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**Voices of Authority: A Multidisciplinary Analysis of the Democratisation of Heritage
Narratives in York's Urban Landscape, 2014-2018**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Leeds Beckett
University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

March 2023

Abstract

Heritage, by its nature, is a multidisciplinary practice and thus has no singular defining academic approach. This thesis takes a mixed methods approach to investigate the utilisation and formation of heritage narratives within an urban context. To ground this work, the thesis utilises a case study of the city of York, England, to explore the variety of mechanisms and processes used across varying levels of society to construct historical narratives. This research looks to decentre and disrupt existing 'official narratives' produced and supported by city institutions by investigating alternative narratives and approaches. As such, the thesis formulates a broad understanding of the current forms of governance within the city, primarily the York Civic Trust and York City Council, to utilise the material culture of York through its archaeological finds and architecture in order to market an exported tourist narrative of York. Contrasting this more traditional interpretation of heritage within the urban context, the thesis draws on more grassroots and bottom-up approaches of heritage engagement at both a community and individual level as a form of democratised engagement. As such, approaches towards constructing and selling an official heritage narrative for the city's heritage are juxtaposed with discussions of community-led performances, social media-based forms of collection nostalgia and the practice of urban exploration. Underpinning this examination is a core investigation of the methodological approach to studying these heritage narratives. The thesis thus advocates incorporating more person-centred emotional data in analysing public participation in heritage and, consequently, in helping to further the development of heritage studies more broadly as a multidisciplinary field.

Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	vii
List of Illustrations.....	viii
Maps of York.....	xi
Acknowledgements.....	xviii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Research Focus	4
Sources and Methodology	5
Literature Review	19
Chapter Outlines.....	40
Chapter 2: Making the Historic City.....	44
Understanding Urban History	47
The Historical Significance of York.....	51
Unravelling Urban Governance.....	54
Defining York.....	59
York's Need for Governance	69
York: New City Beautiful - Toward an Economic Vision.....	77
Conclusion.....	81
Chapter 3: The Present of Past Things: Digging Up York	84
Development, Destruction and Conservation	88
Case Study: The Hungate Dig.....	95
Impact of Archaeology	105
Jorvik: Return of the Vikings.....	110
Conclusion.....	122
Chapter 4: Selling the City: Marketing York's History to the World	125
What is Place Marketing?	130
Image Marketing and Branding	138
Case Study 1: York Minster	140
Case Study 2: The Shambles.....	155
Targeted Marketing Strategies.....	161
Delivering a Brand through Civic Works.....	170
Conclusion.....	177
Chapter 5: Experience and Consumption of Performance-based Heritage in York	181
Performance theory in practice	185
Understanding Theatre in York	188

Co-producing performances of the city	194
Theatre in the City	198
Reapplying history: The York Mystery Plays	203
Conclusion	210
Chapter 6: Exploring the use of Digital Heritage within Urban Engagement	213
Impact of the internet and social media on public engagement.....	216
Value and Social Capital in the Digital World	219
Approaching Digital Research.....	222
Digital Engagement of the Past.....	225
Case Study 1 – Memories of York, Facebook	227
Back in the City: Digital heritage beyond the internet.....	241
Case Study 2 - Reconstructing the Minster.....	243
Case Study 3 - Virtual Monsters and Heritage Rediscovery	252
Case Study 4 - Heritage in Augmented Reality	260
Conclusion.....	264
Chapter 7: Contesting the past through the experience of Urban Exploration	267
Understanding Urban Exploration.....	268
Structuring research into UE	272
York's Urban Exploration Online.....	277
UE Case Study 1 – York Waterworld	287
UE Case Study 2 – Hungate Dig Site	295
UE Case Study 3 – Terry's Chocolate Factory	299
UE Case Study 4 – York Minster	308
Value to Heritage Studies	313
Conclusion.....	315
Chapter 8: Conclusion	320
Approaching Heritage	322
Voices of Authority	328
Building Emotional Attachments	332
Appendix.....	336
Bibliography	343

List of Tables

Table 2.1 Population figures of prominent UK cities in comparison to national and regional figures.

Table 2.2 Depiction of changing controlling Political Party, Term and Leader.

Table 6.1 Comparative list of number of followers on social media platforms, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Data collected 17 February 2018.

Table 6.2 Shows the content of the selection of posts taken from the MoY page (19 July 2017).

Table 6.3 Shows the occurrences of positive and negative words used in comments to posts in the MoY Facebook group.

Table 6.4 Selection of terms gathered from tweets referring to Pokémon Go! on 17 July 2016.

Table 7.1 Breakdown of chapter case studies.

Table 7.2 Data from internet forums and websites reflecting number of members, threads and posts.

Table 7.3 Shows number of threads and posts relating to particular building types on 28dayslater.co.uk from 2014 and 2018.

Table 7.4 Selection of social media sites related to Urban Exploration showing activity through the number of members and posts.

Table 7.5 Search Terms on Instagram and the resulting number of posts (data accessed 5 April 2018).

List of Illustrations

Figure 3.1 Showing the excavation sites across the Hungate site.

Figure 3.2 View of Leetham's Flour Mill from York Minster circa 1900 (DigHungate).

Figure 3.3 Images of Communal Toilets of Dundas Court (Michael Andrews – York Archaeological Trust, 2007).

Figure 3.4 Photography of Haver Lane from the Nineteenth Century (York Community Archaeology).

Figure 3.5 Photography taken of the Coppergate Dig in process 1976 (York Archaeological Trust).

Figure 3.6 Photography of the Jorvik exhibits after a flood in 2015 (Jorvik, 2016).

Figure 3.7-3.8 Depiction of Jorvik's transparent floor allowing visitors to walk over dig site (Author's own).

Figure 3.10 Photograph of automated carriage moving through the display at Jorvik (Jorvik, 2019).

Figure 3.11 Photograph depicting aspects of the rail tour in the fabricated Jorvik setting (Author's own 20th March 2018).

Figure 3.12-14 Photographs of the Jorvik Museum after the rail tour showing archaeological displays and public engagement. (Author's own 20th March 2018).

Figure 4.1 York Minster East Window (Author's own 4th April 2017).

Figure 4.3 Bootham Bar (post 1835) watercolour by Thomas Shotter Boys (York Art Gallery).

Figure 4.4 Approach to York Minster, Charles Oppenheimer (1875–1961) Royal Scottish Academy of Art & Architecture.

Figure 4.5-6 York Minster from Boys Store by Delittle Fenwick (Date Unknown) (R&L Baines).

Figure 4.7 Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society (YAYAS), Postcard, 'York Minster from Southeast', circa 1930. (Credit is provisionally given to J Coney).

Figure 4.8 YAYAS, Photograph, 'Petergate', 1886. (Potentially George Nicholson).

Fig. 4.9 Richard Barnes, 'Night Tracks', (2019) (York Open Studio).

Figure 4.10 Elliot Harrison, 'York Minster' (2019).

Figure 4.11 Visit York, *York: The original city adventure, Visitor guide* (2017-19 editions).

Figure 4.12 Automobile Association, 'Visitor Guide York' (1994).

Figure 4.13 York Civic Trust, *Annual Report and Heritage Review 2016-17*.

Figure 4.14 Shambles (TJ Blackwell / Getty Images).

Figure 4.15 'Shambles 1875'. The postcard shows the butchers for which the street was once famed sitting outside their shops, while sides of beef and pork hang beside them (YAYAS).

Figure 4.16: York City Council, *York Official Guidebook 1975* (York City Council, 1975) (Image from Retro Curiosity).

Figures 4.17-18: *The Little Shambles and The Shambles* by Elliot Harrison.

Figure 4.19 Photograph of David Ogle's Lumen installation (David Ogle, 2016).

Figure 4.20 Photograph of *Illuminati Botanica* by Jony Easterby, Ulf Perderon and Mark Anderson (York Press, 2015).

Figure 4.21 Photograph of Triquetra projected onto Clifford's Tower during Illuminating York 2013 (QED Productions).

Figure 4.22 Photograph of Sensational Spectacle over York Minster (Sensory Stories, 2010).

Figure 4.23 Photograph of the Rainbow Blue Plaque for Anne Lister, before and after rectifying action (York Civic Trust, 2018/9).

Figure 4.24 Photograph of Blue Plaque commemorating the urinals of Church Lane and the significance of Stuart Feather and John Chesterman in meeting there (York Alternative History Group, 2014).

Figure 5.1 Photograph of Sally Ann Staunton as Maude from the production of *Harold and Maude* (Callum McLeod, 2015).

Figure 5.2-4 Photographs from *Blood and Chocolate*, (Pilot Theatre 2018)

Figure 5.5 Photograph of the performance *Everything is Possible: The York Suffragettes*, (Anthony Robling, 2017).

Figure 5.6 Photograph from York Mystery Plays depicting the crucifixion (York Butchers Guild, 2010).

Figure 5.7 Photograph of the York Mystery Plays being performed in the grounds of St Mary's Abbey (York Mystery Plays, 2012).

Figure 6.1 Screenshot taken from the Memories of York Facebook group depicting the impact the page has on its users (Author's own).

Figure 6.2 Photograph of a wooden archway constructed for the Royal Visit to York of the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1866 (Memories of York).

Figure 6.3 Photograph of flood waters set against the prison wall in 1892 (Memories of York).

Figure 6.4 Photograph of Tower Street including Cliffords Tower (Memories of York).

Figures 6.5-6.6– Clifford's Tower and Governors House & Ariel image of Clifford's Tower (Memories of York, 13th May 2014).

Figure 6.7 Representation of scan data taken from Kedleston House (York Archaeological Trust, 2018).

Figure 6.8 Rendered and textured 3D Model of York Minster by Damo (3D Warehouse, 2014).

Figure 6.9 Rendered and textured 3D Model of York Minster by Geoffrey H (3D Warehouse, 2016).

Figure 6.10 3D CAD model of Masons Loft (Vicky Sypsa, 2002).

Figure 6.11 3D CAD model of Masons Loft being processed from AutoCAD to Blender (Vicky Sypsa, 2002).

Figure 6.12 Wireframe model of Masons Loft (Vicky Sypsa, 2002).

Figure 6.13 Photograph of Masons Loft North Transept Wall (Vicky Sypsa, 2002).

Figure 6.14 Rendered 3D model of North Transept Wall (Vicky Sypsa, 2002).

Figure 6.15 Screen capture of Twitter feed from PokemonGo York including tweets from York Art Gallery and Yorkshire Museum (Author's own, 2016).

Figure 6.16 Screen capture from Reddit post regarding locations in York to capture Pokémon (Author's own, 2016).

Figure 6.17 An illustration from *England's Historic Cities* depicting the York Minster Fire of 1829 (Hex Digital, 2018).

Figure 7.1 Screen capture of the home page of 28dayslater.co.uk depicting the categorisation of exploration types (Author's own).

Figure 7.2 Screen capture showing the breakdown of topic threads within the category of High Stuff on 28dayslater.co.uk (Author's own).

Figure 7.3 Photograph of Waterworld when still operational (Waterworld).

Figure 7.4 Photograph of Waterworld exterior (Aidan, 2016).

Figure 7.5 Photograph of rusty steelwork (Aidan, 2016).

Figure 7.6 Photograph of chair floating water (Aidan, 2016).

Figure 7.7 Photograph of Pool Closed sign (Aidan, 2016).

Figure 7.8 Photograph of carving saying Thom Chescake 1996 (Aidan, 2016).

Figure 7.9 Photograph of the flattened Waterworld site after demolition (York Mix, 2016).

Figure 7.10 Photograph of the former Waterworld site in 2017. (York Mix, 2017).

Figure 7.11-2 Photographs from atop the crane in the Hungate dig site looking across the city (SAI, 2013).

Figure 7.13 Photograph of Hungate redevelopment (Saxofilis, 2007).

Figure 7.14 Photograph towards York Minster (Saxofilis, 2007).

Figure 7.15 Aerial photograph of Terry's Chocolate Factory (Hamtagger).

Figure 7.16 Photograph of the front gate of Terry's Chocolate Factory (Hamtagger, 2015).

Figure 7.17-9 Photographs of the admin staircase taken when built, 2015 and 2018 (Hamtagger, 2018).

Figure 7.20-2 Photographs of the Main Admin Shop Floor depicting workers in the 1900's, the site in 2015 and with shops in 2018 (Hamtagger, 2018).

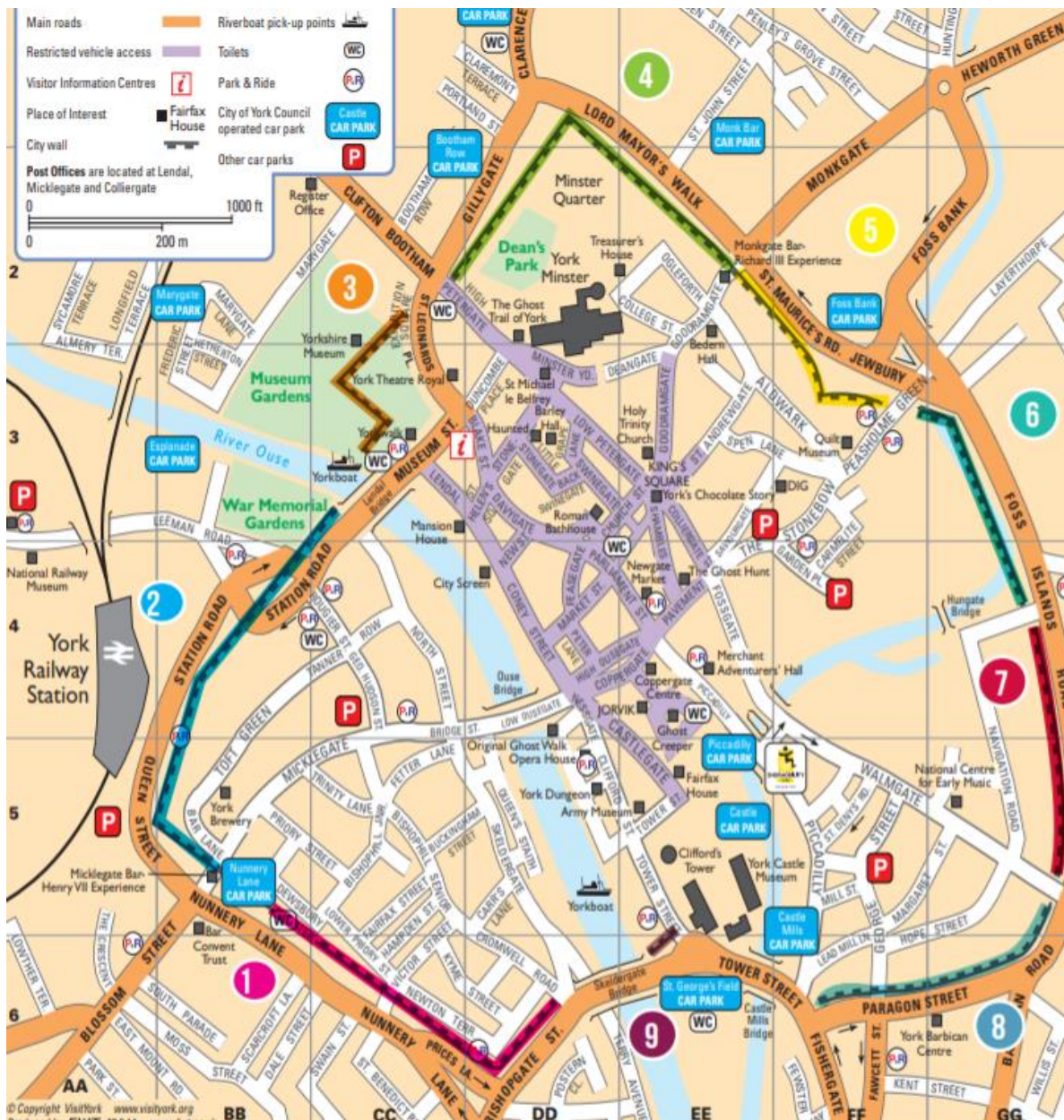
Figure 7.23-4 Photographs of documentation found on within the former factory (God, 2011).

