and control are kept to a manageable level and are based on mutual trust and communication with authorities at both local and national levels. This finding is echoed by Saglie and Sivesind's (2018) research about the relationship between government and voluntary organisations. They argue that working based on mutual trust still exists and is not defined by finance and control but rather characterised "by proximity in terms of communication and contact" (Saglie and Sivesind 2018, 302). Reflecting on the need for reporting in detail to every funder involved in GBPT's projects, most recently for the West Boathouse which involved 16 separate funders, the contrast with Norway is stark. However, the lack of reporting invites the question: what do Norwegian organisations measure?

Inger tells me about reporting and measuring requirements they have to fulfil at the open-air museum near Oslo. Inger explains they are committed to environmental sustainability which is clear from the extensive gardens with beehives and hens and many repurposed items around the museum. Inger reveals they are committed to environmental, economic, and social sustainability through a new accreditation for museums:

We are registered as a 'miljø fyr hus'. It means something like environment lighthouse in English. Everything we do, we have to report: waste, travel, energy and the physical work we do with people. We first thought it was only waste. We were the first museum in Norway to get the certificate. We don't have much money. We are good at reusing and making exhibitions. We do one trip by car per week when we collect goods.

As Inger reveals, there is more reporting to achieve the "miljø fyr hus" accreditation than on how government funding was spent and whether the museum has produced the envisaged outputs and outcomes. When referring to funding criteria and reporting, all three organisations interviewed indicate they work towards specific social, environmental, economic, and cultural goals specified in the funding criteria. At the boatbuilding community group, volunteer Fredrik tells me: "I use the United

Nations' Sustainable Development Goals to get funding both from the government and private funders. Otherwise, you cannot get funding." He elaborates:

We are taking part in the UN sustainability goals; we use, we do not consume. And secondly, we are thinking about the future as a greener place, so also a greener economy. Also, we think of the social environment with our ABC: active, belonging, commitment [...] Many people understand the UN goals as something we need to do now. But you don't [need to reach the SDGs now]. They are goals, you work towards them. So, we need aims to work towards it.

Fredrik's reasons for using the SDGs "to get funding" highlight how the sustainability paradigm determines his thinking about the organisation's mission and aims towards the SDGs. Similar to Scotland, heritage practices in small volunteer organisations in Norway can be approached through the lens of practices of care that aim to address matters of concern for people, heritage, and the environment. Fredrik explains his focus on being "active, belonging and commitment" is based on a wish to connect people and combat loneliness in the rural areas where people live in disparate locations.

Both Inger and Fredrik's heritage practices as care practices also address the environment and consumerism as matters of concern. Fredrik's "we use, we do not consume" is echoed by Inger during the tour of the wooden museum buildings. She emphasises that many things in the buildings are handmade and often from something else like the sleigh which is now a rocking chair (Figure 26). Much of her story and the museum's message is about the history of making and reusing for both practical and environmental reasons. The conceptualisation of heritage and traditional skills as illustrated by Inger and Fredrik ties in with the concepts of both heritage and creativity as knowledge production as discussed in Chapter 6 when discussing traditional boatbuilding for the West Boathouse project (Clarke 2014, 179; Crossick and Kaszynska 2016, 15; Franklin 2022; Jones 2017; Smith 2006).

Fredrik expresses his ideas on knowledge and traditional skills very clearly during my visit to their workshop and boathouse. He shows me a large, curved branch taken from a tree that is stripped of its bark (Figure 27) and explains:

You work with the tree, not against it. There are people who have this knowledge. You see, our motto is: preserve things through use. It is the act of preserving through traditional skills.

Volunteer Marit agrees with Fredrik and illustrates this with her skill of tying buoys with hemp and ropes (Figure 28). She explains that she has attended rope-tying courses with other volunteers. Now that she is proficient, she teaches others. Marit shows me a variety of buoys and tied knots for training purposes exemplifying how skill and craftsmanship become expert practice after longer periods of honing skills (Jones and Yarrow 2013; 2022; Yarrow and Jones 2014).

While showcasing her work, Marit also highlights the importance of gender balance which enables women to participate and pass on traditional skills in the community group:

It is a good mix of gender. At other organisations, the men dominate and do the woodwork, the women make tea and cake. Here, the women are not afraid of the boats. They work just like the men. My husband wanted to change to [other local organisation] but there is no gender balance and not such a great community as [here]. So, I refused.

Marit's experience is reminiscent of Robin's reflections on whose voices count and who is invited to participate and produce heritage as described in Chapter 5. Marit's story is testimony that the boatbuilding community group is succeeding in including diverse genders (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Lynch 2011) and enables them to both participate and lead processes of heritage and creativity as knowledge production. In this section, I showed how the sustainability agenda and funding criteria influence ideas of mission and purpose, participation and inclusivity in small heritage organisations. The next section reveals how ideas of social purpose address

‘matters of concern’ (Latour 2004) and encourage heritage practices as care practices similar to the Scottish case study.



Figure 27. Curved branch for boatbuilding



Figure 28. Hemp and rope-tied buoy made by Marit

8.4 Social Purpose and ‘Matters of Care’ in Norwegian Heritage Practices

Like in Scotland, and particularly at GBPT, the small Norwegian heritage organisations in this case study all have a focus on connecting people and a locally relevant aim to include specific marginalised groups in their activities. Ideas of the democratisation of heritage and a need to produce values for and with a wider range of people feature in all my conversations with participants such as with Inger at the open-air museum near Oslo, who focuses on connecting with people who are new to Norway.

During my visit to the open-air museum near Oslo, I am amused by a session of folk dancing in a garden. Inger encourages me to be her dance partner calling the

dances to the participants. This causes some entertainment among the mostly Norwegian visitors as she explains how to dance while I do not understand Norwegian. Inger tells me later, that folk dancing is an important part of their engagement activities and a participatory way to experience the museum. She has volunteers of all ages who dance with visitors at the museum, and these volunteers include people from other cultures. She explains the museum also did a project with volunteers in collaboration with NIKU “with people from Sweden, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland. We have the highest level of foreigners in this area. We want them to experience that they are all welcome here.” This focus on marginalised groups particular to the local area is also described by the boatbuilding volunteer group and the local open-air museum on the west coast which collaborate to support ex-prisoners’ reintegration into society.

During a walk-and-talk interview along the west coast with Fredrik and Marit from the boatbuilding volunteer group, we visit the carpentry workshop at their local open-air museum. Fredrik and Marit introduced me to Jacob, a carpenter and maintenance employee at the local open-air museum with whom they collaborate with, supporting the reintegration of ex-prisoners. Fredrik tells me: “We believe in a second chance and returning to society. They need support and something useful to do to prevent them going back to drugs or alcohol and crime,” thus expressing the collaboration in terms of ‘matters of concern’ (Latour 2004).

Jacob explains he teaches the ex-prisoners new skills in the museum garden as well as teaching them woodworking in the yellow boathouse which is shared between the organisations. He explains he uses both traditional and modern skills and technology. Jacob emphasises the emotional labour involved when he works with ex-prisoners who struggle: “It is difficult, I need to be in a good mood myself to be able to support them, but this is a small town, and we all need to help.” Fredrik, Marit and Jacobs’ stories illustrate how the collaboration between the boatbuilding volunteer group and the museum to address ex-prisoners’ reintegration into society can be seen as delicate gatherings of interrelated concerns (Jones and Yarrow 2022; Latour 2004). By enacting these ‘matters of concern’ through forms of care

and moral and ethical commitments (Mol 2002, 10), Norwegian small heritage organisations perform similar care practices as observed in the work of GBPT and other small heritage organisations in Scotland. Jacob's story shows how performing such care requires the same commitment of philanthropic emotional labour and a high level of commitment of personal and professional selves (Bolton 2010; Jones and Yarrow 2022) as discussed in GBPT's context (Chapter 5). Jacob's reflection also chimes with Graeme, the Manager of a Community Charity's concerns (Chapter 5) about the pressures on his staff when working with people with mental health or other difficulties. The Norwegian case study invites similar critiques relating to the provision of services based on national strategies and funding requirements which I discuss further in section 8.7.