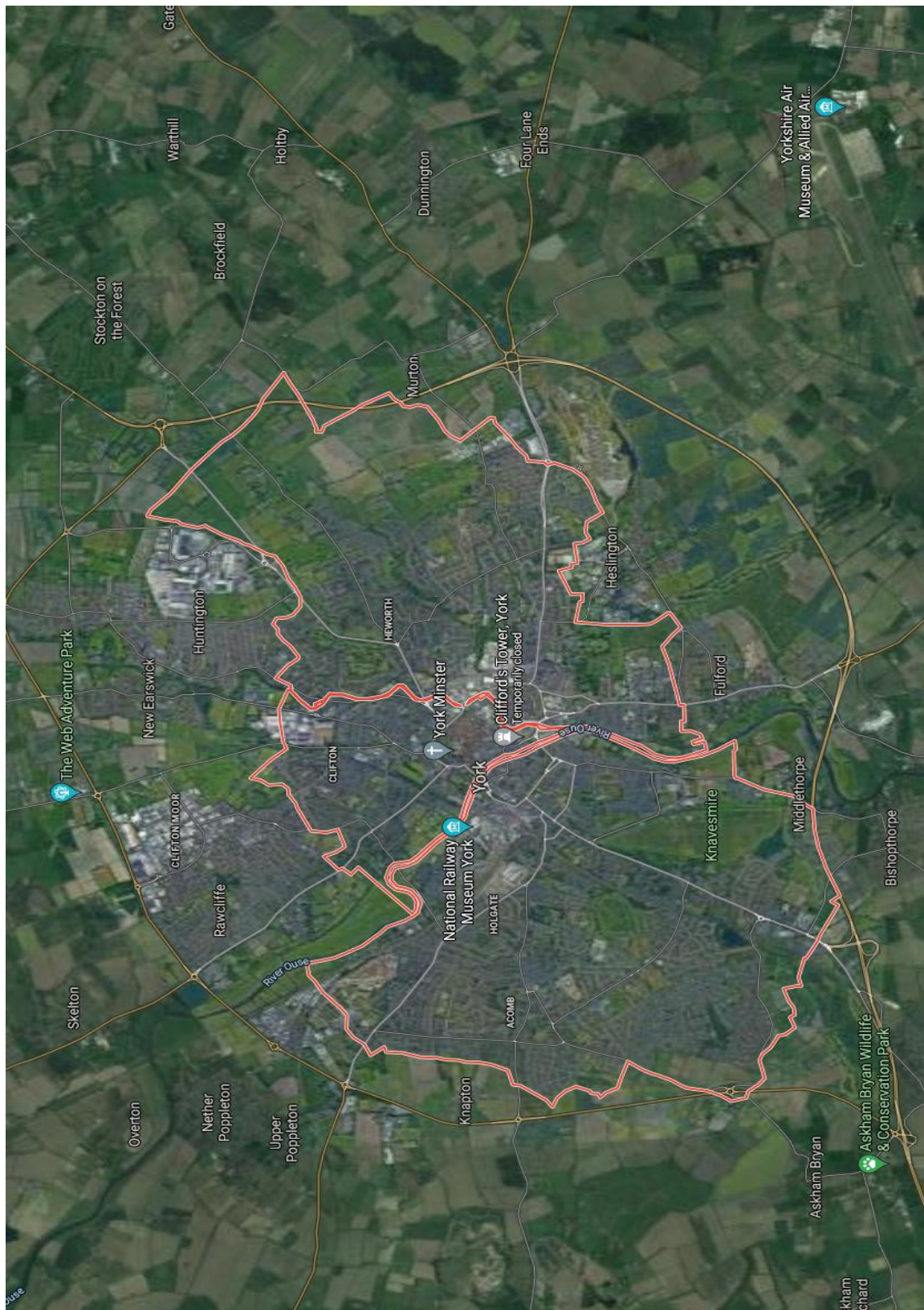
Figure 7.25 Photograph from the rooftop of the York Minster over the city focused on spire (Clough, 2012).

Maps of York

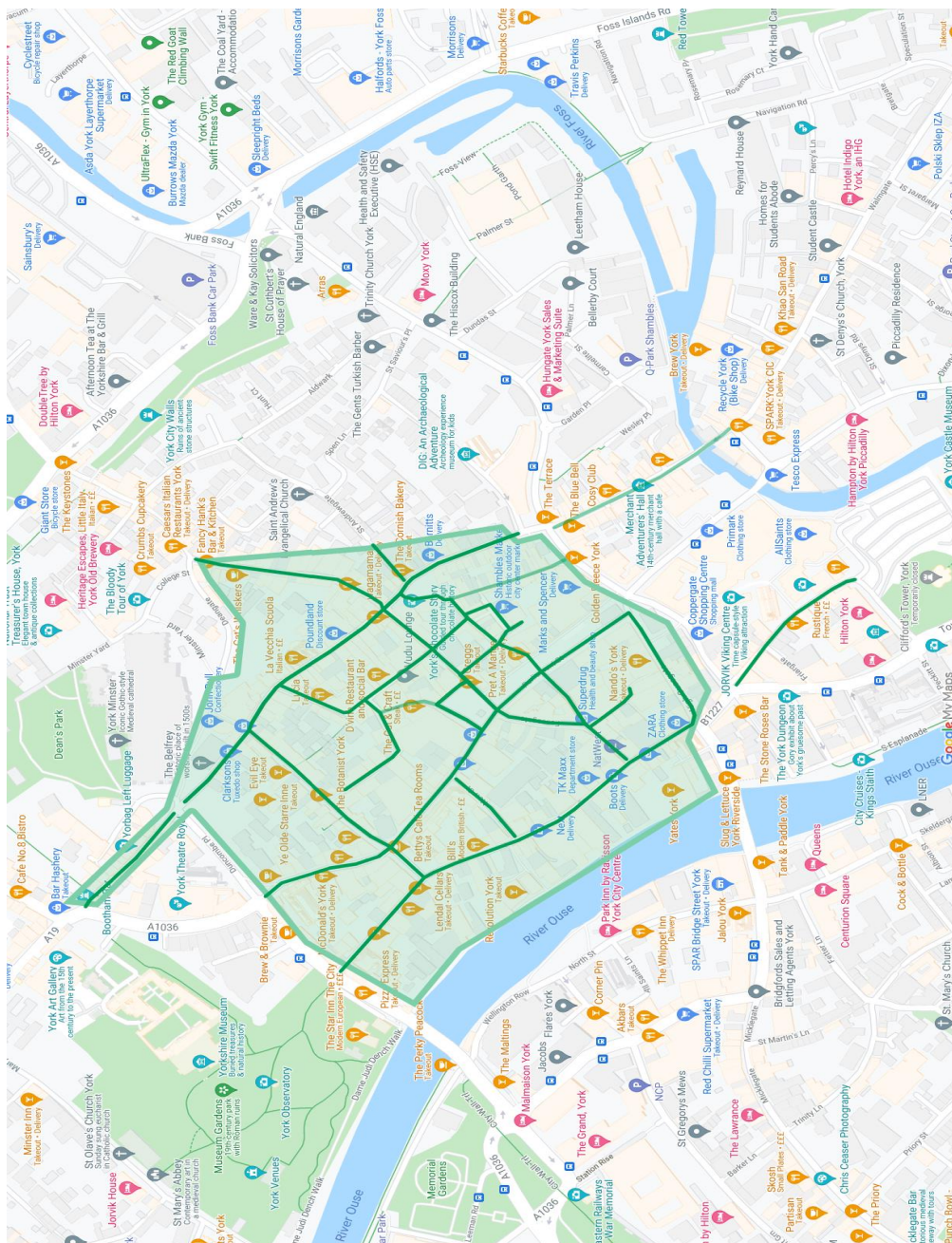


Map 1. Map of York with boundary city wall from *The West Ridnge of Yorkeshyre with the most famous and fayre Citie Yorke* (John Speed, 1610; Cambridge University Library).

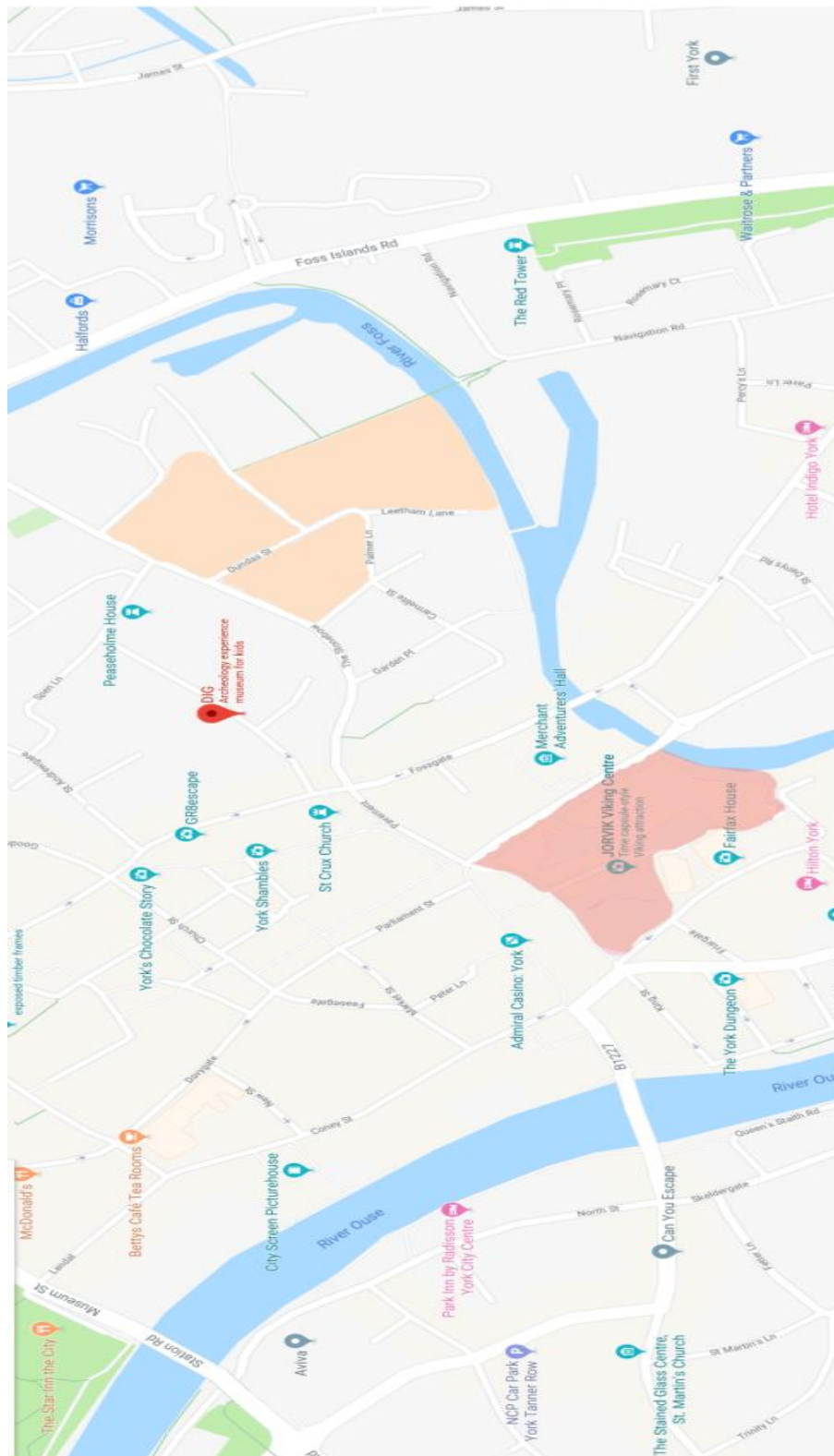




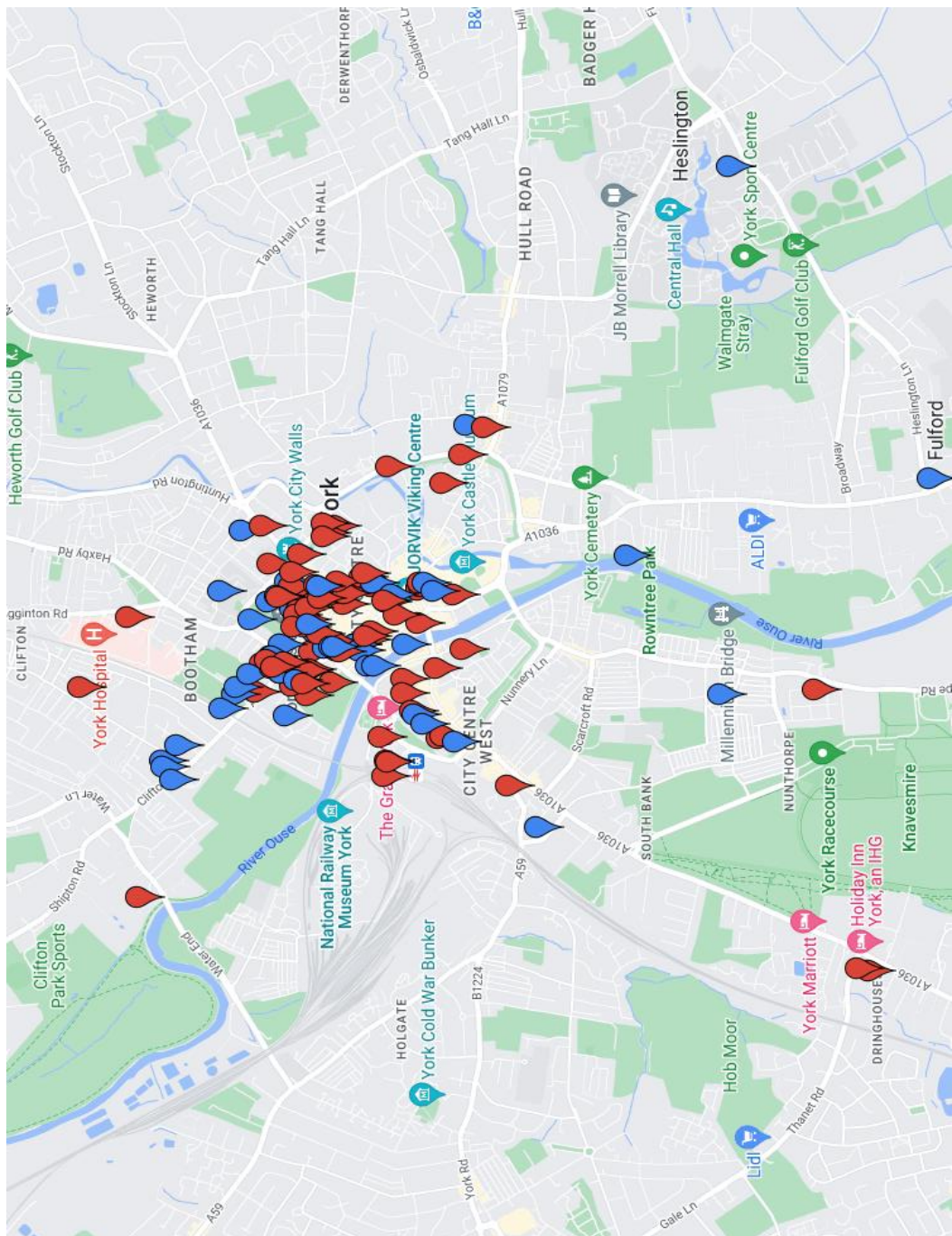
Map 3. Depiction of York Unitary Authority (York City Council, 2021).



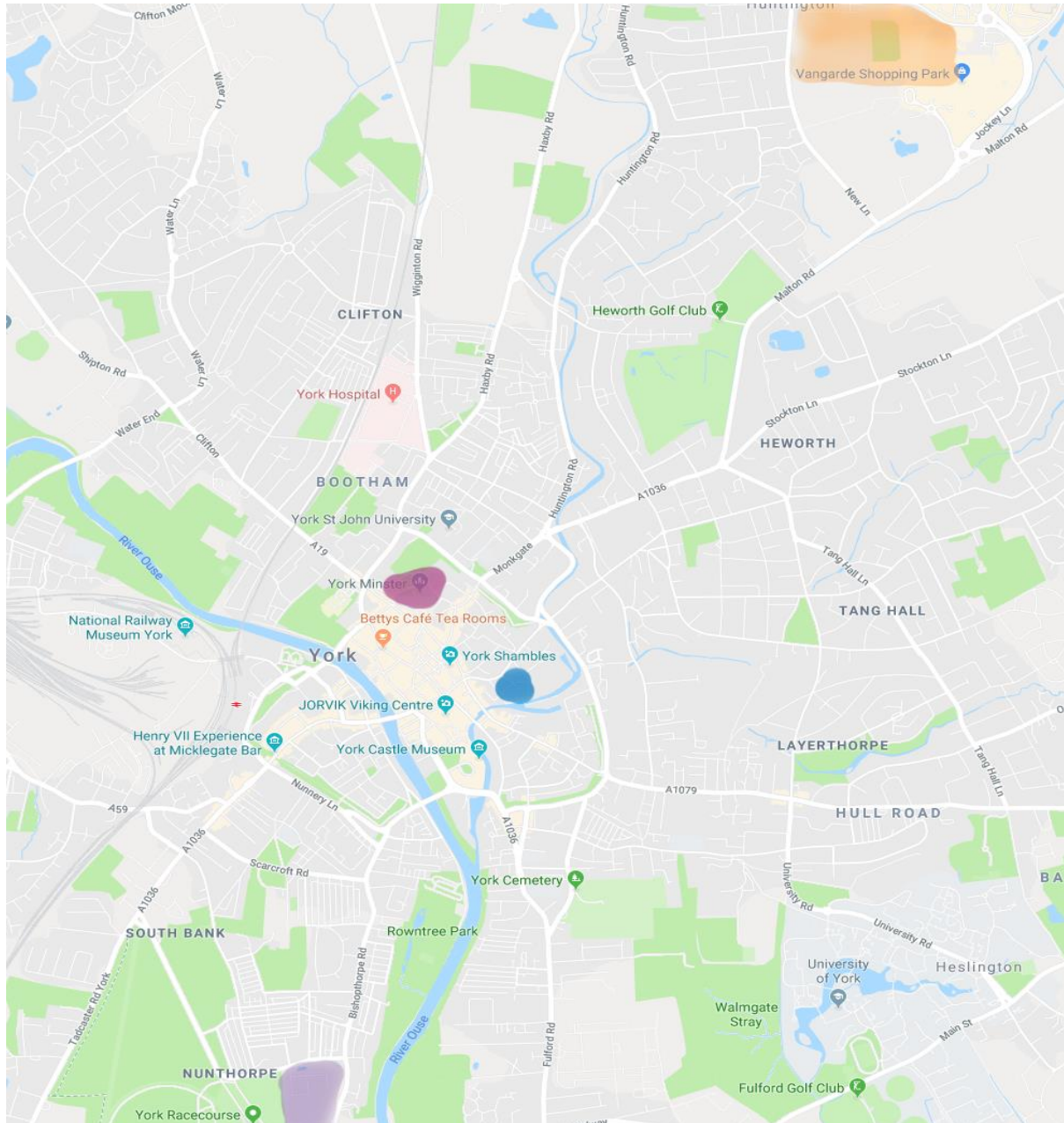
Map 4. Pedestrianised core of York (York City Council based on Google Maps, 2023).



Map 5. Map showing the locations of the two major digs: red shaded area represents the site of the Coppergate dig while the orange shaded area depicts the Hungate dig (Author's own using Google Maps, 2023).



Map 6. Map of the current (November 2022) Blue Plaques (York Civic Trust, 2022).



Map 7. Map of York depicting the sites of the case studies within Chapter 7 (Author's own using Google Maps).

Key:

- Case Study 1 is coloured in orange to the north of the city for the site of Waterworld.
- Case study 3 is coloured blue and based at the Hungate development site near the river Foss.
- Case Study 4 is coloured purple and based to the south of the city at the former Terry's Factory.
- Case Study 5 is coloured pink and based at York Minster in the city centre.

Acknowledgements

This was started as a personal journey to find myself and understand the world around me. What it became was an opportunity to make change: the chance to shape the world ahead and help others take back control of their past. I'm grateful to the faith given to me by The Heritage Consortium and Leeds Beckett University to let me pursue this rather unconventional study and give me a chance to navigate this path and turn it into something truly worthwhile. I'm grateful too to Shane, who stood by and let me create the study I wanted and needed to, despite biting his tongue over some of my working processes and referencing.

In a piece focused on finding the voices within the past, it's only fitting that I dedicate this to those who never got to see me make it to the end. To Mary and Ivan, who both believed that I would make something great of myself and told me to listen to my past as much as my heart. As well as to my friends that I lost along the way and to those that fell during the awful times we faced over the last few years.

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Moreso, I want to dedicate this to Elle and Narcy, who stood by me from my interview, through sleepless nights, stress, countless non-sensical ramblings and global changes to get here. You two are what have kept me going all these years, and to that, I can only say thank you, and I love you both for everything you've given for this journey so we can be Dr and Dr.

It's the nature of time that the old ways must give in! it's the nature of the time that the new ways comes in sin. When the new meets the old, it always ends the ancient ways. And as history told, the old ways go out with a blaze.

-Shiroyama – Sabaton (2016)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Heritage in the twenty-first century is a tenuous concept juxtaposed with themes of gentrification, consumerism, and adventure:

Imagine a city with Roman roots and a Viking past,
where ancient walls surround contemporary independent
shops and vibrant eateries and there's a festival for
every month of the year. Welcome to York - the Original
City Adventure!¹

Packaged as part of an all-encompassing attraction, the interpretation of the past has been utilised widely to inform and attract the public to embrace the experiential nature of heritage practices. Such propositions, postulated over several decades by David Lowenthal, Robert Hewison and Gregory John Ashworth, amongst others, emulate the conflation of education and entertainment within the heritage industry, establishing a driving force upon which to structure local government policies, public outreach and place marketing.²

However, the evolution of heritage studies since LauraJane Smith's eponymous *Uses of Heritage* has increasingly acknowledged the plethora of perspectives, interpretations and approaches that create and inform an understanding of the built environment's past.³ More recently, this has led to the idea of 'citizen expertise', which is highly influential in considering interpretation within urban spaces.⁴ More broadly, the concept of citizen expertise has been applied across a number of disciplines to refer to investigational practices that engage participants as experts within democratic decision making.⁵ More specifically, in the consideration of urban studies, 'citizen expertise is conceived of as a

¹ Visit York, 'Visit York Homepage', <<https://www.visitork.org/>> [Accessed on 01/03/2017].

² In particular, Brian Graham, Gregory John Ashworth, and John Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage, Power, Culture and Economy* (London, 2000); David Lowenthal, *The Past is A Foreign Country* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) and Gregory John Ashworth and Hendrik Voogd, *Selling the City: Marketing Approaches in Public Sector Urban Planning* (London: Bellhaven Press, 1990), Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987).

³ LauraJane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Routledge, 2006).

⁴ Rebecca Madgin, David Webb, Pollyanna Ruiz and Tim Snelson, 'Resisting relocation and reconceptualising authenticity: the experiential and emotional values of the Southbank Undercroft London UK', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(6) (2018). pp. 585-598.

⁵ Taina Meriluto and Kanerva Kuokkanen, 'How to make sense of citizen expertise in participatory projects?', *Current Sociology*, 80(7) (2021), pp. 974-993.

platform for altruism and a means for people with certain knowledge or experiences to make use of them for the benefit of others. Here, the role crafted for the citizen experts is that of a community-builder.⁶ This idea emphasises the value of public insights, both in reference to unique perspectives and knowledge, as well as the emotional associations and connotations derived from engagement with urban spaces. As Rebecca Madgin et al have demonstrated, it is possible to consider the interpretation and intimate knowledge derived through familiarity with particular subjects and places.⁷ This familiarity is derived from individuals' and groups' lived experiences and potential to immerse themselves freely rather than being pre-determined by the built environment. By breaking away from the governance and curation of an authorised heritage discourse, it is possible to investigate the value of grassroots narratives in developing more robust and cohesive understandings of historical sites. Therefore, the theme of this thesis is the investigation of how person-centred expertise can be utilised to democratise urban heritage narratives.

Fundamental to this study is the consideration of heritage studies as the convergence of multiple disciplines to examine and define the application and approaches of understanding and engaging with the past. Whilst Madgin's work is influential throughout this study, it derives from a background in urban history and urban studies rather than heritage studies per se. As such, the role of expertise in this manner allows researchers to consider the deconstruction of conventional interpretations utilised in international charters and the growing literature on heritage studies. Whilst the literature on heritage studies as a discipline has grown over the last three decades, with notable input from Smith, Hewison and Lowenthal, these have focused on the core definitions of heritage and its application to the curation of resources.⁸ In particular, these scholars have approached core themes and principles through a more theoretical approach. As such, there are few studies that directly

⁶ Ibid, p. 981.

⁷ Madgin et al, 'Resisting relocation and reconceptualising authenticity', pp. 585-598.

⁸ For further information see Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, Hewison, *The Heritage*; Lowenthal, *The Past is A Foreign Country*.

address the practicalities of heritage in urban everyday life beyond a post-industrial perspective. Indeed, fewer studies consider the relationships within urban spaces shared by competing and different user groups. For example, J. Pedro Lorente's analysis of museums and contemporary art considered the impact of these spaces within urban environments across the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁹ Within this is an investigation into the influence and nationalist views generated from these institutions. However, Lorente's work is positioned within a discipline of cultural arts with urban connotations rather than heritage studies. Therefore, part of this thesis is based on building the literature and understanding of heritage studies within the context of the urban environment and establishing methodologies of investigation for future research.

As such, this thesis argues that subjective interpretation derived from individual experience and emotional attachment, in combination with narrative constructions of heritage, occupies a meaningful space within the disciplines of history, geography, urban studies, and heritage studies. These disciplines, in particular, draw upon the individual users of heritage as well as collective groups to influence and shape the interpretation of heritage. As such, by broadening this perspective with the inclusion of emotional attachment and experience, it is possible to enhance and reinforce the conjunction of disciplines within a particular methodology. More generally, such attempts to approach this academically have been as a caveat to a more established approach or methodology and not as one in its own right. However, more recently, through the collaborative work of an emerging field, this has started to gather greater recognition within academic communities as a viable approach on its own merit. Thanks to the work of James Lesh and Rebecca Madgin, amongst others, the literature on this has begun to be established within the wider multidisciplinary discourse.¹⁰ What this particularly provides is an approach that can query both conventional and evolving

⁹ J. Pedro Lorente, *Cathedrals of Urban Modernity: The First Museums of Contemporary Art, 1800-1930* (1st ed.) (Routledge, 1998).

¹⁰ Rebecca Madgin and James Lesh (eds.), *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places* (Routledge, 2021).

disciplines by highlighting the practicalities of a multidisciplinary approach for interpreting the urban environment. This does not dispute that academics and heritage professionals do not consider the role of the individual or collective in narrative formation, but rather that there is significant scope to expand upon currently held perspectives. Therefore, this thesis examines the structure of established authorised heritage narratives in comparison to more person-centred interpretations to build a broader discussion on the impact of citizen expertise in understanding heritage engagement.

Research Focus

Driving this thesis are three main aspects that have the potential to influence the growing field of heritage studies. Firstly, the ability to democratise authorised heritage narratives by balancing engagement and interpretation through more grassroots practices. As such, this thesis positions more established investigations into governance, place marketing and historical representation, against more novel person-centric pursuits. This includes Urban Exploration, an activity to 'locate and explore disordered, marginal, interstitial and infrastructural spaces through recreational trespassing'.¹¹ In addition, this research explores the role of public performance in addressing historical narratives of the past within the setting of the city. Furthermore, it explores the exploration of digital technology to enhance public engagement of the past through dedicated social media sites, complementary smart phone applications and conservation practices. Therefore, as a second aspect to address this variety of topics, the thesis attempts to assess the potential of a mixed methods multidisciplinary approach to analyse heritage engagement in urban areas. Due to the broad application of heritage, it is not possible to confine it to a single disciplinary paradigm, therefore utilising a multidisciplinary approach allows a broader discussion on the academic practices of understanding heritage. Lastly, to build on the growing scholarship, the thesis examines the role of emotional attachment in understanding heritage narratives and

¹¹ Bradley Garrett, 'Undertaking Recreational Trespass: Urban Exploration and Infiltration', *Transaction* (2014), 39(1), pp. 3-4.

methods of engagement through the guise of the topics mentioned above. Further to these methodological queries, the thesis seeks to challenge established academic discourse, which is largely structured around deindustrialised cities and contrast these investigations against a more established historical city. Therefore, for context, this investigation is contained within the period of 2014-2018 to examine a four-year period of change and investigation within the setting of York, UK.¹² This was initially chosen to provide a real-time analysis of the city at the time of the research; however, due to the impact of broader unanticipated events during and after this period, such as the UK's decision to leave the European Union (Brexit) and the onset of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic in 2019-2020, broader references are included to help bolster the context and give clarity on some longer term changes.

Sources and Methodology

Approaching any thesis is not without difficult decisions and challenges. While it is important to remain objective in seeking to write authentic scholarship, there is inevitably an element of personal subjectivity to the decision-making processes. This subjectivity is based on the reflexive nature of the researcher's personal experiences, my professional relationships with interviewees and other subjects of analysis, as well as the academic disciplines which frame the research project.¹³ A better understanding of the selection of sources and methodological approaches utilised in this thesis necessitates acknowledging the role of reflexivity and subjectivity in this study, especially where it investigates place-based emotional attachment.¹⁴

¹² Please note that throughout this project, minor mentions to later periods are included to offer additional contextualisation and awareness to broader themes. As such, mention of Britain leaving the European Union and the outbreak of COVID-19 are acknowledge for the impact they have had on later interpretation but not on the initial data collected and analysed through this research.

¹³ For more reflection on these subjective and emotional aspects of the research process, see chapters in Tracey Loughran and Dawn Mannay (eds.), *Emotion and the Researcher: Sites, Subjectivities, and Relationships* (Emerald Publishing, 2018).

¹⁴ Hannah Garrow, 'Living in and Loving Leith: Using ethnography to explore place attachment and identity processes' in Madgin and Lesh (eds), *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, (Routledge, 2021) p.115

Reflexivity involves more than just recognition of the background and influences of the author as much as reference to their ongoing active engagement with the community under research and the methods deployed in conducting ethnographic research. Although Pierre Bourdieu is most commonly associated with earlier notions of the term 'reflexivity' and the importance of awareness of the author's position and relationship viz-a-viz qualitative research, more recent scholarship has raised greater awareness about the 'reflexive turn' within the social sciences.¹⁵ As Mendel comments, 'The social qualities of the knower shape the characteristics of his/her thought, not only with regard to the genesis of ideas, but also concerning the form and contents as well as the formulation and intensity of experience.'¹⁶

Inspiring reflexivity within this thesis was my familiarity with York, a city experienced both as a regular visitor over the past two decades and temporary resident whilst a postgraduate student at the University of York 2010-2012. My familiarity with the city, particularly its lesser-visited areas as well as its more commercialised and tourist-centred historic core, therefore influenced my choice of case studies as well as my evolving engagement with these spaces as a researcher. As a historic city, York also correlated with my previous experience as a Master's student specialising in early modern social history, which helped to anchor the city as a key location of investigation from a historical perspective. The main departure from my disciplinary background involved moving away from the heavily archival-based focus of history, with its traditional favouring of using official and semi-official written documents, to encompass a much broader methodological approach, drawing on ethnographic and sociological approaches as well as traditional historical training, in order to produce a more holistic understanding of the lived city and my

¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*, (Stanford University Press, 1990). For more recent examples of scholarship on the reflexive researcher, see S. A. Venkatesh, 'The reflexive turn: the rise of first-person ethnography', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 54 (2013), pp.3-8; Karen Lumsden, Jan Bradford and Jackie Goode (eds.), *Reflexivity: Theory, Method, and Practice* (Taylor & Francis, 2019).

¹⁶ Iris Mendel, 'Mannheim's free-floating intelligentsia: The role of closeness and distance in the analysis of society'. *Studies in Social and Political Thought*, 12 (2006) p.31

own engagement with it.¹⁷ Furthermore, the thesis also reflects cross-disciplinarity and personal interest in people and the ways that they engage with the historic city rather than the political actors, structures and decisions that shape official heritage policy. This 'bottom-up' approach has been crucial in structuring the thesis and the areas of investigation in order to capture the experiences and interest of the public - as tourists and residents – rather than of 'top-down' local government. This necessitated engaging with scholarship in urban history and heritage studies in order to ground the understanding and significance of York.

As Shane Ewen notes, in defining urban history, civic-infused histories have contributed to the investigatory narrative of viewing the present through the lens of the past.¹⁸ As such, academic research addresses aspects of redevelopment, gentrification and migration that have fundamentally changed these environments within a sense of continuity. This has been influential in the analysis of cities such as Manchester, London, Newcastle, Leicester and Liverpool, where industrialisation was characteristic of the city's development, and in turn post-industrialisation presented the civic shift to adapt and reimagine the city narrative.¹⁹ The prominent focus of post-industrial redevelopment as a civic strategy to alter the established narratives and reinvent the narrative of space and place has led to a broader discussion on how to evaluate and re-evaluate these intentions to account for artificial or alternative interpretations. In particular, Richard Rodger and Rebecca Madgin's work on Edinburgh was significant for suggesting the potential of city authorities, notably in Edinburgh, to nurture a doctored narrative of the city that attempted to omit and negate the industrial history of the city, privileging the ancient and historical character of the city within

¹⁷ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*, (Routledge, 2021)

¹⁸ Shane Ewen, *What is Urban History?* (Polity, 2015)

¹⁹ For Leicester see Richard Rodger and Rebecca Madgin (eds.), *Leicester: A Modern History* (Carnegie Publishing, 2016) in particular, Richard Rodger, 'Reinventing the City after 1945', pp. 175-216. On the topic of Edinburgh see, Brian Edwards (ed.), *Edinburgh: The Making of a Capital City* (Edinburgh University Press, 2005), particularly Richard Rodger, 'Capital Landscapes: Industry and the built environment'. There are also additional investigations into Newcastle, for example, Robert Colls, *Newcastle Upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Phillimore & Co, 2001). For Liverpool, see John Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Character, Culture, History*, (Liverpool University Press, 2006).

urban planning.²⁰ However, this challenging of institutional governance of narratives has persisted as the minority approach. As a result, this thesis is focused on exploring the potential of providing a better understanding of the past, beyond industrial histories to interpret a more complex and nuanced narrative that is inclusive of an industrial legacy but considerate of all histories.