Inviting marginalised groups into the boatbuilding community suits their strategy which focuses on being active, belonging, and having commitment. Fredrik explains his leadership role in the volunteer group and his approach to social needs in the organisation's local area:

We have 100 active members and 30-40 actively volunteer. That is okay for the dynamics and leadership. To be people-focused, you have to be member-focused. It needs a leader who can give time. I have to run this, and I am doing it my way. My mission now is to build it based on the members. I am their servant. I have written about our identity with long-term goals and what we are. I asked the members: why did you become a member? It was to save social community. This was the core thing for all of them. Also, it is a sustainable and environmentally friendly leisure time activity — the best we can offer.

Fredrik's approach to leadership is embedded in participation. His survey among the members has given him a better idea of their mission to "save social community" through using traditional skills and knowledge. A related concept all organisations in my Norwegian case study reflect on is the importance of intergenerational knowledge and skills which is linked to the concept of resilient communities.

During my afternoon with Inger at the open-air museum near Oslo, three young people helped out with a range of activities. When I compliment Inger on having a group of such young helpers, she laughs and tells me “They are here to work, and I pay them. They are not volunteers. I cannot get young people as volunteers.” The young people nod and sit down to listen to our conversation. Inger explains she teaches them folk dancing, stories and fairy tales and the importance of the museum being “a living museum where people can interact with things and play.” Today, they are here to help out with after-school activities. The theme of trust recurs here too. Inger emphasises the importance of teaching young people about making eye contact with and trusting visitors with the many objects on display and unprotected in the wooden historic houses.

At the Norwegian west coast, boatbuilding volunteer Marit echoes Inger’s concern for including young people in the organisation: “That is one of our challenges, to get younger people.” Although Fredrik highlights their volunteer group “is thriving because of all the knowledge people bring. They are very proud of this. Much knowledge comes through family and is intergenerational. Most people who volunteer have links to coastal places”. However, Marit and Fredrik explain most members are in their sixties and the lack of young people undermines the idea of intergenerational knowledge. Like GBPT, the boatbuilding volunteers have experience with doing activities with schools, however, the boatbuilding material is often heavy for children to work with.

Fredrik hopes to engage young people through stories and experiences and is considering using digital means to engage them. He explains his day job of designing scenario-based simulations for disaster preparedness has taught him that if “activities are only digital, they lose interest. Combining it [with physical activities] works best.” Fredrik would like to take young people “to explore the Norwegian coast in a traditional boat, also to preserve the heritage”. However, Fredrik also hopes to address another ‘matter of concern’: “I want to draw in young people in the holidays to help them combat their anxiety about climate change by giving them skills and knowledge.” Fredrik and Marit’s reflections are reminiscent of Robin’s work in

Glasgow with children and young people anticipating and assembling a better future by using creative approaches to resource people through a holistic approach to heritage (Harrison 2020, 36; Strathern 2020).

Notably, the small heritage organisations' social purpose aiming to combat young people's climate anxiety and include marginalised groups in their communities illustrates how resourcing people with skills and knowledge enables resilience and social cohesion. It also reiterates the importance of using heritage and partnerships between organisations as available resources to support resilience as highlighted in Chapter 7 (Robertson et al. 2021). The importance of intergenerational knowledge and skills to create resilience is part of Norwegian ideas around public value and the common good. The next section illustrates how these are navigated through the concept of 'Dugnad' and Norwegian origin stories by the organisations that participated in this study.

8.5 Volunteering for the Common Good: Dugnad and Resilience

Interviewees' stories about the concept of volunteering for the common good illuminate the relationship between knowledge production, infrastructures of care and resilience. A Norwegian concept that has been raised in all conversations during my stay in Norway is 'dugnad'. When I look it up in the dictionary, it defines dugnad as follows:

Dugnad

The concept of volunteering or the common good: Dugnad: Old Norse *dugnaðr* ("help"). Unpaid voluntary, orchestrated community work.

In conversations and interviews, it strikes me most people try to describe the meaning of Dugnad with passion while explaining its importance to Norwegian heritage and culture. This theme is also strong in my conversations with people not originally from Norway. These conversations reveal they often feel their level of belonging is deducted from their display of Dugnad in their local communities or

sports clubs, as a sign of assimilation or integration into their new country. Although the definition in the dictionary focuses on orchestrated volunteering or the common good, conversations emphasise broader meanings including the importance of intergenerational knowledge and skills. In the workshop at the boatbuilding community group, Marit and Fredrik explain Dugnad to me:

Fredrik “All are learning the skill. It is built on they will be getting that help later. Yes? It is the common good.”

Marit: “You don’t expect the common good back again.”

Fredrik: “Yes, but you *want* to help and give back. It is being positive to be a part of it, to have responsibilities and to pass it onto sons or daughters.”

They agree Dugnad is also about having a mission and being trusted and respected for having a role in the community. Fredrik continues:

Our grandparents ... they had habits and the knowledge to reuse wood ... and other things. They knew how not to consume but to use. The bond between knowledge and skills and people was so strong... Two weeks ago, a large bridge broke down in the middle of Norway... Locals thought why can’t they fix it right away? Volunteers came with parts and made the bridge in a week. You can’t compete with the effectiveness and decisions [like] the locals can. It was all within the safety measures because people were educated, they know about this... They had bulldozer cranes, everything! Yes, it is dugnad [...] I don’t know [another] country in the world where they have the dugnad.

Fredrik and Marit’s explanation of Dugnad focuses on intergenerational skills and knowledge, coming together and a sense of duty to look after local places and communities. In this sense, Dugnad is reminiscent of Berlant’s (2016) notion of infrastructures of care (Chapter 7) as networks that enact and produce care. The idea of Dugnad as described by Marit and Fredrik also resonates with Berlant’s (2016, 415) argument that the commons is active, “a doing” in relative autonomy from political structures.

Undertaking Dugnad as action for the common good illustrates ambivalence about capitalist democracy. During my conversation at Riksantikvaren, Dugnad is highlighted as doing things for the community. However, it is also pointed out that retaining Dugnad can be difficult as financial flows and imperatives undermine its structures. This tension between volunteering time for the common good and monetary structures is illustrated by the difference between those who described Dugnad to me in the capital Oslo and coastal communities on the West Coast. In Oslo, people explain it is common for individuals to pay young people to do their Dugnad for them. This was presented to me as an opportunity for young people to earn some money and it saves the adults the time having to undertake their Dugnad. At the more rural West Coast, Fredrik tells me he is pleased Dugnad is still strong in his local area:

The common thing is passed on by the Dugnad. Socially, they built a safety net. And we still use our leisure time. That is the point where it may fall through, it gets washed out when you can't participate because of the long hours [at work].

Three lessons can be drawn from these stories, consistent with Berlant's (2016) observation that in liberal capitalist economies, especially during times of austerity politics, commons as "doing" and as contributing to resilience, are at risk of unravelling. Firstly, sustaining the commons requires reframing the relationship between the economy and "obligations and practices of worlding and care" (Berlant 2016, 408). The parallels between participants' interpretations of Dugnad and my Scottish ethnographic findings in the context of heritage as practices of care are striking. GBPT and professionals from other small Scottish heritage organisations consider it their purpose to care for heritage as commons to achieve social cohesion and increase resilience to counter the consequences of unsustainable urban development, dereliction, poverty, and marginalisation processes. As such, commons as doings and as action include continuous processes of repair in the context of power structures.

Secondly, the Norwegian descriptions of Dugnad reaffirm the importance of relationships and the role of heritage and creativity as knowledge production in creating “a safety net” contributing to community resilience as highlighted in Chapter 7 in the context of my Scottish findings. By creating and curating networks as assemblages of relations in a more-than-human environment (Latour 2005; Haraway 2004; Waterton and Watson 2005; Puig de la Bellacasa 2017), infrastructures of care are formed to contribute to social cohesion, sustainability, and resilience, and support adaptation processes. Research among Norwegian voluntary organisations by Løkka, Hjemdahl, and Kleppe (2021, 242) confirms dugnad is a form of doing as heritage practice as “the working community, the sense of service” which creates meanings and values for individuals, communities, and society. Dugnad in this sense involves a strong element of learning and passing on knowledge and skills reminiscent of Communities of Practice (Wenger 1998) as discussed concerning digital communities during the pandemic in Chapter 7.

The importance of relationships in both contexts, confirms how heritage practitioners and other professionals working with communities curate social relations and interactions to both facilitate and mediate knowledge production using their professional expertise of cultural and natural heritage. As discussed in Chapter 7, the development of relationships can be considered as the basis of the interconnectedness of all aspects of sustainability. This is demonstrated by the conceptualisation of Dugnad as an infrastructure of care showing the links between the use of traditional skills, community engagement, environmental action, and economic advantage from community resilience.

Thirdly, the Norwegian case study highlights where utilising and creating community knowledge and skills are considered appropriate. At the small Norwegian heritage organisations, there was much emphasis on heritage as making and doing, often with wood as a renewable resource. The interviewees explained they can replicate heritage skills as well as recreate and reuse tangible and associated intangible heritage. Not only is this presented as an environmentally friendly approach to heritage, but the skills, knowledge and tangible heritage are also considered

economic resources which equip people to create both sustainable and resilient communities. This reiterates the importance of the availability of skills and expertise to communities as part of empowerment, resilience and adaption processes. Currently, these are not well embedded in communities in Scotland and held by BPTs and related organisations (Chapter 4). In the context of ontological politics, the implication is that everyday practices do not just try to enact policies and strategies, policy needs to take into account the realities and practices already available and consider the consequences and integration of real-world already existing practices. Therefore, policy needs to recognise and enact practice too.

However, during conversations at Riksantikvaren and NIKU, where building conservation is discussed in the context of stone buildings and national monuments, conservation activities are considered unsuitable for participation by volunteers. As is the case with GBPT's West Boathouse project, the expertise and restoration guidelines that come with physical conservation work are considered roles for conservation experts. Community participation is considered appropriate by GBPT in making choices about some physical aspects of the building such as practical decisions about historic paint colours, display of collections and practical requirements for the division of rooms and facilities to enable suitable adaptive reuse of the building. However, the most suitable place for participation by communities in both case studies is where knowledge, skills, and creativity are used to create inclusive, future-focused heritage narratives which thrive on the use of grassroots knowledge enabling alternative narratives to the AHD.

8.6 Understandings of Policy and Participation in Different Contexts

My findings show how despite different policy approaches, both countries are exploring ways to localise the SDGs and the concept of participation to their national context in similar ways. Norway's policy approach focuses on what they define as the cultural environment through the planning process. By using top-down tools of behaviour change such as funding criteria and accreditation schemes for planners, developers, builders and regional and local governments, they aim to shape strategies and activities to include social sustainability and achieve policy aims as

set out in the Norwegian White Paper (Meld. St. 16 2019). Norway does not have a tradition of building preservation trusts, however, the Directorate for Cultural Heritage supports grassroots volunteering initiatives by creating local roles for funding application support as well as providing non-competitive funding for the annual costs of volunteer community groups.

Similarly, the Scottish and UK Governments also use funding criteria to shape the desired policy outcomes. As highlighted in Chapter 2, heritage and culture's place in the planning process has long been neglected in Scotland, however, recent government policies based on local place plans are currently aiming to improve community participation in place development. Interviewees in both countries expressed the need not to repeat mistakes of the past when referring to regeneration processes that excluded communities from participating in the development of their own spaces as outlined in Chapters 4 and 6 about the Gorbals and Dalmarnock.

In addition, although the Scottish Government aims to support grassroots heritage and community initiatives and community ownership through the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 and the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2016 led to an increase in land and historic buildings owned by communities (Chapter 2), this is not always successful. In addition to the negative economic impacts on BPTs and skills available to communities (Chapter 4), Dalglish notes a participation deficit in Scottish land reform processes in communities which “are potentially profound. People feel locked out of decisions that affect their lives. This breeds a sense of insecurity and alienation, and it undermines people’s confidence, resilience and drive”. Community governance and ownership of heritage is not a focus in Norwegian policy, however, volunteer Marit tells me about a community group that “bought a wooden schoolhouse for 1NOK” and NIKU too is involved in a project on the West Coast where a community have bought their local church indicating that community ownership is happening as grassroots initiatives but not as part of government policies. This seems consistent with Colomer’s (2023,) observation that Norway’s decentralised governance of culture and heritage and associated processes of consultation are about “fulfilling a sense of civic obligation towards the community rather than a tool for citizen empowerment.”

Berlant notes the concept of participation at all levels of governance includes forms of caring for the commons which inherently carries ambivalence about democracy (2016). This has consequences for the scholarly debate on instrumentalization of heritage as discussed in Chapter 2. This debate focuses on tensions over the commodification of heritage (Baxter 2015, 34) while not recognising its meanings and values to people and communities. As highlighted in Chapter 6, Paton, Mooney and McKee (2012) problematise the utilitarian approach to heritage and culture as only considered useful when they repair unwanted societal issues. This debate is echoed in Norwegian research by Saglie and Sivesind (2018) who discuss whether civic organisations are controlled or “colonised” by the Norwegian state. They highlight this is particularly an issue in “areas where the state has instrumental reasons for supporting voluntary organisations, such as promotion of public health, emergency preparedness, integration of immigrants and refugees, and foreign aid” turning them into semi-public organisations (Saglie and Sivesind 2018, 293). The international debate highlights how shaping heritage practices with funding criteria, funding support and accreditation schemes, is blurring the boundaries between public space and civic space, or top-down policy and bottom-up grassroots initiatives (Ibidem).

As discussed in Chapter 4, heritage dissonance is an inherent part of heritage. However, whether grassroots narratives are recognised is associated with power structures. Following Mol’s (1999) ‘ontological politics,’ I consider the implications of everyday practices that are required to enact policy while it is unclear how policy acknowledges and confirms existing real-world practices with communities as reality-making. Labadi (2022, 217) highlights the importance of communities having control over their heritage in participatory projects rather than reproducing existing AHD narratives and power structures. While Alam and Houston (2020, 8) frame care as an alternate democratic infrastructure and a public form of care, I suggest infrastructures of care are integral to the connection between public and civic or grassroots spaces. Although the local social purpose of care and repair comes from within small heritage organisations or grassroots community initiatives, these are often supported through government funding schemes and shaped by formal funding criteria. I, therefore, argue that small heritage organisations create a hybridity of

public and civic spaces. This is consistent with research by Hasenfeld and Gidron (2005, 97) into voluntary organisations and social movements who conclude: “they evolve into hybrid organizations by having multiple purposes—combining to various degrees goals of value change, service provision and mutual-aid”. This idea of hybridity as multiple purposes echoes (Doherty, Haugh, and Lyon 2014, 417) who “identify hybridity, the pursuit of the dual mission of financial sustainability and social purpose” with implications for the management of the social enterprise mission, their financial resilience and their “human resource mobilization”. In the next section, I conclude how issues of participation, control and space for grassroots knowledge have implications for envisaging heritage futures.