For this purpose, this thesis examines York, a city based in the North of England with multiple historical periods vying for a dominant narrative. The city of York has held prominence in Britain for nearly two millennia as a centre of industry, politics, and culture. In the twenty-first century, York is much changed, but its urban landscape is still recognisable to visitors. From the Minster defining the skyline, to the city walls, twin rivers and eclectic mix of architecture, the city is well documented by scholars and visitors alike throughout history. However, the prominent focus of investigation has been regarding the medieval histories of the city, as per Patrick Nuttgens.²¹ Rather than focus on the industrial and post-industrial legacies, this thesis investigated the balancing of multiple historical narratives within a confined space defined by the boundaries of the walled city core (Maps 1 and 2). As seen in Maps 1 and 2, the walls have maintained a dominant boundary which denotes the core inner city and the subsequent broader reach of the city's authority. However, for this investigation, these walls provide demarcation and help focus and ground the subsequent research. Within this are two rivers, the Foss and Ouse, the Minster, a mixture of Medieval, Georgian, and Victorian streets and a plethora of museums, guilds and institutions. To explore these aspects of the city, this thesis utilises York as a case study to inform the understanding of the wider experiences of urban heritage. Applying a city-in-context approach is a well-established methodology within urban history and therefore, lends itself to application here to provide relative grounding and structure. More conventional comparative methodologies have been joined by emerging international and transnational approaches in recent years,

²⁰ Richard Rodger and Rebecca Madgin, 'Inspiring Capital? Deconstructing myths and reconstructing urban environments, Edinburgh 1860-2010', *Urban History*, 40(3) (2013), pp. 507-529

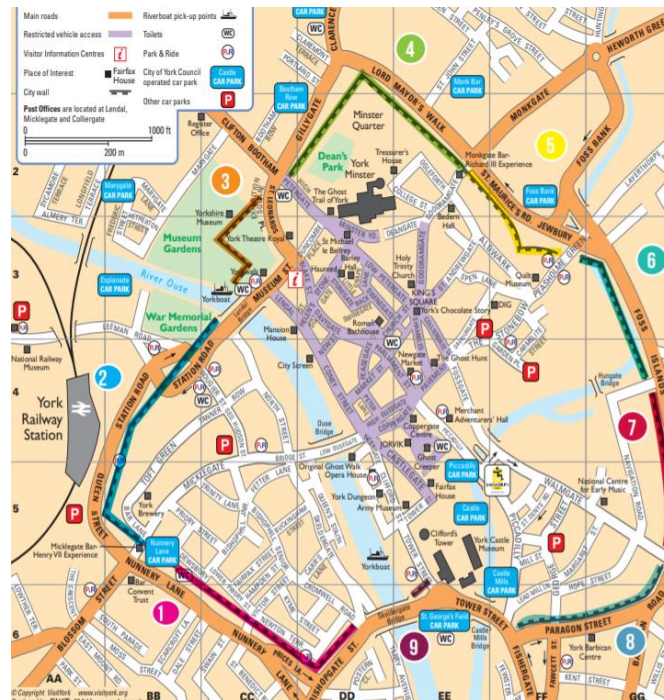
²¹ Patrick Nuttgens, *York: The Continuing City* (Dales Court Press, 2002).

both in urban studies and urban histories, however, with the growing discipline of heritage studies, it is still necessary to discern appropriate methodologies of investigation.²²



Map 1. Map of York with boundary city wall from *The West Ridnge of Yorkeshyre with the most famous and fayre Citie Yorke* (John Speed, 1610; Cambridge University Library).

²² Pierre-Yves Saunier and Shane Ewen (eds.), *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment 1850-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008); Nicolas Kenny and Rebecca Madgin (eds.), *Cities Beyond Borders: Comparative and Transnational Approaches to Urban History* (Routledge, 2015).



Map 2. Map of York depicting boundary wall (Your Local Link, 2018).

Case studies have been fundamental to the establishing of urban history studies in providing a method of insight into particular examples rather than relying on common principles.²³ The reasoning is that case studies can penetrate situations in ways that numerical analysis cannot; by developing a more analytical rather than statistical generalisation it is possible to develop theories to understand different phenomena and conditions.²⁴ Sturman cites the case study as an excellent vehicle to investigate human interactions with other people, including other factors which govern human behaviour.²⁵ Further, Louis Cohen et al comment that ‘case studies can establish cause and effect, [the] ‘how’ and ‘why’ which can be deeply observed in real contexts.’²⁶ More generally, to establish this approach as a robust data source, Yin recommends that a plurality of case

²³ See Ewen’s *What is Urban History*, for a more in-depth discussion on case study histories through the work of Dyos and Chandler in developing the field. In addition, see J. Nisbet and J. Watt, ‘Case Study’ in Judith Bell, Tony Bush, Alan Fox, Jane Goodey and Sandy Goulding (eds), *Conducting Small-Scale Investigations in Educational Management*. (London: Harper & Row, 1984), pp. 79-92.

²⁴ Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion, Keith Morrison, *Research Methods in Education, Sixth Edition* (Routledge, 2007), p.253.

²⁵ A. Sturman, ‘Case study methods’ in: J. p. Keeves (ed.). *Educational research, methodology and measurement: an international handbook* (2nd ed.) (Oxford: Pergamon, 1997), p.61.

²⁶ Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion, Keith Morrison, *Research Methods in Education, Seventh Edition* (Routledge, 2011), p.289

studies be undertaken in preference to a single case.²⁷ However, this is based on the need to provide empirical data to satisfy potential theories on trends across multiple data points. In this instance, a single case study is utilised as it provides a suitable level of empirical data to analyse within the one reference point.

The reason for selecting York as the focus of this research as a singular case study is due to the particularities and significance of its heritage, which warrants its own case. Between the architectural and archaeological remains, York is an historic city that has held significance for centuries but in the twenty-first century is focused on the preservation of that historic narrative. Thus, for the scope of a thesis, the decision was made to utilise a single case study based on location, allowing for multiple areas of investigation. This allows for a more in-depth analysis of York from different perspectives and disciplines.

To summarise, the approach of case studies as outlined provides qualitative data and mixed methods research that enables scholars to delve into detailed studies of the multiple factors and variables that shape a place with the ability to trace them over time. For examples of this, we can consider Fernand Braudel's research in the Mediterranean as pivotal, utilising the Mediterranean Sea as a focal point for investigation with a full sense of actions, environment and people connected to this.²⁸ In many ways this thesis is symbolic of the idea of *histoire totale* as advocated by the French *Annales* school of the mid-twentieth century. This historiographical approach draws together geographical, demographic, economic, social, political and cultural approaches under a single study to examine all levels of human historical experience.²⁹ Bernard Lepetit's argument was that the activities of men and women were what counted, rather than the weight of macro-economics or the stifling limitations of social structural theory. As such, the *Annales* approach has been widely utilised in the UK to address local history covering larger themes and changes of a period

²⁷ Robert Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (SAGE, 2009).

²⁸ Fernand Braudel. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. 2 vols. (second revised edition, translated by Sian Reynolds) (Harper & Row, New York, 1972).

²⁹ Bernard Lepetit, *Urban structure and organization of space in preindustrial France, 1740-1840* (Lille, University of Lille III, 1988).

providing a precedent for this thesis.³⁰ Within this thesis, the premise of a case study is utilised to confine the investigation to a single geographical area while allowing for multiple interpretations to be applied in support of the multidisciplinary nature of heritage studies. This builds upon developing work by scholars such as Madgin and Lesh to conduct case studies of public engagement and emotional attachment with places that cross national and continental borders.³¹

Due to the scope and spectrum of this thesis it was necessary to determine an appropriate research methodology. Traditionally there are three broad approaches to academic research: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods. These incorporate many of the components utilised for data collection, including interviews, questionnaires and case studies, which inform the empirical and subjective elements of the research. Data analysis is then addressed through forms of inductive and deductive reasoning. Mixed methods research requires a purposeful mixing of methods in data collection, data analysis and interpretation of the evidence. Purposeful data integration enables researchers to seek a more panoramic view of their research landscape, viewing phenomena from different viewpoints and through diverse research lenses. A mixed methods approach is appropriate for answering research questions that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods could answer alone.³² Further to this, Cohen et al. pointed out that mixed methods serve to enlarge quantitative and qualitative research in terms of the existing paradigm where 'A paradigm is a way of looking at or searching phenomena, a world view, a view of what counts as accepted or correct scientific knowledge or way of working'.³³

³⁰ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (Routledge, 2009).

³¹ See Rebecca Madgin and James Lesh, 'Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Places: Bridging Concept, Practice and Method' and Jenny Gregory and Sarah Chambers, 'Longing for the Past: Lost Cities on Social Media' in *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation: Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Urban Places*, in Madgin and Lesh (eds.).

³² John Creswell and Abbas Tashakkori, 'Developing Publishable Mixed Methods Manuscripts', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1, (2007), pp. 107-111.

³³ Cohen et al. *Research Methods in Education*, p.5.

Therefore, it was essential to consider the intentions of the research and the available resources to determine the suitability of a mixed-method approach. In grounding the case study on the city of York, it is possible to consider the various sources available for examination. Within the city are a wide array of governing institutions, such as the City Council and Civic Trust, which publish annual reports and documentation regarding the changing dynamics of the city. These provide a fundamental resource for this thesis to track the decision-making practices of the city's governance and strategy making. Given the rich archaeological deposits of the city; the materialistic finds, as well as archaeological reports by York Archaeological Trust, help to establish a broad institutional analysis of how archaeology has been utilised to promote and support understanding and narrative formation. In addition to these forms of official documentation and material evidence, there is an abundance of digital resources including official websites, online forums, museums, and publicity material published within the city. In conjunction to these are published guidebooks and archival material in the form of postcards and photographs which support the immediate forms of public engagement. However, given the areas of interest in public-centred activities it was necessary to balance this highly curated secondary data through primary data collection. As such, a number of ethnographical approaches were used including field observations, interviews with institutional figures and the use of questionnaires with members of the public. Given the breadth of these sources and the speciality of each chapter, a more refined methodology and discussion of sources and approaches is included in each chapter.

Due to the scope of this thesis it was necessary to utilise a mixed methods approach to draw upon multiple disciplines. Due to the variety of sources utilised including social media posts, theatrical performances and published marketing materials, interviews, and photography, it was not possible to structure this thesis within a singular framework or methodology. This is a significant aspect of this thesis as, rather than be bound by a linear discipline such as urban studies or history, approaching a more multi-disciplinary method

allows for a wider consideration of data within various perspectives to produce a more concise understanding. In understanding York as a city and in turn challenging the civic strategies towards urban heritage engagement, it was necessary to consider aspects of psychology, history, geography, and cultural studies. However, as Joe Moran notes, such an approach is taken not to demolish or dismiss disciplinary structures but to allow a broader understanding and perspective of topics across disciplines and to bolster knowledge within them.³⁴ Embracing the different perspectives is vital to the contextualisation of research; within this thesis, there is a discussion of Urban Exploration (which is predominantly a geography-based topic), social media engagement and performance. While at first these appear disparate topics with no underlying connecting theme, through utilising a mixed method, multidisciplinary approach it is possible to utilise each component as part of a unified research project. Therefore, by pursuing a mixed-method multidisciplinary study with a core collection of influences and structures, it is possible to weave a more complex research project. This has been established by multiple academics, including Jayne Raisborough, to whom explorations of lifestyle, gender and class are addressed within a variety of perspectives from influences of mainstream televisual culture, anti-ageing propaganda and perceived deprivation. These utilise a multidisciplinary mixed methods approach to ground the investigation into understanding self and identity within these spheres of inquiry.³⁵ Whilst the topic of interest is different, the precedent established indicated the potential for such an approach within the complexity of understanding heritage engagement in the urban environment.

Whilst the thesis as a whole is subject to a mixed methods approach, each chapter explores the specific methodological approaches befitting the context. However, consistent through each is a strong ethnographic approach utilising interviews and observations to capture direct input from participants involved to provide primary first-hand insight into the

³⁴ Joe Moran, *Interdisciplinarity*, 2nd edition (Routledge, 2010), p.2.

³⁵ See Jayne Raisborough, *Lifestyle Media and the Formation of the Self* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

impact and understanding of these processes. These participants consist of heritage professionals within institutional bodies such as York Civic Trust, York City Council and York Archaeological Trust, and citizen experts composed of members of the public with direct knowledge of the topic. This was essential to analyse the topics of urban exploration accurately and robustly, including digital engagement, performative heritage, tourism mechanism and historical narrative. Based on the varying sub-themes of this, a mixed methods approach was undertaken in which ethnography and auto-ethnography methods were interwoven to produce qualitative and quantitative results.

Ethnography studies social interactions, behaviours, and perceptions within groups, teams, organisations, and communities. Its roots can be traced back to anthropological studies of small, rural, and often remote societies, which were undertaken in the early 1900s when researchers such as Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown rooted themselves in these societies over long periods and documented their social arrangements and belief systems.³⁶ This approach was later adopted by members of the Chicago School of Sociology, such as Everett Hughes, Robert Park, and Louis Wirth, and applied to a variety of urban settings in their studies of social life.³⁷ The central aim of ethnography is to provide rich, holistic insights into people's views and actions, as well as the nature of their location, through the collection of detailed observations and interviews. Most geographers practice ethnography: Söderström believes this may have more to do with the intense development of spatial analysis within geography from the 1950s onwards.³⁸ This is emphasised by the difficulties David Ley faced when proposing fieldwork in Philadelphia in the 1970s to faculty members due to the emphasis on going 'out there'.³⁹ The advent of the internet has helped assist the idea of 'virtual' fieldwork which this thesis has had to consider and has balanced the need to address the approach of both virtual fieldwork and the necessity to get out and

³⁶ William C. Sturtevant, 'Anthropology, History, and Ethnohistory', *Ethnohistory*, 13 (1966), pp. 1-51.

³⁷ Luigi Tomasi (ed.), *The Tradition of the Chicago School of Sociology* (Routledge, 2017).

³⁸ Ola Söderström. Paper Cities: Visual Thinking in Urban Planning. *Ecumene*, 3(3) (1996), pp. 249-281.

³⁹ David Ley, *Community Participation and the Spatial Order of the City* (Vancouver, BC: Tantalus Publications, 1974).

experience and engage with the urban space for oneself. The growth and influence of social media and digital interactions since the turn of the twenty-first century has furthered the potential to engage in virtual fieldwork to gauge impact. In particular, the case by Jeffrey Lane is that the characterisation of urban life must now consider the online and offline interaction within ethnography and factor in the digital life of subjects.⁴⁰

When utilising a mixed methods approach, it is essential to balance and justify methods of investigation. Remaining a conscious observer within ethnographical studies does not diminish the interpretation and understanding that can be extrapolated. However, by becoming more than a passive observer, there is scope to give voice and editorial control to those subjects being researched. This is not an uncommon practice within academia. In particular, studies by Sibley on the topic of Gypsies and Parr on mental illness in Nottingham offer impressive templates for research that goes deeper into the world of those researched, with Parr going so far as to investigate the treatment of those in care covertly.⁴¹ Whilst these examples are influential in suggesting the degree to which communities can be observed and documented, Bradley Garrett, a scholar of Urban Exploration, denotes the active component of the practice of exploring urban ruins and thus the need for a deeper form of ethnography with its practitioners. Urban Exploration involves the investigation of manmade structures, usually abandoned ruins or hidden features of the built environment and is the critical focus of Chapter 7. Whilst this activity produces documentary evidence through photography, it is ultimately an experience-based practice, therefore it is important to capture from participants the reasoning for partaking in this activity and the experiential and emotional component. For Garrett this is only possible by becoming one of them, as such,

⁴⁰ Jeffrey Lane, 'The Digital Street: An Ethnographic Study of Networked Street Life in Harlem', *American Behavioural Scientist*, 60(1), (2015), pp. 43-58. For further information on the impact of the internet on urban ethnography see Marta-Marika Urbanik, 'Gangsta Life: Fusing Urban Ethnography with Netnography in Gang Studies', *Qualitative Sociology*, 43 (2020), pp. 213-233; Kristan Venegas, 'Urban Ethnography: Approaches perspectives and challenges' in Maggi Savin-Baden (ed.), *New Approaches to Qualitative Research: Wisdom and Uncertainty* (Routledge, 2010), pp. 154-161; Christine Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet* (University of Chicago Press, 2010).