Conclusions: Heritage, Participation and Future-Thinking

Although heritage organisations in both countries work within transformative sustainability agendas and focus on democratisation and participation, the different contexts and conceptualisations of heritage in practice lead to the use of different approaches to participation creating different knowledges and different heritage futures. My ethnographic case studies across two countries have shown that different conceptualisations of heritage co-exist in practice. Norwegian small heritage organisation’s approach to heritage as a common good is framed in dialogue with their tradition of Dugnad which focuses on skills, and ‘doing’ as a civic duty contributing to community networks and resilience. There is potential for the two countries to learn from each other’s specific configurations of heritage policy and practice. Scottish Government is addressing a traditional skills shortage (HES, Skills Development Scotland, and SG 2024), which may be linked to issues with perceptions of both traditional and modern skills which no longer reside in communities and are not passed on through the generations (Chapter 4). Both approaches include heritage as meaning and values constantly being made and remade through social practices.

From my conversations, interviews and observations, ‘doing as heritage practice’ in the Norwegian case study focuses on preserving traditions, passing on knowledge of

traditional skills and preserving social infrastructures from an endangerment perspective. Although these are used to engage with marginalised groups such as ex-prisoners and people who are new to Norway, using endangerment as an incentive to participate, may risk strengthening the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Fredheim 2018; Smith 2006) and can potentially exclude alternative narratives. From this perspective, participants may become “passive beneficiaries” while dominant heritage narratives are perpetuated and experts determine what is valued (Hølleland and Skrede 2019, 827). Fredheim (2018) and May (2019) highlight this may create anxious heritage futures based on anticipated loss.

However, this research has shown that endangerment narratives such as GBPT’s restoration of the West Boathouse or the use of origin stories of protest against loss, can be used to draw parallels and to envisage positive, resilient, and alternative futures focused on recovery and inclusion through equitable power-sharing in knowledge production. Using heritage to craft “particular imagined and desired futures” by engaging with and using specific pasts in the present (Harrison 2020, 37; Smith 2006), involves seeing heritage as an action concept that can be utilised to envisage and enact a better world.

Key to the difference between reproducing the AHD and producing inclusive new narratives and alternative futures by using heritage and creativity as vehicles of hope is the place of grassroots knowledge in participation. Incorporating grassroots knowledge is integral to the production of inclusive knowledge. It supports a democratic and values-based approach to both heritage and creative practices and leads to the creation of what Mol (2002) described in relation to healthcare, as “multiple connected realities” of heritage. This position affirms heritage practices reside in cultural and social processes that are knowledge-forming (Clarke 2014, 179; Crossick and Kaszynska 2016, 15; Franklin 2021; Jones 2017; Smith 2006) and allow participants to create and sustain multiple meanings and values rather than imposing dominant values onto communities as passive recipients of the benefits of heritage-related activities (Colomer 2021; May 2020; Fredheim 2019; Jones 2004; 2017; Throsby 2005). This broad anthropological and inclusive knowledge requires heritage professionals to facilitate safe and inclusive spaces for diverse grassroots knowledge. GBPT’s creative practices have evidenced (Chapter 6) that changing the

power dynamics between communities and heritage professionals opens up opportunities for grassroots knowledge or lived experience to be included in the landscape as ‘stories-so-far’ (Massey 2005) allowing multiple realities of heritage to co-exist. Multiplicity may have implications for which values are compatible with equality, diversity, inclusion, and justice and may cause friction within organisational governance and communities (Chapter 5).

Returning to heritage practices as ethics of care helps clarify this. As care itself can be used as a “critically disruptive” practice (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017, 12) to make change and ‘do justice’ as previously expressed by Sam (Chapter 5). Heritage as care, as critically disruptive ‘doings’ are complex and ambivalent and require kindness, effectiveness, tenacity, and strength (Mol, Moser, and Pols 2010). The ethics of care:

never sought to answer what is good [...] ‘caring practices’ entail a specific modality of handling questions to do with the good [...] In the ethics of care it was stressed that in practice, principles are rarely productive. Instead, local solutions to specific problems need to be worked out. They may involve ‘justice’ but other norms (fairness, kindness, compassion, generosity) may be equally or more, important – and not in a foundational way, but as orientations among others (Ibidem, 13).

Local solutions to specific problems or ‘matters of care’ (Labadi 2022; Mol 2002) are at the heart of sustainability. However, how do we know if heritage, as practices of care, have the desired impact on heritage, communities and small heritage organisations themselves? This is a question I have tried to address at various points throughout this thesis and I give a more sustained appraisal of it in the conclusion.

Chapter 9 Assembling Resilient and Sustainable Futures for Small Heritage Organisations

9.1 Research Overview

The value of the role of small heritage organisations in regeneration was reiterated in December 2023, when organisations in twelve UK towns and cities were awarded grants from the Heritage Places Initiative, a fund established jointly by the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF) and the Architectural Heritage Fund (AHF). This initiative supports areas with heritage needs and potential (NLHF 2023). In an article in *The Herald* (Sanderson 2023), the Scottish recipients of this funding, GBPT, Fife Historic Buildings Trust and Northeast Scotland Preservation Trust were celebrated for their contributions to heritage-led regeneration, strengthening local identity, making local areas more sustainable and making a difference in people's lives. Such outcomes, and the expressions of hope that accompany them, are central to national funders' current focus on culture and heritage as drivers of regeneration. Rowan explains that for GBPT, this fund represents “the recognition of the need to build staff capacity and financial resilience in the sector to help be more sustainable in the immediate and long term future”.

Over the last two decades, international frameworks such as the Faro Convention have focused on the role of heritage in contributing to sustainability and increased demand for participation in democratisation processes. As Labadi (2022) notes, although heritage is not highlighted as a driver of development in the UN SDGs, an issue that is replicated in the Scottish National Performance Framework, its potential contribution has recently been recognised by the Scottish Government in the National Planning Framework (SG 2020). However, with the Scottish Government's Regeneration Capital Grant Fund currently on hold and a reduction in allocation to the Vacant and Derelict Land Fund, economic conditions for projects involving building restoration and urban regeneration remain challenging (SG 2023b; Scotland's Regeneration Forum 2024).

As outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, academic scholarship suggests heritage and creativity can be used as drivers enabling practitioners and communities to envisage better, more sustainable futures (e.g. Fredheim 2018; Harrison 2020; May 2020). However, there was limited knowledge and understanding of the role of small heritage organisations, as curators and narrators of heritage (Djabarouti 2021) engaged in participatory, creative practice with communities, in contributing to sustainable futures. This gap is problematic because it is important to understand how policies, strategies and funding criteria relating to sustainable development and resilience concepts intersect with and mediate, everyday heritage practices and ideas of social purpose. This ethnographic study contributes important new knowledge and understanding of how small heritage organisations in Scotland configure and apply the concepts of heritage, sustainable development, and resilience in everyday heritage practice. The insights gained can inform approaches to resilience and sustainable development in heritage policies, practices and funding strategies, as I discuss towards the end of this chapter.

In responding to these problems, I set out to address the following overarching question at the start of this PhD: how can small heritage organisations with social purpose create sustainable and resilient futures in the context of rapidly changing economies? In answering it, I also explored the following subsidiary questions:

- How do small heritage organisations respond to rapidly changing economies, in dialogue with emerging theories, policies and strategies of economic practice aimed at social purpose and societal changes?
- How are small heritage organisations framing ideas of mission, need and value?
- How are they navigating heritage and creativity in participation?