⁴¹ David Sibley, *Outsiders in Urban Society*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 1981) and Hester Parr, 'The politics of methodology in 'post-medical geography': mental health research and the interview', *Health Place*, 4(4) (1998).

Garrett advocates almost complete immersion within the communities that participate so as to provide full editorial control over their representation in scholarship.⁴² Within academic analysis this has been attributed to the need to 'push geographic ethnography even further' to the point where the researcher can relate intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually to being part of a thing, being or event.⁴³

Although in this thesis there are aspects of almost complete immersion within particular activities, there are several limitations imposed on the part of the author so as not to create legal or safety concerns for this study. This was most relevant in respect to Urban Exploration, which operates on, and sometimes over, the boundaries of legality. Instead, this study refers back to the later interpretations of the Chicago School of Sociology and utilises ethnography as a means to examine the accumulated 'sense of local knowledge'.⁴⁴ Therefore, in conducting research for this thesis it was necessary to be a participant in local history meetings, community events, exhibition openings and field observations. To improve immersion, information was not disclosed prior to attendance and was only confirmed if directly asked. However, unlike Garrett this immersive ethnography was controlled so as to balance the subjective and objective aspects of this research when addressing emotional attachment. Whilst immersion in the practice of Garrett had the potential to provide a first-hand reflexive commentary on participation, it would have always been under the influence of academia and not completely reflective of other participants. Therefore, a more balanced methodology was utilised.

To complement this form of research, questionnaires and surveys were utilised to provide a mixture of qualitative and quantitative information. Questionnaires are a research tool designed to capture information for analysis. Dependent on the type of questions these

⁴² Bradley Garrett, 'Place Hacking: Tales of Urban Exploration' (Royal Holloway, University of London PhD Thesis, 2012), p.44.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge* (New York: Basic Books 1983).

can produce data of qualitative or quantitative nature.⁴⁵ Closed-ended dichotomous questions were presented to respondents with only two choices for their response; that is, yes or no.⁴⁶ Dichotomous questions were used when there was a need to collect data on the same topic several times. This kind of question could be declined if it caused respondents difficulty and they guessed the answer.⁴⁷ Multiple-category scale or multiple-choice questions provided three or more choices for the respondents, and the rating scales were indicated from low to high, positive to negative, and strong to weak.⁴⁸ An example of the questionnaire used in this study can be viewed in Appendix 9.3-5. These were conducted *in situ* within York as well as online. To support this, all participants were provided with a participant information form and consent form to adhere to ethical standards.⁴⁹ However, due to the varying nature of these chapters, the questionnaires have been catered to meet the requirements of each study. For example, questionnaires regarding visits to museums are more heavily focused on engagement within curated sites and pertain to the topics of chapters 3 and 4. As such, within each chapter there is a further discussion of the data collection methods. In total 117 participants agreed to complete the questionnaire; however, only 63 (nearly 50 per cent) completed it over the course of this study.

As a primary source of information interviews were also conducted. Cohen et al outlined five types of interviews often employed in educational settings: *structured*, *unstructured*, *semi-structured*, *nondirective*, and *focussed* interviews.⁵⁰ In the structured interview, the content and procedures are organised in advance and such an interview is characterised by being a closed situation. Structured interviews are similar to written questionnaires, in that they utilise a set of fixed questions (termed a schedule) with fixed

⁴⁵ Martyn Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide for Small Scale Research Projects* (4th ed.). (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2010).

⁴⁶ Cohen et al., *Research Methods in Education*.

⁴⁷ Seymour Sudman, Norman Bradburn, *Asking Questions: A Practical Guide to Questionnaire Design* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. 1982).

⁴⁸ Ron McQueen and Christina Knussen, *Research Methods for Social Science: A Practical Introduction*. (Prentice Hall, US. 2002).

⁴⁹ See Appendix 9.1-2.

⁵⁰ Cohen et al. *Research Methods in Education* (6th edition).

response categories, covering a specific area or topic. These work well when the goals of the project are clear. The questions can only be constructed after the researcher collects information about the problem or the issues being explored.⁵¹ The unstructured interview is an open situation, offering greater flexibility and freedom. Unstructured interviews are used when the depth of information being sought is broad and non-specific and they are similar to the written survey questionnaire format of open-ended questions; such interviews are also similar to the questions used in brainstorming sessions.⁵²

In semi-structured interviews, researchers normally use open-ended questions, which require descriptive answers. The aim of this is to gain the respondent's point of view, rather than generalising about their behaviour and activities. Through interviews, the respondents can provide their opinion, motivation, and experiences.⁵³ They may tell stories and narratives. Such stories frame the way participants understand the world, delineating opportunities and constraints for action. Through interviews, participants provide accounts or rationales, explanations, and justifications for their actions and opinions. For this thesis semi-structured interviews were utilised with eight individuals that represented institutional professionals across the city. Whilst there was flexibility to pursue tangents as they appeared, these shared a loose structure of questions to maintain consistency.

Literature Review

i. Framing the Study

At the core of this thesis is the challenging of conventional interpretations of heritage by consideration of subjective perspectives and expertise as a means for democratising narratives. As Rüsen notes,

...the past as a matter of experience and interpretation, offers a totally different impression of diversity and multifariousness. Difference in space and time is overwhelming. We experience a permanent change of views on the essential nature of what history is about. Accordingly, the representation of the past in the cultural orientation of human life

⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 352-355.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

reflects this difference and variety to such a degree that it is difficult to identify one specific special form as essentially historical.⁵⁴

The 'experience' and 'interpretation' depend heavily on the individual's relationship with the environment and the places around them. This can be formulated through a single life as well as across multiple generations of combined memories. The relationship of places, things and communities is historically entangled. Ian Hodder argues that 'the overall interdependence of humans and things and focuses more on the double blind, the tensions between dependence and reliance between human and things, and the dependency or constraint between human and things.'⁵⁵ In this ordering, place required people to have developed this capability to establish connotations of people and communities. Therefore, it is imperative to establish the key themes of place, space, heritage, and emotion in this study so as to consider the inherent value attributed to the city.

Much of the literature pertaining to heritage has traditionally been through the guise of considering the role and impact of the past in the present. This has led to the citing of authors including Lowenthal and Hewison as authoritative opinions in the discussion of heritage in relation to modern society. In contrast, literature at the start of the twenty-first century regarding methodologies and assessment of heritage resources was limited to publications from public agencies such as English Heritage and the Department of Culture, Media & Sports.⁵⁶ What is derived from these earlier works is a focus on the establishment of value and the subsequent management of that value through justifications of support. As interest in heritage has grown the approaches to rooting the multidisciplinary nature of heritage has provided a much broader understanding of how this value is developed and utilised to guide attributing strategies and decision-making processes.

⁵⁴ Jorn Rüsen, 'Crossing Cultural Borders: How to understand historical thinking in China and the West', *History & Theory Studies in the Philosophy of History*, 46(2) (2007), p.2.

⁵⁵ Ian Hodder, *Studies in Human-Thing Entanglement* (2016), p.9.

⁵⁶ Ian Baxter, 'Heritage Values: The Current Role of Management Information in the UK Historic Environment Sector', (Conference Paper, 8th International Conference on Arts and Cultural Management, HEC Montreal, 3-6 July 2005).

At this juncture, it is important to note here that while drawing heavily on ideas of values and their role in informing public engagement with museums and the built heritage, there are larger areas of literature that are not discussed here that draw on museum and heritage studies. Given the focus of this thesis is on the person-centred forms of engagement with heritage, it is not possible to go into detail about alternative literature, not least authorised heritage discourse (AHD) which, whilst a well-developed field of scholarship, is beyond the remit of this thesis at this time. To retain the scope of this thesis, the literature review focuses on the core themes of understanding 'place' and 'space' in regard to heritage, with a particular understanding on emotional attachment to place. From this, the main methodological framework is applied. In doing so, this decision helps retain the distinctiveness and remit of this thesis.

Referring back to Lowenthal, he has critiqued the perceived meaning of history and persuasiveness of heritage in a way that reflects how the past is selected, manipulated and utilised for the agendas of decision makers, most specifically in regard to urban planners.⁵⁷ This has been suggested as a form of value based strategizing focused on the selling and promotion of the urban landscape derived from the historical significance or generated value.⁵⁸ In terms of heritage studies, this is often associated with a conservationist perspective with connotations of political power imbuing an intrinsic value or wealth to history. However, as the prominent architectural critic Sir Hugh Casson asserted, 'the essence of sound conservation is judgement- but whose judgement?'⁵⁹ It is often those actors who enjoy 'hegemony in power relations, the agents of change that regulate whether

⁵⁷ David Lowenthal, *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* (London, 1981); Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*; David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁵⁸ Gregory Ashworth, *Heritage Planning: Conservation as the Management of Urban Change* (Groningen, 1991); Gregory Ashworth., *European Heritage Planning and Management* (Exeter, 1999); Gregory Ashworth and Brian Graham, *Senses of Place: Senses of Time* (Aldershot, 2005); Gregory Ashworth. and Peter Larkham (eds.), *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe* (London, 1994); Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage, Power, Culture and Economy*,

⁵⁹ John Nelson Tarn, 'Urban Regeneration: The Conservation Dimension', *Town Planning Review*, 56(2) (1985), p.267.

the memories of the city were allowed to remain'.⁶⁰ As such, value is an intrinsic quality that promotes the authority and political standing of decision making practises; however, how this is derived and applied needs to be understood as part of the wider relationship between place and space which is populated with such notions and narratives.

ii. Framing Space and Place

Space and place are contentious and ambiguous concepts that have attracted considerable debate across urban geography and heritage studies. Their inherent ambiguity is revealed by the reality that:

if two different authors use the words 'red', 'hard', or 'disappointed', no one doubts that they mean approximately the same thing . . . But in the case of words such as 'place' or 'space', whose relationship with psychological experience is less direct, there exists a far-reaching uncertainty of interpretation.⁶¹

This connection anchors this thesis in an investigation of contemporary values placed on the urban environment by individuals and collective groups beyond the pure decision making of those in positions of power. Place is difficult to define as it is 'one of the most multi-layered and multi-purpose words in our language'.⁶² Thomas Gieryn writes that most conceptualisations of place involve three components: geographic location, material form, and investment with meaning and value.⁶³ This thesis builds on these by using York as the geographic location containing historical architecture and artefacts and analysing why and how meaning and value has been ascribed by those involved in shaping its built heritage.

In contrast, to understand space it is imperative to note the considerable influence of Doreen Massey, a geographer dedicated to rethinking the assumption that space is a concept moved through by considering the spatial relations between people, cities, and

⁶⁰ Michael Miller, *The Representation of Place, Urban Planning and Protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980* (Aldershot, 2003), p.9.

⁶¹ Albert Einstein, Foreword to 'Concepts of Space in Malpas', *Place and Experience* (1999), p.19.

⁶² David Harvey, in Paul Knox, *Urban Social Geography*, 4th edition (Harlow, 2000), p.215.

⁶³ Thomas Gieryn, 'A Space for Place in Sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26 (2000), pp. 463–496.

activities to understand the politics and power of places. Her research considered the space in which things are arranged rather than changed as per an historian's perspective. As Massey notes, space is always under construction: 'it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed.'⁶⁴ Massey further claims that these spaces are constantly imbued by the social relations that exceed the initial location and link to broader spaces and ideas.⁶⁵ As such, it is important to think of space not as a linear, inert concept but something to be populated, 'like a pincushion of a million stories.'⁶⁶ What Massey means is that space is the dimension that presents the existence of the other; space is the dimension of multiplicity in such that without a consideration of time almost as a quantum process, simultaneous actions occur within that space whether determined as a global or specified dimension. Thus, with multiple stories of individuals within this space, it is important to then consider the potential for coexistence and the social relations between them and in turn, hierarchies and systems of authority and power:

So, globalization, for instance, is a new geography constructed out of the relations we have with each other across the globe. And the most important thing that that raises if we are really thinking socially, is that all those relations are going to be filled with power. So, what we have is a geography which is in a sense is the geography of power. The distribution of those relations mirrors the power relations within the society we have.⁶⁷

These power relations can have political pinning that suggests a correct way to proceed. However, by attempting to see more of the gestalt collectiveness of space it is possible to challenge this and perceive and reimagine the worlds and relationships in a different way. This is imperative in approaching the urban environment as it is necessary to consider the different relationships at play in the space determined as York. Whilst political power is perceived to flow top down from the City Council and supplementary institutions, it is possible to reimagine the power of the individual and collectives within the same space to

⁶⁴ Doreen Massey, *For Space* (SAGE, 2005), p.9.

⁶⁵ Doreen Massey, 'Places and Their Pasts', *History Workshop Journal*, 39 (1995), p.183.

⁶⁶ Doreen Massey, 'Space' *Social Science Bites Podcast* (SAGE, 2013), <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Quj4tjbTPxw>>.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

pursue their own interpretations of the city. The different demographics, cultures, and communities within an urban space each have a particular perspective and interpretation that differs; however, within the interpretation of space they are all co-existent. As such, for this thesis it is important to understand the different approaches that have been utilised previously to attempt to understand the concepts and interactions of this space.

Therefore, to understand the relationship between space and place at the basic level it is best to view place as 'space invested with meaning in the context of power'. Moreover, it must have 'some relationship to humans and the human capacity to produce and consume meaning'.⁶⁸ Place has become somewhat of an amorphous concept, having long been at the heart of English urban policy. Successive inquiries, from the Royal Commission on Local Government in England (1966-69) to the New Labour government's Urban Task Force (1999-2000), have ingrained a sense of place into their reports; these have later become coterminous with sustainability.⁶⁹ Similarly, policies in response to the post-2010 UK government's austerity programme of economic and social policy have focused on prioritising assets in a time of significant public expenditure cuts. This has subjected the meaning of place to persistent changes within the arts and cultural sector and a curtailment within public urban development. As such by framing this research within the period of 2014-18 it is possible to capture the ramifications of this austerity.

The constantly shifting set of societal relations have started to be anchored around location, allowing for the coming together of psychological and sociological elements. For Franco Bianchini, the process of understanding space and place takes place in the 'urban mindscape' as 'something which exists between the physical landscape of a city and people's visual and cultural perceptions of it'.⁷⁰ This concept positions the idea of place into the psychological perception of environment. By utilising surroundings to help formulate an

⁶⁸ Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden Blackwell, 2004), pp. 7, 12.

⁶⁹ See The Royal Commission on Local Government in England, 1966-9 (The Maud Report, HM Government, 1969) and Phil Jones, James Evans, 'Rescue Geography: Place Making, Affect and Regeneration', *Urban Studies*, 49(11) (2012), p.2316.

⁷⁰ Franco Bianchini, *Urban Mindscape of Europe: 23* (Rodopi, 2006), p.13.

understanding of oneself, it can also be applied to identification of the environment itself. The mindscape is the environment that is unique and personal; it extrapolates a perception of self and places it within the world perceived. The physical environment is a psychological constant; it permanently exists, adapts, and changes with these perceptions. This is a crucial element in the conscious positioning of oneself within these dynamics and acts as a precursor to the attachments of emotion and experience, in turn building on the associations and attachments to create the bonds in a subjective mapping.

How places are mapped by people is important and varies depending on cultural, sociological, and psychological factors. Of particular importance is the sense of belonging derived from these factors. This can be applied on an individual and collective level. Mike Savage has addressed ideas of social inequality within a spatial context. In *Globalisation and Belonging*, Savage argues that middle-class residents of Manchester in England were strongly attached to their local places, and hence that globalisation is congruent with increasing localised attachments.⁷¹ Savage's work is pertinent not only for reflecting the ways in which belonging is derived, but also within the commentary upon which it is necessary to develop an understanding of the contemporary within an historical context by utilising mixed method approaches. Building upon this idea of belonging, the thesis moves away from traditional ideas of class dynamics and inequality to consider a longing for nostalgia. In so much as addressing a longing for the way things were, as there is a presupposed place in the world for the past. This is because the past to us is coded, with associations and symbolisms that embody that space. Rolf Lindner comments that 'we never experience space as empty, rather that city is culturally coded space, soaked in history which becomes a place of imagination, a symbolic space filled with meaning.'⁷² The characteristics of cities by means of an 'indigenous symbolism' are necessary in order for their inhabitants to be able to digest, connect and fit in the wealth of impression and

⁷¹ Mike Savage, Gaynor Bagnall and Brian Longhurst, *Globalization and Belonging* (Sage, 2004).