The research was undertaken in collaboration with GBPT within a Scottish policy context. Focusing primarily on the work of GBPT, it involved an ethnographic study of the everyday practices of caring for heritage, conceived as encompassing the cultural, natural, tangible, and intangible in a more-than-human-environment. Within an overarching ethnographic and collaborative approach, my methods included

observation of, and participation in, creative heritage activities with project-related communities; qualitative interviews with heritage professionals and volunteers; and social media research, in particular focusing on the wider response of the heritage sector to the Covid-19 pandemic using R software. The use of in person qualitative methods was interrupted by the arrival of the pandemic in March 2020 and continued through much of the fieldwork period of the PhD. However, this was mitigated by moving my ethnographic research in online spaces, in essence following a similar transformation in how GBPT and other small heritage organisations were forced to operate. An extension to my funding allowed a brief return to in-person participation in creative activities with communities in 2022-2023. It also allowed for a research visit to Norway, in association with the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, which provided a comparative case study, locating the research in a wider international context.

These adaptations do not undermine the findings. They show how collaborative research needs to be flexible and responsive to changing circumstances (Graham 2017; Franklin 2021). Unwelcome though it was, the Covid-19 pandemic also provided unique insights into how small heritage organisations work with communities to achieve sustainable futures in challenging circumstances, which threaten their funding streams, projects and ultimately their own existence. As a result, this PhD provides a micro-organisational perspective on the challenges and opportunities facing small heritage organisations that work with communities to create sustainable and resilient futures through creative, heritage practices.

The focus on everyday heritage practices with communities has resulted in new insights into the changing nature of public value in relation to heritage. Current policy is asking heritage to be useful, a catalyst for change and to address societal challenges ranging from environmental challenges to health benefits. It also intends to enable communities to take control of their heritage and to manage heritage as commons as an active practice. As a result, small heritage organisations perform and enact hybrid purposes which create hybrid spaces of knowledge production. Firstly, they are expected to produce public values mediated through policy

frameworks and funding criteria. Secondly, they navigate and enact social purpose in dialogue with local needs and local communities. Thirdly, they need to remain financially resilient to retain their business continuity. As public values and social purposes are fluid and change in response to societal challenges, determining funding priorities as a result, much of the work is about managing continuous change. Although successful in some ways, this study shows that heritage and creative practices as change-making can be challenging. There are unintended consequences that are discussed below with recommendations on how to address these in section 9.3.

9.2 Key Findings and Contributions

This study contributes new knowledge in three key areas. Firstly, it provides insights into the role and social purpose of small heritage organisations as curators and narrators of heritage operating at the intersection of national and local policies, funding strategies, and creative heritage practices with communities. Secondly, it makes visible the intense labour involved in heritage practices as practices of care that address societal challenges in the context of sustainable development and resilience agendas through practices of change-making. Thirdly, it contributes to a better understanding of the role of networks of relations as infrastructures of care. These infrastructures of care contribute to resilience building in organisations and communities which are mutually reinforcing.

9.2.1 Navigating Social Purpose and Mission Thinking

My ethnographic research reveals that small Scottish heritage organisations respond to rapidly changing political economies by pivoting their work towards new policies and strategies which inform funding frameworks and criteria. They do so in dialogue with their organisational history, professional and personal ideas of mission, and local needs and values, skillfully engaging national policies and funding requirements to address local needs and contexts. On a broader scale, they navigate social purpose and rapidly changing economies by building and curating relations into infrastructures of care, resulting in economies of scale and organisational resilience

which contribute in turn to community resilience. The research renders the role of small heritage organisations visible, along with the intense labour that goes into heritage practices that address societal challenges in the context of sustainable development and resilience agendas. Operating on the intersection of national and local policy and strategies, funding strategies, and participatory heritage practice with communities, small heritage organisations are constantly adapting to change while becoming more reliant on competitive grant funding due to reduced public funding.

This research has taken an ontological political approach (Mol 1999) to foreground the often invisible stories of small heritage organisations and GBPT's story in particular. It recognises their commitment to sustainability as a transformative agenda and illustrates "their daily struggle to overcome the micro, meso and macro level injustices of our unsustainable systems and institutions" (Franklin 2021, 8). The lack of visibility of small heritage organisations' stories and work was confirmed by social media research undertaken between March 2020 and March 2021. Analysis of social media data revealed that the volume of knowledge production on Twitter is skewed towards policy bodies, arms' length organisations and funders. Descriptions of marketing departments and strategies illustrated the uneven availability of resources, while social media was an additional task for employees with other roles in small heritage organisations, or undertaken by volunteers with limited time and resources.

During this study, a period of intense transformation, employees of GBPT negotiated ideas around mission and social purpose including curating a heritage narrative of its organisational past as a community group protesting the imminent demolition of the Briggait in the 1980s. By assembling the organisation's origin story focusing on protest, recovery, and resilience, they aligned it with grassroots groups in addressing local societal issues of dereliction, social cohesion, and environmental decline. This process demonstrates how dissonance, as an intrinsic part of heritage (Robertson 2008; Smith 2006) can be foregrounded to connect to stories with marginalised communities. To include dissonant stories, they need specific 'presencing' (Law 2004), which Mol has described as a form of ontological politics (1999) which is

concerned with the process of reality-making and how, in this case, heritage and creative practices enact the multiplicity of realities.

Building on these findings, my ethnographical exploration of GBPT's everyday 'talk as practice' (Yarrow 2019) showed how social purpose was discursively organised and constructed as GBPT navigated local societal challenges during the West Boathouse project at Glasgow Green. GBPT's practices with derelict historic buildings and marginalised communities resonate with Latour's approach to 'things' as gatherings, and as 'matters of concern' (2004) that Mol (2002) proposes become 'matters of care' when in need of care. This study revealed how the unravelling and gathering of communities and buildings are interconnected and responsive processes. I proposed that dereliction, as a process of things becoming undone, associated meanings and values and groups of people unravel in response. Vice versa, the displacement of communities such as in post-industrial Glasgow leaves buildings without their associated communities, meanings and values and can lead to dereliction in response. As such, the resilience of buildings and communities is inextricably bound and consistent with the resilience theory by Robertson et al. (2021).

Like many other small heritage organisations in this study, GBPT has recently addressed issues of representation, inclusion, and the development of more democratic approaches in organisational governance. This process encountered challenges resulting in difficult conversations internally between employees, the Board and collaborating communities, where values around democratisation and social purpose were not always shared. Evidence gathered through interviews from across the heritage sector highlighted how working in transformative processes and addressing societal challenges involves intense emotional labour (Chapter 5) which requires peer support networks and training to support employee's emotional resilience.

Importantly, the shift in focus from built heritage to addressing societal challenges in policies, frameworks and strategies has made heritage mainstream and useful to policymakers (Baxter 2015, 37). However, this has led to a decline in building preservation trusts (BPTs) in favour of an increasing number of community groups managing their heritage as commons. In addition to more organisations and groups now vying for the same funding creating an increasingly competitive funding environment, funding has also been reduced overall, compounding issues of financial resilience. Although this may evidence a measure of the success of Scottish policies on community empowerment, the loss of BPTs represents a loss of skills and expertise in the process of managing the restoration of historic buildings as capital projects and of experience in community engagement through heritage and creative practices.

The Scottish and Norwegian case studies contribute to our understanding of how government policies and funding criteria function as tools of behaviour change. This has raised questions relating to boundaries between public and civic spaces and heritage values in scholarship in both countries (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016; Saglie and Sivesind 2018). My research has shown how the blurring of these boundaries may lead to hybrid spaces where civic or grassroots initiatives become more formalised organisations with local authority support, integration into local authority strategies and working to achieve specific funding criteria while addressing local social purposes with communities. This is not to undermine these organisations' operational independence, but rather to critically reflect on the boundaries, meanings and values of top-down, bottom-up, or public, and grassroots or civic societies (Chapter 4).

9.2.2 Creativity as a Tool for Change

In examining how small Scottish heritage organisations are navigating heritage and creativity in participation, I focused on heritage and creative practices with communities as 'doing as practice' (Chapter 6). It revealed how creativity and activities with communities require equitable relations between facilitators and community participants to produce inclusive spaces of knowledge production. In

creative activities that included walking, boatbuilding, crafts, filmmaking, and nature-based activities, GBPT co-designed activities with facilitators and community participants and school children. In this process, they approached community knowledge and lived experience as equal to knowledge held by heritage and other practitioners enabling the co-creation of meanings and values. These approaches to working with people's lived experiences flip the power dynamics and allow communities to use their agency to shape their narratives, meanings, and values as both present- and future-making practices by enabling them to seize the tools “that marked them as other” (Haraway 2008, 33). It requires heritage practitioners to work with ambiguity and curiosity based on a multiplicity of meanings and values and a responsive approach to local contexts and challenges rather than a focus on the physicality of heritage only. This research has shown how creativity and heritage provide opportunities for ‘present-making’ while enabling people to envisage “a better world” in the future (Tronto 1993).

This research supports the notions of creativity and heritage as residing in collaborative forms of knowledge and meaning-making practices (Law 2004; Franklin 2021). Analysis of GBPT's practices has contributed to an increased understanding of how cultural and natural heritage are brought together using communities' lived experiences and relationships with environmental or nature-related organisations into creative practices. As illustrated by Robin who explained they adopt a “landscape approach” when engaging with communities, cultural and natural heritage are highly suitable for raising environmental awareness and climate action in local public spaces. Stories of the River Clyde's recovery and resilience countered the well-trodden narratives of environmental decline and industrial pollution. This was achieved by undertaking boatbuilding, litter picking, and raising and releasing trout into the river through several partnerships with other charities. In these processes of creating new narratives, parallels are drawn between people and natural spaces by caring with communities (Puig de la Bellacasa 2017) for local cultural and natural commons. Creativity can support heritage practices to create new, more inclusive and hopeful meanings and values, particularly in the process of replacing old and stereotypical narratives of decline and marginalisation.

Other studies have shown that enabling participants' agency to care with each other for heritage creates more democratic relations which aim to achieve empowerment and reduce participants' vulnerabilities (Alam and Houston 2020, 3; Puig de la Bellacasa 2017). This thesis has evidenced that these care practices include intense emotional labour for heritage practitioners and community participants. This requires acknowledgement and support for both practitioners and communities with an ethics of care approach incorporated in grant applications and legacy planning. This may include training and embedding anticipated legacies of care in broader relations and partnerships. This insight supports findings in other studies undertaken in the context of socially engaged art practices (e.g. Belfiore 2019).

Norwegian localisations of the SDGs are less focused on poverty than in Scotland due to the national economic contexts, however, participating groups aimed at social cohesion, combatting loneliness, working with people returning into the community from the justice system, mental health in young people and including those who are new to Norway. While configurations of Dugnad included grassroots knowledge and allowed knowledge forming in the process, in other contexts, participants were engaged in passive ways based on narratives of endangerment or based on ideas of assimilation to Norwegian traditions, approaches that are prominent in Scotland too. GBPT's approaches illustrated how creating equitable spaces of knowledge production produces more inclusive narratives with diverse grassroots knowledge (Law 2004; Franklin 2022). These practices support democratic and values-based heritage and creative practice which lead to the creation of multiple connected realities of heritage (Mol 2002) and allow envisaging more inclusive and connected futures. Networks and partnerships play an important role in resilience and sustainability as will be emphasised below.

9.2.3 Social Purpose as Relational: Infrastructures of Care as Resilience

This study provides new understandings of how small heritage organisations function as a catalyst for relational work, by deploying networks around mission, social purpose, and capital projects. It shows how relations form the interconnection between all values of sustainable development: cultural, social, environmental, and

economic. Relations as peer support sustain the emotional resilience of practitioners working with heritage and communities in the context of transformative agendas, just as they support organisational financial resilience (Chapter 5 and 7). In addition to requiring financial reserves, small heritage organisations increasingly rely on positive relations based on trust with local authorities, an increasingly wide range of funders and partnership organisations to ensure resilience and continuity. Chapters 6 and 7 illustrated how legacies of care practices are best protected when they are embedded in partnerships that may continue beyond project durations.

Organisational resilience in small heritage organisations is strongly connected to community resilience. Firstly, small heritage organisations' abilities to re-assemble, pivot and repair relations into appropriate networks are a vital resource during crises such as the Covid-19 pandemic. This process illustrated the everyday efforts involved in the maintenance of relations and partnerships with other organisations and communities. Being embedded in and curating relations around social purpose enables small heritage organisations to pivot during an unexpected crisis to address emergent societal challenges. This was illustrated by Anna, a coordinator at an organisation involved in establishing and maintaining networks, who highlighted how they "leapt into action" providing food, support, and social connections during the pandemic. Secondly, communities with strong networks and heritage practices may connect and work with small heritage organisations to support their community efforts towards historic building restoration and community heritage and creative practices. As well-organised communities, they may be more likely to be a viable end-user for a historic building.

However, disconnections with geographical communities during the pandemic illustrated that when strong links between small heritage organisations and communities are absent, these are difficult to forge online during a time of crisis. A positive example was pivoting GDODF online which evidenced how technology can be part of care practices (Pols et al 2010, 10). Pivoting GDODF online contributed to social purpose by addressing accessibility and digital literacy (Malde and Kennedy 2018, 34) through digital upskilling among participating organisations and community

groups. Additional online networks were created through the Play Like a Lassie project, the objective of which was to add women in sports to Wikipedia where they are highly underrepresented. This online network operated like an online community of practice (Squires and Van De Vanter 2012, 300; Wenger 1998, 72– 73) and was assembled through existing relations. However, rather than reaching new audiences, one of the aims of the West Boathouse project, it transpired many of the GDODF and Play Like a Lassie audiences were already traditionally involved in heritage.

Short-term ethnography in Norway provided insights into Norwegian heritage strategies and organisations' approaches to heritage and creativity, commons as social practices, resilience, and working towards the SDGs. Norwegian participants representing national organisations approached heritage based on the preservation of buildings and their place in the planning process and community building in line with their organisational remits. In contrast, narratives of 'demolish and rebuild' in Glasgow as recently as in Dalmarnock in 2014 have illustrated the need for a clearer place for heritage and communities' lived experience in the planning process in Scotland to prevent the continuation of marginalisation processes. The Norwegian case study emphasised how government support for volunteer heritage groups through funding their running costs and employing council officers to support grant application processes, is vital to their resilience. In the Scottish context, funding is available from national funders such as AHF and NLHF for projects, however, running costs for community groups need to be met through organisations' core activities challenging their financial resilience.