⁷² Rolf Lindner, 'The Cultural Texture of the City', ESF-LiU Conference "Cities and Media: Cultural Perspectives on Urban Identities in a Mediatized World", Vadstena 25–29 October 2006.

experience to which they are permanently exposed. There is no rule book on how to understand the environment because it is tied to the individualistic formation of identity. As such, individuals frame associations, meanings, and values to certain symbols within this understanding of the world, in what Edward Soja refers to 'the interpretative guide through which we think about, experience and decide to act in the places, spaces and communities which we live'.⁷³ The factual basis is consistent, but the interpretation pertains to layers of information that is unique to everyone; this is because there is no universal approach to understanding. As Kim Dovey notes, society is conditioned to understand the world through forms of language, but language as a concept is not a transparent medium through which to view the world, rather language contributes to the experience of those who use it.⁷⁴ As a society we frame place by engagement with it, we position it within our sphere of understanding, whether this is a physical location or one without our mindscape. We build the world we live in; we just use the characteristics available, and in many cases, this relates to the use of heritage to construct an environment fitting of this perception. As such, buildings are ascribed value because they fulfil a contemporary need within which urban memories can be respected, the economy can flourish, and society can function.

iii. Place and Heritage

Lowenthal elucidates the kaleidoscope of reasons why the past is sought for enjoyment.⁷⁵ His focus on culture over economic and political attributes results in six categories which he believes are relevant: familiarity, escape, reaffirmation, identity, guidance, and enrichment. Each of these categories carries a role in our understanding of heritage. We guide ourselves based on our familiarity, while our sense of identity is reaffirmed and enriched by that in

⁷³ Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1996). Also see Edward Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2000).

⁷⁴ Kim Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*, 2nd ed (London: Routledge, 2008); Kim Dovey, *Becoming Places: Urbanism / Architecture / Identity / Power* (London: Routledge, 2010).

⁷⁵ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985); see also David Lowenthal and Marcus Binney (eds), *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* (Ashgate 1981) and Lowenthal, David, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*.

which we place value. Demolition strips the familiarity and security of place as memories are relocated due to a sense of disorientation and loss of identity. The emotions that are tightly bound with this have been ascribed to a sense of 'topocide'.⁷⁶ Demolition has both an emotional and physical effect on the public, as while communities suffer due to the erasing of memories and associations there is a consequential affect as people look to move beyond and reframe and rediscover place despite demolition. This is a topic heavily covered in chapter 7 where the investigation of Urban Exploration in York looks to reframe place through a process of discovery.

Knowledge of the past is a powerful asset that can provide identity to both the people and the city. Lowenthal articulates this in 'the sureness of I am because I was'.⁷⁷ Urban identity has historically devolved from the built environment with Bath heavily drawing on its Georgian architecture, mill and steel industries informing much of the north of England and York drawing on an eclectic history that will be traced in chapter 2. These identities are hard to simplify due to the multiplicity of personal identities that different people bring to their local communities. Indeed, this is not just a singular event as people have formed, and continue to form, new associations. It is these identities that this thesis examines against the backdrop of a constantly shifting city of associations and values placed upon the city from agents of power.

The idea of place and heritage is complicated as it draws on multiple assets. While collective memory and framing is one, there is a more artificial force applied through marketing. 'Marketing is a social and managerial process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating and exchanging products of value with others.'⁷⁸ This definition was expanded several years later by Kotler who wrote that 'marketing is an organisational fiction and a set of processes for creating, and delivering

⁷⁶ Philip Hubbard, 'The Value of Conservation: A Critical Review of Behavioural Research', *Town Planning Review*, 64(4), (1993), p.366.

⁷⁷ Lowenthal, *The Past*, p.41.

⁷⁸ Philip Kotler, Gary. Armstrong, Veronica Wong and John Saunders et al. *Principles of Marketing*, (2nd ed) (Prentice-Hall, 1999), p.3.

values to customers and for managing certain relationships in ways that benefit this organisation and stakeholders.⁷⁹ Place marketing is reliant on the resources available and culture and heritage are the biggest assets available in this context. Ashworth and Voogd believe that market reconnaissance is necessary at the start of each study so as to understand the consumer markets and the existing urban and or regional facility structure that decide which strategy is appropriate.⁸⁰ However, the selling of a city is different from the simple archetypal commercial market transaction. The city cannot be so easily defined because the connotation has a double meaning. The city can be viewed both as a whole and as specific attributes and facilities; it is a parallel of both simultaneously.⁸¹ Place can only be commodified by means of selecting characteristics. For instance, in the case of York, this is the long history of the Romans and Vikings as well as iconic landmarks such as the Minster and City Wall.

Tunbridge and Ashworth have established the methodology of marketing the past as a commodity. The identity of the city is marketed through institutions, shops, and media to uphold the image. Bella Dicks believes that the ascendancy of anthropological views has led to widespread population of the cultural mosaic.⁸² A patchwork interpretation based upon the need to belong to a place or people, something special to be discovered and documented as something distinct that provides meaning to one's self. While all this is supportive there are, of course, critics who are more apparent in their words. David Lowenthal features in Dicks' work with a quote which is applicable here:

All at once heritage is everywhere, in the news, in the movies, in the marketplace, in everything from galaxies to genes. It the chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure of tourism. One can barely move without bumping into a heritage site. Every legacy is cherished. From ethnic roots to history theme parks, Hollywood to the holocaust, the whole world is busy lauding or lamenting some past be it fact or fiction.⁸³

⁷⁹ Philip Kotler and Kevin Lane Keller, *Marketing Management* (12th Edition) (Pearson, 2006), p.6.

⁸⁰ Ashworth and Voogd, *Selling the City*, p.29.

⁸¹ Ibid, pp.65-66.

⁸² Bella Dicks *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability* (Open University Press, 2004), p.27.

⁸³ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*, p.xiii.

Heritage is in part out of control, as everything has become applicable in some form; to some even the notion of Star Wars is heritage, but that is not to judge as it is personal what we associate to in our understandings of self. With so many fragments, though, it is difficult to track the overarching trends in society. but perhaps this is for the better. Though hugely influential, Edward Soja's idea that 'when all that is seen is so fragmented and filled with whimsy and pastiche the hard edges of the capitalist, racist and patriarchal landscape seem to disappear, melt into air.'⁸⁴ What is left is an entity shrouded with context, with multiple layers but a world created and understood by us and, perhaps more importantly, accepted by us. To understand aspects of this, investigation of policy documents and interviews will be carried out to examine the authoritative approaches taken in the city.

iv. Framing the City

To grasp the idea of the city it is important to return to the ideas of the Chicago school and Louis Wirth's seminal 1938 article, 'Urbanism as a way of life', which established a conceptual theory to help understand the dynamics of city life as traditional relationships shifted and adapted to the greater population densities. Wirth insists that urban dwellers, in contrast to their rural counterparts, have a greater dependency on people for daily interaction, establishing 'impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental' contacts and engendering 'reserve, indifference and blasé outlook that is used to immunise against the expectations of others'.⁸⁵ He believes that there is a certain degree of emancipation from being part of the urban dynamic, which is the cost for 'spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes from living in an integrated society'.⁸⁶ This concept has helped ground urban studies, but there is room to update and redevelop this definition. There are cases in which individuals can gain freedom through integration and community, not unlike the more traditional models that Wirth attempts to draw a contrast to.

⁸⁴ Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (Verso, 1989), p.246.

⁸⁵ Louis Wirth, 'Urbanism as a way of life' *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1938), p.12.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, pp.12-13.

Similarly within the School was the urban-ecological study by Robert Parks and Ernest Burgess, which proposed that cities were environments governed by numerous forces with competition as a primary force, whether this be a scarcity of resources or division of cultural beliefs.⁸⁷ Within their work they were able to model an urban core based on factors of work and residence. This gave them foundation to claim a model of the city that represents concentric zones diversified according to life conditions and social status. All the zones, nevertheless, existed around one collective nuclei - that is, the city centre, where city dwellers crossed paths.

Within both studies was a direct focus on the microcosm of society as the focus for academic research. However, urban studies have changed since the formation of the Chicago school, and it is now far more complex to map a city due to the multiple definitions of boundaries. Soja in some ways muddles this approach further by applying his idea of multispace. In his hypothesis he presents three spaces: the first as a space of spatial practice that produces and reproduces solid patterns of urbanism; the second space is presented as a symbolic field of reflective thought; finally, there is a 'thirdspace', which should be seen as 'the special specificity of urbanism that is investigated as fully lived space, simultaneously lived, real and imagined.'⁸⁸ This idea of multiple perceptions of space means that mapping a singular concept is almost unachievable; the layers of understanding and interpretation exponentiates the possibilities to what a city can be.

Tackling each space requires a system of thought. Deborah Stevenson provides a systematic breakdown that aligns with Soja's principles, albeit from her own perspective. Her approach in *Cities and Urban Culture* suggests that the notion of space is the pivotal aspect, in which postmodernism is an aesthetic for association through architectural form and space.⁸⁹ Stevenson later outlines a system of understanding that breaks down this interpretation. In her first chapter she considers what a city is and reaffirms that no singular

⁸⁷ Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess (eds.) *The City* (1st ed.) (University of Chicago Press, 1925).

⁸⁸ Soja, *Postmetropolis*, p.11.

⁸⁹ Deborah Stevenson, *Cities and Urban Cultures* (Open University Press, 2003), p.56.

view will suffice. She refers to Soja's early work in that the explanation is because 'cities are the hard physical space of built infrastructure, architecture and planning as well as the space of representation, imagination and everyday life, simultaneously material, imagined and lived'.⁹⁰ In the example of York this is certainly true, with centuries of built infrastructure defining the physical development of the city. Urban policies and archaeological findings have built an additional layer of interpretation upon this that has fundamentally added a heritage and historic value in comparison to other cities. Stevenson and Young expand on this by taking note of the Chicago School of Sociology, which saw the city as 'an ecological system of unity that adapted systematically and predictably in response to change in population, demographic and physical environment.'⁹¹

The literature on place and space has notable national differences. Sharon Zukin comments that French studies often chose an analysis that consider the city as a system of social action. Still, the American school of thought view it more as a faction within a larger system.⁹² The theoretical grounding of a city is still divided, then. The multi-layered approach of Soja has perhaps the most applicable view at times, which is influenced by the factors that the Chicago school note:

Human beings change the land around them in a way and on a scale matched, for the most part, by no other animal. The land around us is a reflection of both our practised and technological capacities and also of our culture and society our very own reach, our hope or preconception and dreams.⁹³

There is a demand and need for new cultural areas; the increase in the middle class of society has led to a want for safe symbolic areas. Defining the city is therefore not so simple as it is designed to fit an idea of the users. Density and heterogeneity are no longer

⁹⁰ Soja, *Thirdspace*, p.9.

⁹¹ Deborah Stevenson and Greg Young, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Planning and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2013), p.11.

⁹² Sharon Zukin, 'A Decade of the new urban sociology', *Theory and Society*, 9(4) (1980), p.582.

⁹³ Jeff Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.1.

satisfactory to define it but are central to experience it.⁹⁴ Cities are sites of interaction, people are drawn to the city for work, politics, pleasure, crime and conquest.⁹⁵ Through consumption the middle class have a set image to uphold, and they force the city to support them in a cycle of sustainability. 'The state of being 'lonely and lost' in the modern city could be a source of pleasure. The city is a kind of labyrinth, a special model where logic is hidden from those lost within, it entangles in the model of the streets.'⁹⁶ Immersion in the city feeds the needs of the consumer who can lose themselves in the image they want. With no plan, the city is instead governed by policies that slowly shift and guide the city's development rather than provide a complete vision.

The documentary evidence from the city council and institutional bodies such as the Civic Trust show how York has continued to urbanise and preserve the city centre for its visitors and residents. How this has translated into reality is through a tightly wound mechanism of governance from multiple agents that have a vested interest in the public engaging with the city. From pedestrianisation of roads to the installation of CCTV there is a system of guidance and control. Other cities across the world and indeed the United Kingdom have characteristics that provoke reaction. Milton Keynes, for all its design, is seen as artificial and unnatural and as a 'settlement without soul, lacking the centre and tradition which given older towns their identity.'⁹⁷ York, like Edinburgh, Bath, Chester, and London, in contrast to this is a labyrinth of characterful streets and stories. While policymakers do not always value that which the public perceives worthy, there is a call for the unheard voices. Cities are complex entities of conflict, diversity, and constant fluctuation. These distinct voices of York draw us to question their place in the world of policymakers to assess the

⁹⁴ Stevenson, *The Ashgate Research Companion*, p.49.

⁹⁵ Stevenson, *Cities and Urban Cultures*, p.93.

⁹⁶ Walter Benjamin, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writing* (Schocken, 1986), p.28.

⁹⁷ Ruth Finnegan, *Tales of the City: A Study of Narrative and Urban Life* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.41.

authorship of heritage and the authenticity that can be brought forth from acknowledging these narratives.

v. Framing Heritage and Authorship

Recent studies have proposed the notion of heritage as a concept used to constitute interpretations of the past rather than an easily defined idea.⁹⁸ Heritage discourse normalises the established practices of conservation and inheritance whilst adhering to a westernised cultural perspective. However, as Smith notes, these practices legitimise certain practices and dismiss alternative and subaltern ideas about heritage.⁹⁹

The past was once sold as a foreign place, an idea that drew on history, heritage, space, and place as an aloof mystery which we could engage with, but which was very different from our present. No longer is heritage some distinct apparition, however, but instead an experience that harks upon the attachments of history. Scholarly work from John Schofield, Rebecca Madgin and Jennifer Gregory has begun to advance questions as to what modern ideas of heritage are; that is, as something experienced and authored by the individual rather than dictated from upon high. As noted in the discussion of space and place, this is influenced by the perception of power and with it, that of authorship and authority. Regarding ideas of heritage, we can consider John Ruskin's views on architecture and inheritance as an early interpretation. He claimed that architecture is 'the most precious of inheritance, that of past ages'; he suggested that the public had no right to touch as it is not ours to own but rather that of the builders and the property owners that followed.¹⁰⁰ This supported the notion of a strict linear ownership and with it, power to control the use and interpretation. These ideas of ownership or power to make change are bound by relatively traditional and outdated ideas of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). The influence of Massey and a consideration of the multiplicity of authorship suggest the potential of

⁹⁸ Smith, *The Uses of Heritage*.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Smith, Elder and Co., 1849), p.225.

countering AHD. More bluntly, as Schofield notes, with enough numbers, tourists can alter cultural practice in a manner that heritage stakeholders regard as detrimental or worse.¹⁰¹ What this suggests is an ability to contest many of the official narratives through a consideration of communal and individual interpretations. As Smith and Watterton state, heritage is about 'the regulation and negotiation of the multiplicity of meaning of the past; and it is about the arbitration and mediation of the cultural and social politics of identity, belonging and exclusion.'¹⁰² Whilst from an academic perspective this is significant, the practicalities of reflecting this within heritage principles and practices has been a slow process and, therefore, there has been a substantial disparity in how AHD and citizen expertise has been applied.

To contextualise the understanding of common heritage values on an international level it is necessary to address several key conventions and charters. For this thesis, The Declaration of San Antonio (1996) is one of the earliest significant discussions of authenticity in the management of cultural heritage. Through addressing heritage specifically in America, it established a precedent for correlating identity and authenticity, and the need to understand the social value of a site rather than just the physical fabric. This was important as previously only the concerned communities that have a stake in the site could contribute to the understanding and expression of the deeper values of the site as an anchor to their cultural identity.¹⁰³ Therefore, relating back to previously discussed ideas of space, it is important to consider the broader consideration of this declaration to factor in how these sites are populated and where the power and significance is drawn. It is not just developers

¹⁰¹ John Schofield., *Who Needs Experts? Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage* (Routledge, 2014), p.77; also See Allan McConnell, 'The multiple self-aspects framework: Self-concept representation and its implications', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 15(1), (2011), pp.3–27; and John Urry and Jonas Larsen, 'Gazing and Performing', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29(6) (2011), pp. 1110-1125.

¹⁰² LauraJane Smith and Emma Watterton, *Heritage, communities and archaeology* (London: Duckworth, 2008), p.295.