The Norwegian short-term ethnography exemplified how Dugnad, or the common good, functions as commons as a social practice (Berlant 2016). Dugnad, as described by participants, strongly focuses on traditional and modern skills learning and social practices that create resilient communities. These commons as action (Berlant 2016), are considered to be under threat by capitalist structures such as monetisation of community practices and long hours at work as well as by potential loss of skills, meanings, and values. The Norwegian example of Dugnad reiterates the importance of emotions, cultural change, connections, social cohesion,

community spaces to gather, shared responsibilities, and approaches to community resilience as a process as highlighted by Brown et al (2017) and Robertson et al. (2021). Building on these, I emphasise the significance of both strategic and trust (Fukuyama 1996; Ruscio 1997) in ethical care practices which support the assembling of relations with social purpose. Trust in relationship building is key to organisational financial resilience too, as illustrated by Angus' attitude to transparency in building relations with funders and Jamie's approach to fundraising for GDODF during the pandemic where they prioritised funding poverty over their own organisational need. Taking these ethical and equitable approaches to relationship building with organisational stakeholders and communities is vital to achieving the inclusive processes of creating community resilience promoted by SDG 11 (UN 2012, SDG 11).

This research has evidenced a clear need to better resource community groups in these processes of Community Asset Transfer and restoring and adapting historic buildings to their needs. With the number of BPTs much reduced over the last three decades, and their remit of working within their local authority area, large areas of Scotland cannot draw on their expertise. I recommend setting up a Scottish resource based on the combined expertise of BPTs, City Heritage Trusts and organisations like the Engine Shed to better resource community groups, local authorities, HES and the Scottish Government to create empowered and resilient communities through heritage. The launch of the Built Heritage Commission for Glasgow in June 2024, which includes GBPT and Glasgow City Heritage Trust, GCC and HES as key partners, is an appropriate example of how partnerships of combined expertise can contribute to addressing these issues collaboratively.

9.3 Research impact: collaboration and implications for Heritage Practice

As presented in Chapter 3, GBPT and I co-developed several practices where we benefitted from each other's contributions. During the pandemic, I used my social media research skills and findings in the context of the wider heritage sector to inform GBPT's emerging social media strategy. Additionally, I applied these to co-develop an alternative approach to their first GDODF evaluation while using

my interview skills to support the making of a short film to celebrate GDODF in 2021. At a more practical level, I provided an extra pair of hands at a community engagement day and several other events (Chapter 3).

More broadly, I enhanced GBPT's national and international visibility through knowledge exchange, both at academic and practice-based conferences and workshops in Scotland, the UK and Norway. Finally, Robin and I have co-developed and co-presented a community heritage workshop in 2021 and an academic presentation in 2024. Robin and I are currently writing up the proceedings of this conference for publication. Our joint practices have contributed to both our understandings of heritage practices with social purpose in the context of sustainability and resilience agendas.

The recommendations outlined below by theme, highlight the key recommendations of the research findings for heritage practices for small heritage organisations, funders and national heritage bodies.

Heritage and Creative Practices and Ethics of Care:

- An ethics of care approach is essential to working with communities and should be extended to heritage practitioners who need access to peer support and training to support their resilience and wellbeing. This applies particularly to those addressing an increasing number of societal challenges including health and wellbeing, environmental issues and working with marginalised communities. This is consistent with recommendations relating to working with audiences across the cultural sector (e.g. Belfiore 2019; Strauss 2022).
- Support for practitioners in small heritage organisations can be achieved through existing organisations such as Heritage Trust Network and Development Trust Association Scotland which provide peer support and networking opportunities.
- It is recommended that heritage funders consider embedding legacies of care as 'best practice' in grant application processes. This could include costs of

training for those carrying on practices past project durations, or incorporating time for partnership-building processes to develop infrastructures of care around local societal challenges.

- It is recommended in processes of change-making with marginalised communities to 'care with' communities for the narratives they want to create about themselves. Heritage practitioners can facilitate equal knowledge relationships by discussing knowledge-contributions with all participating groups in the process of collaborations and conversations. Aspirational, critical and disruptive thinking supports the replacement of unwanted stereotypical narratives.

Environmental purposes:

- Using a holistic approach to heritage, including cultural and natural heritage, buildings, objects and stories, makes linking with environmental issues easier. Considering built heritage from a holistic perspective allows connecting to stories relating to local rivers, land, woods and wildlife opening up new avenues of engagement with communities.
- To achieve environmental goals, coalescing around similar objectives and purposes can be achieved by working in partnership with organisations that focus on nature, environment and climate change and by supporting the development of these collaborations with time allocation in projects. These partnerships can also achieve economies of scale by combining resources and budgets.
- By using creativity and positive environmental action, there is potential to transform negative narratives of environmental decline and marginalisation into new future-focused narratives of hope, recovery and resilience supporting people's sense of wellbeing, connection and identity.
- Environmental sustainability is sometimes assumed to refer to embodied carbon in the historic building and not well communicated. Energy and Climate-related measures can clash with conservation requirements and lead to spiralling energy costs for small heritage organisations and community

groups with small budgets. A fabric-first approach can contribute to environmental and economic sustainability.

Economic resilience:

- To address precarious contracts and unsustainable careers based on consecutive short-term project contracts, it is recommended, where financially possible, that small heritage organisations allocate reserves to cover periods between funded projects to allow long-term employment for heritage practitioners. This contributes to the retention of knowledge and established relationships. This recommendation is connected to ethics of care for practitioners.
- Financial resilience can be increased by focusing on a holistic approach to heritage, embracing cultural, natural, tangible and intangible, which can unlock access to a wider range of funders. This has been evidenced by GBPT's Barras project as their first project that was not centred around a building. Additionally, grants were obtained from GCC's education department for their Dalmarnock project with schools and funding from Sport Scotland was achieved through the focus on sporting heritage at the West Boathouse.
- In a place-making context with an increased focus on partnership working, this study has demonstrated relations and partnerships form the basis of organisational and community resilience as well as the interlinking factor between all values of the process of sustainable development; social, cultural, environmental, and economic development. Recognising the importance of allocating time to build relationships, including in funding applications can strengthen infrastructures of care and place-based working (see also Hewison and Holden 2004).

Advocacy for Small Heritage Organisations:

- Individual small heritage organisations lack representation in social media. Collectively, they can amplify their voices in the social media landscape by developing a shared overarching strategy of mutual support by sharing

celebrations through hashtag use and joining in shared campaigns. HTN Scotland would be well placed to consider such a strategy which would avoid duplication of efforts.

- Building Preservation Trusts in Scotland would benefit from a Scotland-wide collaboration to increase their visibility and promote their unique position and value as an intermediary between policy, strategy, funding and local communities as well as their unique role in building preservation and adaptation and community engagement.

Policy and Planning:

- To enable and empower community groups across Scotland to manage their local heritage and to retain the expertise, skills and resources that Building Preservation Trusts bring, it is recommended to set up a Scottish resource that provides expertise in conservation, capital projects management and creative heritage engagement. Potential collaborations could be forged between BPTs, City Heritage Trusts, The Engine Shed, The BEFS, HES and others.
- To prevent repeating the demolish and rebuild strategies that continue to this day, it is highly recommended to embed built heritage, and heritage and culture as meaning-making in Scottish Planning and Place-making processes.

Conclusion and Reflection

This research has answered the central research question of how small heritage organisations with social purpose can create sustainable and creative futures in the context of rapidly changing economies on different levels. As a rare ethnographic study of small Scottish heritage organisations, it has provided new insights into the role of these organisations and the heritage professionals who work in everyday heritage practices with communities within the sustainability paradigm. It has contributed to a deeper understanding of how creative approaches to heritage participation with those not traditionally involved in heritage practices can enable the replacement of stigmatising narratives with positive narratives and place those marginalised from their own spaces back into the landscape, sometimes physically

such as the inscriptions of the words into the pavement at the Barras market. As such, the importance of the ability to seize the stories, as the tools used to stereotype people (Haraway 2004) and turn them into positive and inclusive narratives of hope should not be underestimated. The collaboration with GBPT has been vital to my understanding of the Scottish heritage sector context and the role of small heritage organisations, and BPTs in particular, in the current political, economic, and environmental context. Many themes raised in this thesis are relevant across the heritage sector and to current strategies aimed at place-making.