¹⁰³ ICOMOS *The Declaration of San Antonio, Texas* (1996), point 4: Authenticity and Social Value.

that have a value in a site, but also the residents, communities, and other associated parties who each have an intrinsic tie that needs to be considered.

Within Europe there have been multiple attempts to progress heritage management and understanding, with the most significant being The Faro Convention, officially known as the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005). This was proposed to promote and protect cultural heritage throughout Europe and encourage its use for public benefit in response to increasing threats to Europe's shared heritage, such as vandalism, looting, and natural disasters.¹⁰⁴ The Convention sets out principles that are intended to guide how states should safeguard their cultural heritage and increase its value for society. These include promoting access to cultural heritage resources, protecting them from damage or destruction, encouraging educational activities related to these resources, and developing policies that foster appreciation of cultural diversity within Europe. More specifically for this thesis, the Faro Convention included an acknowledgement of the importance of digital preservation, as well as the need to ensure that cultural heritage is used in a sustainable and responsible manner. As with the Declaration of San Antonio, the Convention focussed on broadening access and interpretation of heritage away from the previously authorised narratives. This was not to diminish efforts to guard heritage but to highlight the need for a multiplicity of understanding. Moreso, this convention correlated the principles of access directly to broader legislation regarding Human Rights explicitly in the context of Article 27 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights which guarantees the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community.¹⁰⁵ Article 1 of the Faro Convention states that 'rights relating to cultural heritage are inherent in the right to participate in cultural life.'¹⁰⁶ Similarly, article 4 states that 'everyone...has the right to benefit from the cultural heritage and to contribute towards its enrichment.'¹⁰⁷ As with the

¹⁰⁴ The Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005), <<https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-convention>.>

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

Declaration of San Antonio, this convention established a precedent upon which heritage was a right for everyone, not just those in power. This is supportive of many of Massey's suggestions, that the value, stories and narrative of all are a fundamental part of understanding heritage in the frame of space.

Whilst the Faro Convention was devised as a guideline applicable to all EU member states, Historic England's Conservation principles set out a method of thinking systematically and consistently about the heritage values that can be ascribed to places in England.

Historic England's Conservation principles go on to state that:

1.3 Each generation should therefore shape and sustain the historic environment in ways that allow people to use, enjoy and benefit from it, without compromising the ability of future generations to do the same.

1.4 Heritage values represents a public interest in places, regardless of ownership.¹⁰⁸ 2.1 Everyone should have the opportunity to contribute his or her knowledge of the value of places, and to participate in decisions about their future, by means that are accessible, inclusive and informed.¹⁰⁹

Again, these principles share a common theme of access and communal inclusivity in narrative formation. However, the reality is that the public is largely excluded from this consultation and decision-making process of civic institutions. The planning and strategizing of a city's governance is controlled by institutions, while museums act as conservators and guardians of artefacts. Whilst public events and consultations are held, there is still a strong connotation of power based on political power and perceived expertise. In stipulating the idea of the public not being able to achieve its full potential with heritage, this in turn establishes a sense of want or desire with authenticity deemed something to seek.¹¹⁰ This concept features throughout the chapters as narratives which focus on developing and

¹⁰⁸ English Heritage, *Conservation principles: Policies and Guidance for the sustainable management of the historic environment* (London: English Heritage, 2008), p.19.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p.20.

¹¹⁰ Andrew Potter, *Authenticity Hoax* (Harper Collins, 2010), p.6.

understanding the city outside of that which is presented to the public. The extent to which authenticity and expertise can be derived *from* the public is paramount in this thesis.

Lastly, the Burra Charter of Australia (2013) is widely documented by scholars as furthering the principles of public authorship by suggesting the inclusion of individuals or groups with association with a place should be given the opportunity to contribute and participate in identifying the cultural significance of that place.¹¹¹ The charter has existed since 1979; however, the 2013 amendment suggested the inclusion of groups and individuals, which moves the focus away from them being subjects to experts on the subject. It is this point which Schofield has utilised in his postulation of where 'we are all experts' and then to question whether in fact 'we need experts'.¹¹² This thesis asserts that since everyone is an expert, it is only the form of expertise that differs based on its derivation.

Therefore, in reconsidering the scope of academic work and the influences of citizen expertise and emotion, it is possible to structure both the need and process of approaching heritage and authenticity within the scope of York. Madgin uses the concept of 'found space' to reconceptualise authenticity using the definition of 'organically created spaces in which individuals and collectives conduct their everyday practices in ways which were not created or pre-determined by built environment professionals'.¹¹³ In her investigation of the Undercroft on London's Southbank there is insight into what constitutes authenticity, as attachments go beyond purely spatial boundaries. The rich emotional and sensory tapestry of the Undercroft has engrained knowledge in its users that transcends that of professional experts. The skate ramps, artwork and associated narrative was developed through years of growth and development within the community of skaters. Therefore, when the policy was enacted by the borough council to create a purpose-built skatepark, it was devoid of that which had made the original special. The lack of consultation reflected the disconnect

¹¹¹ ICOMOS, *Burra Charter and Practice Notes*. (2013), Point 26.3.

¹¹² Schofield, *Who Needs Experts?* p. 2.

¹¹³ Madgin et al, 'Resisting relocation and reconceptualising authenticity', p.2.

between the planners and the ultimate end users. Authenticity is a rather fluid concept that is connected to everyday experience and shaped by the built environment, but it is not fixed in that definition. It is therefore 'dynamic, performative, culturally and historically contingent', and it is 'relative' rather than 'stable'.¹¹⁴ In reality, authenticity is diverse, dynamic, and complex in its deployment.¹¹⁵ This has ramifications in understanding ideas of collective identity and social status as there is a constant shift, one that follows the changes of the city. What the research provided was qualitative evidence of the need to act upon these heritage principles, and the disconnect between the communities utilising and populating these spaces was being ignored in favour of more established authorised narratives. Therefore, in approaching the topic of York (and, indeed, any urban environment) it is important to consider the degree of authenticity granted to a site through the value and expertise of the public. As such the structure of the thesis considers a mixture of authorised heritage narratives and more public, person-centred interpretations to balance and build the discussion on authenticity of the city's heritage.

vi. Integrating Emotion

Heritage management, whilst protective of heritage and its studies, has prevented development and change. Historic England introduced the concept of communal value, defined as 'the meaning of place for the people who relate to it, or for who it figures in their collective experience of memory'.¹¹⁶ Though it was intended to be more inclusive it carried no legislative weight. This is, in part, why emotion has at times been largely resisted by academics and institutions in its recognition, because Western culture downplays the role of emotion in human behaviour.¹¹⁷ While an emerging body of work has addressed heritage

¹¹⁴ Helaine Silverman, 'Heritage and Authenticity', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.69.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.69.

¹¹⁶ English Heritage, *Conservation principles*, pp. 31-32.

¹¹⁷ Carolyn Baum, Charles Christiansen, & Julie Bass, 'Person-Environment-Occupational Performance (PEOP) Model', in Charles Christiansen, Carolyn Baum, Julie Bass (eds.), *Occupational Therapy: Performance, Participation, Well-being* (4th ed.) (Thorofare, NJ: Slack, 2015), p.498.

contexts, there is still a failure to recognise that the 'continued existence of familiar surroundings may satisfy a psychological need, which even if irrational, is very real'.¹¹⁸

Phil Jones and James Evans note that emotions are not an unproblematic topic due to the subjectivity of everyone's own emotional responses and triggers. Derek McCormack also argues that they are a means of articulating the intensity of feeling within the body, something that is subjective and meaningful to the individual even when not immediately obvious to the meaning why.¹¹⁹ The importance of emotion is not to be underestimated as it carries importance in the construction of everyday understanding.¹²⁰ The associations and attachments that people utilise to act as experts is drawn from their emotional response to their location and memories. This, however, falls outside of most interpretations of AHD which prioritise commemoration and facts. Scholars have begun though to acknowledge the role of emotion and the necessity to be more inclusive of emotion as well as multisensory investigations.¹²¹

Defining emotions is not enough in these investigations, rather, there is a need to understand the connection and attachments between people and place that stem from them. These attachments are often derived from the cumulative lived experience of places which in turn can underpin the desire to prevent change. The investigation into sensory engagement, particularly that of Bemibre and Strlic into smells, makes a significant contribution to this research as well as reflecting the ways in which senses can enhance the attachments to emotion.¹²² Whilst these ideas are gaining recognition through academic research, they lag

¹¹⁸ Philip Hubbard, 'The Value of Conservation: A Critical Review of behavioural research', *Town Planning Review*, 64(6) (1993), p.363.

¹¹⁹ Phil Jones and James Evans, 'Rethinking Sustainable Urban Regeneration: Ambiguity, Creativity and the Shared Territory', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 40(6) (2009), p.2321; Nigel Thrift, 'Dead or alive?', In Ian Cook, David Crouch, Simon Naylor and James Ryan (eds.), *Cultural turns/ Geographical Turns: Perspectives on Cultural Geography* (Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2000), pp. 1-12; Derek, p. McCormack, 'An event of geographical ethics in spaces of affect', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28(4) (2003), p.495.

¹²⁰ Kay Anderson and Susan Smith 'Editorial: Emotional Geographies', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, NS 26(1) (2001), pp. 7-10.

¹²¹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.58.

¹²² Jacobo Bemibre and L Strlic, 'Smelling the past: a case study for identification, analysis and archival of historic pot-pourri as heritage smell' in Bridgland, J, (ed.), ICOM-CC 18th Triennial

in heritage management where there remains a preference for architectural and historical interest. The aim is a so-called end to the ‘tyranny of Ruskin and Morris’ according to Keith Emerick, who looks for the adoption of a more inclusive heritage management.¹²³ The Burra Charter reflects this by stating that ‘sensory experiences’ are a crucial element of cultural significance; however, there have also been calls to include additional intangible aspects such as ‘colours’ and ‘odours’ of places as crucial elements of the ‘spirit of place’.¹²⁴ Therefore, these charters reflect the recognition that there is value to the feel, use and experience of place rather than just the material value initially observed.

To recognise the role of emotion in this thesis there is focus on the emotional attachment individuals and groups have upon their location through their actions. While conversations and observations are helpful in documenting the response, there is still a difficulty in translating this for consumption. Many of the issues stem from the mechanism that places privilege over certain ideas of heritage, items that are given designation over others as significant based on the recommendations of experts. However, the shifting understanding of what constitutes expertise is still in its infancy and therefore it is difficult to navigate the wider literature on how best to place this more subjective forms of heritage and identification in a landscape still dominated by what is suggested to be objective heritage. For this reason, this research has collected evidence that supports a better understanding of this emotional cultural landscape beyond just the historical nature of York. While this places a larger emphasis on qualitative research, it provides vital information to compliment quantitative methods.

Chapter Outlines

Conference Preprints, Copenhagen, 4-8 September 2017 (Paris: International Council of Museums, 2017), p. 1601.

¹²³ Keith Emerick, *Conserving and Managing Ancient Monuments (Heritage Matters)*, (The international centre for cultural and heritage studies, Newcastle University, 2014), p. 219.

¹²⁴ ICOMOS, *Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* (2008) point 2. And Burra Charter 2013.

Chapter Two

To ground this thesis, this chapter will chart the eclectic history of York and the interwork of York City Council and institutional bodies such as the Civic Trust and Archaeological Trust in developing an authorised heritage narrative for the city. This is set against the backdrop of discussion regarding the mechanism and approaches taken to navigate the lack of long-term citywide development plan since 1956. The core theme of governance will be explored, with case studies examining the inclusion of historical artefacts, archaeological underpinning and how the principle of contested narratives was developed.

Chapter Three

Due to the strong historical background of York, this chapter charts the archaeological findings of the Coppergate (1976-81) and Hungate digs (2006-2011). These are significant in mapping the enduring impact of Roman and Viking history in the broader narratives.

Complementing this, the chapter begins to contest the top-down narrative creation through museums such as the JORVIK Viking Centre to explore grassroots approaches to engaging with the past directly through active archaeology and performance.

Chapter Four

Framed by the historical background of the city, this chapter addresses the mechanisms in place to reinforce place-making within York. This utilises a mixture of interviews, field research and document analysis to map the different approaches utilised by institutional bodies to support the tourist vision of York. Therefore, the chapter investigates the use of iconic sites across the city as part of published marketing materials, official documentation, and reports, in a manner to build association and prominence through association. Further to this, the chapter explores how work from the Civic Trust is used to commemorate and preserve the past through public recognition and civic schemes.

Chapter Five

In this chapter, more focus is placed upon the public-driven initiatives to engage with the past within a contemporary form. Drawing on youth work under the supervision of the York Theatre Royal, as well as community-driven projects such as the Mystery Plays, the chapter explores the intentions and impact of presenting bottom-up narratives through local performance-based productions. As part of this, consideration is given to the incorporation of the build environment directly into productions.

Chapter Six

Drawing on readily available digital assets, the chapter explores the potential capabilities of social media posts and interactive games in exploring York and its past. Attention is drawn to the accessibility of information and the ability for discussions on York to be conducted on a global scale. Alongside this is the ability to conserve images, content, and memories as a record of York that is not held elsewhere as this content derives from the public rather than the archives.

Chapter Seven

This chapter not only expands upon the practice of Urban Exploration in York as a method of personal discovery, but also develops the existing scholarship on the topic that has focused heavily on the role of deep ethnographic research. Importantly, this chapter ascertains the level of expertise pertained from first-hand experience of viewing the city from otherwise unobtainable perspectives through a mixed methods approach. This addresses the impact of changing sites across York such as the Hungate development site and Terry's Chocolate Factory (undergoing conversion) as well as reimagining iconic sites such as the Minster.

Chapter Eight

This final chapter concludes the thesis, assembling the conclusions reached throughout the study to generate answers to the central research questions outlined earlier in this introduction. This conclusion will demonstrate how this thesis has contributed to multiple

topics of debate and shed light on the multiple functions that these forms of investigation can bring to studies of the urban landscape and heritage.

Chapter 2: Making the Historic City

Human beings change the land around them in a way and on a scale matched, for the most part, by no other animal. The land around us is a reflection of both our practical and technological capacities and also of our culture and society – of our very needs, our hopes, our preoccupations and dreams.¹²⁵

To the broader fields of history, geography and social sciences, the consideration of cities is granted little more prominence than of a stage to, predominantly, human actors or social and economic processes. As such, much of the twentieth century's literature subjugated cities' materiality to more abstract social, economic and cultural forces.¹²⁶ This has led to a longstanding debate within urban history, as per Anthony Sutcliffe and Derek Fraser, as to whether cities were essentially transitioning from independent to dependent actors with the risk of international capitalist markets and national states.¹²⁷ Alternatively, it was possible to view this transition to argue that cities were a stage for broader social economic policies and practices as per Philip Abrams.¹²⁸ Since the linguistic turn of the mid-1980s, studies of cities within cultural history have generally treated the reality of urban experience as discursive, imaginary, symbolic or psychological.¹²⁹ Although cities are socially constructed entities, they are beholden to the activities of those who operate within them. As such these spaces are not held in aspic to be frozen in time, but as part of a broader process of change. The urban space of cities is an ever-shifting dynamic of spaces, places, ideas, and ideals constantly reinvented by human agency.

¹²⁵ Malpas, *Place and Experience*, p.1

¹²⁶ Chris Otter, 'Locating matter: the place of materiality in urban history', in Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce (eds.), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History, and the Material Turn* (London, 2010).

¹²⁷ Anthony Sutcliffe and Derek Fraser (eds), *Pursuit of Urban History*, (Hodder Arnold, 1983)

¹²⁸ Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Cornell University Press, 1983)

¹²⁹ Robert Park, 'The city: suggestions for the investigation of human behavior in the urban environment' [1916], in Richard Sennett (ed.), *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (New York, 1969); David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, 1985); Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1981).

Understanding urban history and, in turn, urban change provides a perception of the past and present as well as insight into what is valued. This cultural capital consists not only of libraries, museums, theatres, and other cultural spaces, but the requirements of health centres, workplaces, and home life. With it, the addition or demolition of buildings and spaces has left an indelible and far-reaching mark on the landscape. Within this is an emotional component formed by the people who operate within these spaces. The formation of knowledge of, and attachment to, places is intrinsic to the urban memory. The decision-making process is fundamental to how this has developed and how these spaces are structured. In this chapter urban history is examined as a form of historical enquiry, forming as a sub-field in the 1960s and evolving more recently into a form of public history beyond traditional tropes of the academy.¹³⁰ York is framed within these established thematic frameworks, and it is considered how this research furthers the examination of urban history through the promotion of public engagement as a tangible and intangible form of heritage.

The significance of this chapter derives from its focus on the urban history of York across more than two millennia. The existing historical literature draws heavily on the topic of post-industrial sites such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Newcastle with a focus on the eras of urban renewal and regeneration stemming from the 1970s onwards to revitalise the deindustrialising and depopulating city. Whilst widely influential in the broader investigation of heritage studies and urban studies, the insight and principles fail to accurately translate beyond post-industrial narratives. In part, this can be associated with the structure of academic scholarship to accommodate urban histories, as Rosemary Sweet noted, it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that there was a dynamic growth in the value and practice of urban histories.¹³¹ Within the broader methods of historical enquiry, urban history developed as a sub-field that was focused primarily on industrial towns and

¹³⁰ See the special section on 'Urban history beyond the academy', edited by Shane Ewen and Tosh Warwick, *Urban History*, 48(2) (2021). pp 290-364.

¹³¹ Rosemary Sweet, 'The production of urban histories in eighteenth-century England', *Urban History*, 23 (1996), p.2.

cities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Harold J. Dyos pioneered the study of urban history in Britain and promoted it through his contacts with leading urban, economic, and social historians from around the world. His work on London's Victorian slums and urban history methodologies as well as his editorship of the *Urban History Newsletter* were fundamental in establishing a distinct scholarship and framework of enquiry.¹³² Building upon this, subsequent works by Peter Clark and others have been influential in showing the richness of urban histories as a field of study and as a resource for investigating urban society, especially in shifting the historical focus to the pre-modern town.¹³³ However, this and subsequent studies at the time were discursive and brief in their treatment of individual cases, requiring further understanding of underlying motives in their representation. Much of the enquiry remained focused on the early modern and Victorian periods as well as industrial space rather than smaller urban spaces such as county towns or cities, which lacked developed manufacturing interests or identities.¹³⁴ For this reason, York traditionally has not attracted much urban historical attention beyond the medieval period despite its later industrial significance.¹³⁵

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, the sub-field has developed to accommodate deindustrialisation and regeneration as part of a broader growth of research into the post-Second World War period. This is reflected in the periods of investigation covered: for example, volume 3 of the *Cambridge Urban History of Britain* ends in 1950.¹³⁶ In line with this, more recent publications over the last decade have focused on the post-1950s era with more traditional Victorian studies diminishing in number. Of note is the shift towards

¹³² Harold James Dyos, 'The Study of Urban History: A Conference Report', *Victorian Studies*, 10(3) (1967). pp289–92; also Ewen, *What is Urban History?*; Gary Davies 'The Rise of Urban History in Britain c1960-1978' (Doctoral Thesis, University of Leicester, 2014).

¹³³ Peter Clark, 'Visions of the urban community: antiquarians and the English city before 1800', in Derek Fraser and Anthony. Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), pp105-24.

¹³⁴ Sweet, 'The production of urban histories in eighteenth-century England'.

¹³⁵ David Palliser, *Tudor York*, (Oxford University Press, 1979).

¹³⁶ Martin J. Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume 3* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

topics of urban planning which is reflected in recent publications by Sam Wetherell as well as Simon Gunn and Susan Townsend.¹³⁷

This chapter addresses the principles of history-making regarding urban history and examines how this is applied in the context of York, England, through the utilisation of tangible archaeological resources and the built environment to support a broader perception of the historic city. This includes a discussion of policymaking and its role in place making, with a focus on themes of governance and human agency. This investigation focuses on the resources available within the urban area and their correlation to the urban history of York.

Understanding Urban History

The emergence of urban history in Britain around the turn of the twentieth century was closely connected with the continued interest in antiquarianism, civic biography, and other forms of local history.¹³⁸ In combination with the increase in collectors and experts in ancient history, so too was their interest in urban history and the lives of the people before them. Several works closely examined the landscape of the United Kingdom in the sixteenth century, notably John Stow's *Survey of London* and William Camden's *Britannia*, both of which comment on the landscape and people of the country.¹³⁹ Indeed, even Machiavelli and Guicciardini produced a form of urban history in which the urban space was a microcosm through which to tell a political or moral narrative. These were significant works as they acknowledged the idea of space as something with boundaries, purpose, and a multifaceted mechanism of operations. As such, references generally focused upon the experience of a particular place, reinforcing a sense of local difference and civic identity.

¹³⁷ Sam Wetherell, *Foundations: How the Built Environment Made Twentieth Century Britain* (Princeton University Press, 2020); Simon Gunn and Susan Townsend, *Automobility and the City in Twentieth Century Britain and Japan* (Bloomsbury, 2019).

¹³⁸ See Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Hambledon Continuum, 2004); John Beckett, *Writing Local History* (Manchester University Press, 2013).

¹³⁹ John Stow, *Survey of London* (1598); William Camden, *Britannia* (1586).

As an example, the reference by Camden (1586) refers to the significance of York, based upon its most prominent characteristics:

This is the second city of England, the finest of this region [Yorkshire] and indeed of the whole North, as well as its principal fortress. It is pleasant, large, and strongly fortified, adorned with private as well as public buildings, crammed with riches and with people, and famous as the seat of an archbishop.¹⁴⁰

This was a chorography, a study of the relation between landscape, geography, history, and antiquarianism. This was based on Camden's intention to 'restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britain to his antiquity.'¹⁴¹ Unlike a history of the country, this focused more on the present and the traces of its past that could be discerned in the existing landscape. This work was significant in generating a coherent image of Roman Britain based on the remnants of the empire dispersed across the country. This proposed relationship between history, place and antiquarianism was fundamental to the later development of heritage studies and urban history in the 1990s and 2000s by furthering understanding of this relationship and its connotations to space, place and the people within urban areas.¹⁴²

In the succeeding centuries, but especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the number and populations of towns and cities proliferated, interest in these spaces increased with a focus on analysing the city as an object of historical and sociological inquiry. Works by Max Weber sought to establish a typology of the city based on a historical analysis of urban forms in Europe and Asia from antiquity to the present.¹⁴³ This was significant in expanding these urban studies beyond selected places, and subjecting them to typologies based on scale, function, ideology, or category.¹⁴⁴ This provided

¹⁴⁰ William Camden, *Britannia* (1586), p.407.

¹⁴¹ William Camden, 'The Author to the Reader', *Britain, or a Chorographical Description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Ilands adjoining, out of the depth of Antiquitie* (1610) Translated by Holland, Philemon.

¹⁴² Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford Historical Monographs, 1997)

¹⁴³ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology* (New York, 1968), and Max Weber, *The City* (The Free Press, 1958).

¹⁴⁴ S. G. Checkland, 'An urban history horoscope', in Fraser and Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History*, p.464.

opportunities to pursue investigations of more thematic studies of industry, social structure, and tourism amongst others. Within this was a broader consideration of demography, income, transportation, and other factors that were comparable between different urban locations. As such, studies developed through the twentieth century argue that ideological faith developed in the role of social and behavioural analysis as a basis for macro-level policy and planning, to bridge and build reference between the historical and the contemporary at a time of post-war reconstruction. However, this structuralist vision of urban history left little room for the individual study of the town which had sustained the antiquarian traditions of the previous centuries.

These studies consisted of highly interdisciplinary approaches drawing on sociology, history, geography, and economics as part of a broader intellectual exchange across the social sciences. Through the twentieth century this developed further until cemented by Dyos, professor of urban history at Leicester, whose vision of urban history constituted 'a field of knowledge, not a single discipline, a focus for a variety of forms of knowledge, not a form of knowledge in itself'.¹⁴⁵ This was reflected in his work which focused more significantly upon nineteenth- and early twentieth-century London due to the recent experience of rapid and intense urbanisation.¹⁴⁶

As more disciplines developed an interest in urban history, particularly cultural historians since the 1980s, the relationship between language, identity and experience has become influential in understanding more thematic approaches. Unlike earlier, more structured approaches, this cultural pursuit has been applied to medieval as well as to more contemporary periods due to the varied forms of interpretation it has engendered within the sub-field. For example, research into gender and sexual identity, crime, leisure, and class are interwoven and complimentary to existing examinations. Beyond this, the emphasis on experience and identity allowed studies to consider more nuanced opportunities such as the

¹⁴⁵ Harold Dyos, *Urban History Yearbook* (Leicester University Press, 1976), p. 31.

¹⁴⁶ Dyos, 'The Study of Urban History: A Conference Report'.

role of urban emotions and experience.¹⁴⁷ As part of this, and strongly influenced by the work of sociologists like Henri Lefebvre, the field of urban history has increasingly focused on the spatialisation of identity, social relations and human activity since the 2000s.¹⁴⁸ Within this, the material fabric of streets, houses and public buildings can no longer be seen as passive actors in the historical process: rather urban space was both moulded by and shaped the behaviour, feelings and actions of urban inhabitants.

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, histories have diversified to consider even broader themes of interpretation, including the role of heritage and emotion in relationship to experience. Such studies place greater emphasis on the people who inhabit these spaces and the unique reference that their individual interpretations and engagements provide in understanding space. Rebecca Madgin has been pivotal in this branch of study, considering how historic places are ascribed meaning and value during the process of urban regeneration.¹⁴⁹ The role of emotive heritage and authorship are synonymous with this research in presenting a discussion on how narratives and interpretations of space have developed across the City of York.

Placed within this disciplinary context, this chapter pursues an interdisciplinary approach drawing on sociology, geography, history, heritage studies and psychology to consider how the narratives of the city have been established and presented to the public. This supports the growing shift in urban history to focus more on the sensory and experiential nature of urban life in a more systematic manner than previous scholarship. This

¹⁴⁷ See, for example, E. Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Stench and Noise in England 1600–1770* (New Haven and London, 2007); Jill Steward and Alexander Cowan (eds.), *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500*, (Aldershot, 2006); David Garrioch, 'Sounds of the city: the soundscape of European towns, seventeenth to nineteenth century', *Urban History*, 30 (2003), pp. 5–25; and the articles in *Urban History*, 29 (2002), a special issue devoted to music and urban history.

¹⁴⁸ Simon Gunn and Robert J. Morris (eds.), *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City Since 1850*, (Ashgate, 2001); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Wiley-Blackwell, 1991).

¹⁴⁹ Rebecca Madgin, 'Recognising emotions within urban development'. In: Katie Barclay and Jade Riddle (eds.) *Urban Emotions and the Making of the City: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Routledge: New York, 2021) and Rebecca Madgin, David Webb, Pollyanna Ruiz and Tim Snelson, 'Look at What We Made': communicating subcultural value on London's Southbank. *Cultural Studies*, 34(3), (2020), pp.392-417.

foundation is fundamental in providing the necessary reference for subsequent chapters to investigate alternative approaches to such narrative creation.

The Historical Significance of York

Go to York today and you will feel quite safe...except you may be trampled by terrible tourists in summer or finished off by floods in winter. Or worse – swamped by sightseers in any season...But York hasn't always been such a safe place. The ancient Brit Brigantes would bash you if you weren't careful...then along came the ruthless Romans to rampage all over. The smashing Saxons had no sooner settled than along came the vicious Vikings to eviscerate everyone in sight. The Normans were even nastier when they arrived. But peace finally settled on the city and a man with a scythe wandered quietly through the streets.¹⁵⁰

Aimed at younger readers, the opening caption to the *Horrible Histories: Gruesome Guide to York* effectively summarises as well as satirises the broad historical changes to the city over two millennia. This highlights the strong historical status of York as well as efforts at a multitude of levels to market the history of the city as part of its contemporary condition. Drawing similarities with Camden's earlier reference to York, this caption focuses on the prominent historical and sociological themes of urban change. The underlying intention of this quote significantly differs from that of Camden's, but the contextualisation of York as an entity with multiple facets, equally contemporary and historical, is important in understanding the city as more than just its physical boundaries.

The significance of the city is three-fold. Firstly, as with the early notions of urban history, the City of York has retained large amounts of historical architecture, including aspects of Roman, Viking and Norman walls; medieval halls; Tudor and Georgian houses as well as Victorian railway and industrial sites. These form fundamental points of reference visible to the public of the long history of York, akin perhaps to the prioritisation associated with *longue durée* and the French *Annales* approach to long term historical overshadowing.

¹⁵⁰ Terry Deary, *Horrible Histories: Gruesome Guide: York* (Scholastic, 2012).

These draw heavily on the historical context and inform the public's relationship with the local landscape. Secondly, the geological qualities of the soil and the river basin have allowed large quantities of archaeological material to survive intact underneath the city. This furthers the relationship with antiquarianism and anthropology within this context by providing an opportunity to learn about specific people who lived in this space as well as broaden wider academic understanding through the guise of heritage.

Thirdly, York's importance draws upon the contemporary interpretation and presentation of the former two points. The historical narrative of York is derived directly from the visible and hidden resources of the city. With an array of official institutions and quasi-official organisations producing material for the public, there are a plethora of resources available to engage with in the form of archaeological evidence as well as published interpretative material. Complimenting this are approximately twenty-five museums and many citywide architectural remains which represent specific topics and periods of York's past. This includes, but is not limited to, York Minster and the city's ecclesiastical history; Jorvik and its situational Viking narrative; and more specific niche aspects such as the Castle Museum which focuses on local history. Unlike other cities previously addressed in urban histories, the predominant focus of York's narrative is not on its post-industrial development but is derived from a mixture of commercialised history and modern-day convenience. The quotation taken from *Horrible Histories* thus references across all three of these points, although in a satirical and non-academic fashion.

This is significant to York and other such historical cities as the focus is pre-eminently on the signature characteristics of urban space, notably the architectural and archaeological remains which have reinforced the histories of Roman and Norman settlers. In doing so, these are utilised as a means of identification of the past and present in a singular place. As Doreen Massey has commented, the landscape is not barren and is filled with infinite stories;

however, all that is witnessed is the snapshot of the moment.¹⁵¹ How these are utilised and interpreted is fundamental to how the perception and narrative of the place is established. Culture is, therefore, to quote Sharon Zukin, a 'powerful means of controlling cities as a source of image and memory symbolising who belongs to a certain place'.¹⁵² Zukin's quote has strong ties to governance as well as broader concepts of placemaking and how historical assets are consumed as part of a process to associate with place.¹⁵³ Huyssen has suggested that such a process has increased in the last several decades, as broader cultural dynamics have shifted towards a more detached media-driven focus that enforces association to place but is devoid of actual substance.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, the public draw upon diverse notions of heritage in an articulation of identification with ties to heritage studies, geography and environmental psychology.¹⁵⁵

York's significance is derived from its rich archaeological and architectural resources which remain within the confines of the city. Although similar cities such as Bath, Chester, Edinburgh, and London equally draw from their own rich seams of archaeology, York's importance is in both how the archaeological evidence has fundamentally altered the overall city narratives as well as how local councillors and urban planners have privileged certain historical aspects over others. Despite notable industrialists such as Terry's and Rowntree being prominent actors within the city's industrial history, little prominence has been given to the social reforms and slum housing of the Victorian city. Such topics have tended to attract limited tangential mentions within the Castle Museum and York Chocolate Museum rather than to form their own complex open narratives. Although the narrative of these aspects is limited, the significance of their existence is paramount to broader narratives on industrial

¹⁵¹ Massey, 'Space', and Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, (University of Minneapolis Press, 1994)

¹⁵² Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*, (University of California Press, 1991), p.1.

¹⁵³ Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*, (Leicester University Press, 1992), p.24.

¹⁵⁴ Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, (Routledge, 1995)

¹⁵⁵ Stephanie K Hawke, 'Heritage and Sense of Place: Amplifying Local Voice and Co-constructing Meaning' *Making Sense of Place: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, 7. (Boydell Press, 2012). pp235-246.

social reform due to Benjamin Rowntree's *Study of Town Life*.¹⁵⁶ The decision making involved is based on a value-based system which this thesis challenges, primarily in terms of there being a symbolic and financial economy at play which controls the public perception and, as this chapter will show, a growing emphasis to engage with and place a strong emotional value on the past. How these values are imbued is based on a multifaceted mechanism of governance and control within which institutional, extra-institutional and individual actors have shaped the narrative and landscape of the city, to which this chapter now turns.

Unravelling Urban Governance

Urban governance, which refers to the practice of administering and governing cities, has long preoccupied urban historians and other social scientists. So influential is the framework of authority and accountability that the interconnectivity of projects, programmes and schemes of work are defined and controlled by those in positions of power. Throughout history such concepts have been applied in the examination of the exercise of power in urban Europe and its political effects. Notable scholars such as Max Weber and Michel Foucault have examined the differing approaches towards how power has been organised, distributed, and implemented across urban societies. In addition to this, governance also encapsulates the formal and quasi-formal institutions of political, economic, and cultural power within the city. York is structured around the decisions made by institutions and bodies of actors within the administrative boundaries of York, including the City of York