Reflecting on opportunities for future research, I echo Labadi's (2022) recommendations in the context of UN projects, to fully understand and learn from the long-term impacts of heritage projects, evaluations three or five years after projects would provide useful insight into sustainable development and project legacies. Long-term evaluation mechanisms that include qualitative feedback from participants are likely to produce deeper learning. A second, and related opportunity for wider learning is available based on the multitude of surveys, findings and evaluation reports that are being produced across Scotland and the UK for each grant-funded project. These have the potential to provide insights relating to culture, arts, heritage, nature, and communities. These reports are mostly shared with funders and form a large and mostly untapped resource for learning from the cumulative efforts happening across the UK by heritage and other practitioners working with a wide variety of communities. An evaluation of these resources would provide extensive insights into challenges and opportunities to both sustainability and place-making in both urban and rural areas across the UK and would produce outcomes relating to evaluation and feedback mechanisms for funders.

Considering sustainable development and resilience more broadly, two questions remain. How do we know if heritage practices as care practices are creating a better world? And is it the 'job' of heritage to provide services that neo-liberalist approaches do not value? It is important to recognise the role small heritage organisations have played for decades as curators and narrators of heritage and urban development. The opportunities for impact between short-term projects and the cumulative and

long-term, place-based work of small Scottish heritage organisations and volunteer groups do provide different scopes for impacts. Here too, different points of leverage produce different knowledge and require different approaches to measuring and impact (Mol 2002; Jones and Yarrow 2022) as also suggested above.

I return to Iona and Euan's story (Chapter 4), and their disappointment of not solving poverty in their local area despite extensive development resulting from their restoration and adaptation of their local heritage. Euan described the process as "a patchwork approach" confirming that heritage as commons and as action is like a "local patching or debugging" which involves acknowledging "a broken world and the survival ethics of a transformational infrastructure" (Berlant 2016, 399). Commons as "doing" and as repair with and within communities involves solidarity "from the nation-state to the grassroots" (Ibidem, 394). However, despite policies, strategies and local infrastructures of care contributing to resilient communities, they "don't necessarily neutralize the problem that generated the need for them" (Ibidem). In its function of repair, resilience has been "configured as a process of learning, absorbing, adapting, transforming and repairing", as a "bouncing forward" (Holtorf 2018, 640) and I would add it is part of a process of continuous change.

Small heritage organisations and communities care with each other to support and enact "a kinder and unfamiliar world" (Haraway 2004, 3) that counters negative stereotypes about people and places. By recognising the value of small heritage organisations, we can redefine what regeneration, resilience and sustainability mean to communities.

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Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet

Version date: January 2023

This research is funded by:



Participant Information Sheet

Research Project Title: The past we inherit and the future we shape: Investigating sustainable and creative futures for heritage organisations with social purpose.

What is this study about?

My name is Hanneke Booij, and I am doing a PhD in History, Heritage and Politics at the University of Stirling. My collaborative partner is Glasgow Building Preservation Trust. I would like to invite you to take part in a research project. My project aims to find out how heritage organisations with social purpose focus on sustainability and what risks, challenges and opportunities are for such organisations. This will include a focus on resilience and the impact of the pandemic on small heritage organisations. I am also investigating how different community participants experience the (creative) activities provided by the Glasgow Building Preservation Trust. This research is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council UK.

The ethical approaches of this project have been approved via The University of Stirling General Ethics Panel (Study 798).

What will you be asked to do?

You have been invited either because you work in the heritage sector, or because you are a volunteer or participating in a heritage activity organised by the Glasgow Building Preservation Trust (GBPT).

It is up to you to decide if you want to take part in this study. If you agree to take part, I will ask you to sign a consent form. There are no foreseeable risks in taking part and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without needing to give a reason and without penalty. If you withdraw, I will not collect any more data from you and will remove all information you have provided from my study. Please note that once the results are being published, it may not be possible to remove your data from the study.

- **Interviewing:** Interviews give people a chance to tell me what they think about heritage organisations and heritage practices. This would typically last about 1 hour and not exceed 1.5 hours. You will have to be over 18 to be interviewed. The interview will take place at a convenient place and time agreed between us. This will normally be audio or video-recorded (only if you give permission). Afterwards, the interview will be typed up and you can be offered a copy to review which elements you may want treated as confidential or not used in project outputs.

Are there any benefits in taking part?

There will be no direct benefit to you from taking part in this research (no payment). However, I believe that you have something important to contribute to our study. If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form.

Version date: January 2023

This research is funded by:



Arts and
Humanities
Research Council

UNIVERSITY of
STIRLING



What happens to the information I provide?

As part of the project, I will be recording personal data relating to you such as your name and email address. The information will be collected, used and stored in line with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). The research data will be kept anonymously in encrypted and password protected data systems owned by the University of Stirling. Your personal information will be kept for a maximum of 10 years on the university's secure data centre on the Stirling campus and will then be securely destroyed.

This research may be published in academic and professional journals or other research outputs. You will not be identifiable in any report/publication. Please be aware that you will not be named in any publications, but you could be identified by people you know through the stories you tell.

The University of Stirling is committed to making the outputs of research publically accessible and supports this commitment through our online open access repository STORRE.

Who do I contact if I have concerns about this study or I wish to complain?

If you would like to discuss the research with someone, please speak to the relevant researcher Hanneke Booij, Hanneke.booij1@stir.ac.uk or their supervisor Professor Siân Jones: sian.jones@stir.ac.uk where applicable.

If you wish to make a formal complaint, please contact Professor Kirstie Blair, Dean of Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Stirling (kirstie.blair@stir.ac.uk) who will seek to resolve the matter in a confidential and efficient manner.

If you have any questions relating to data protection these can be addressed to data.protection@stir.ac.uk. You have the right to lodge a complaint against the University regarding data protection issues with the Information Commissioner's Office (<https://ico.org.uk/concerns/>). Data Protection Officer: Joanna Morrow, Deputy Secretary.

You will be given a copy of this information sheet to keep.

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 2: Participant Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

Version 6: January 2023

Study Number: GUEP 798

Participant number _____

Research Project Title: The past we inherit and the future we shape: Investigating sustainable and creative futures for heritage organisations with social purpose.

The purpose and details of the project have been explained to me. I understand that this project is designed for research and that a range of publications, presentations, a blog, will arise from the research. I am aware that all procedures have been approved by the General University Ethics Panel at the University of Stirling.

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet (Version: January 2023) explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I consent to participating in an (online) interview

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during the study and withdraw my data without giving a reason, and without any penalty. I understand that once results have been published it may not be possible to remove my data from the study.

I understand that my responses will be kept anonymous and agree that a pseudonym can be allocated when anonymising my contributions.

I consent to having my photo taken **NA**

NA

I understand how photographs will be used in the research (publications, presentations, blog). **NA**

NA

For interviews only: I consent to being audio / video recorded and understand that audio / video recordings will be used in the research for the purpose of data gathering only and will be saved in an encrypted drive.

For interviews only: I would like to receive a copy of the information I have provided for review. I am happy for the researcher to store my email address (or postal address if preferred) for this purpose.

I am aware that I will not be named in any research outputs but I could be identified by people I know through the stories I tell.

I give permission to be quoted directly in research publications against a pseudonym.

Name of Participant:

Signature:

Date: Click here to enter a date

Email address for review copy if desired:

Name of Researcher: Hanneke Booij

Signature: Hanneke Booij

Date: 13/01/2023

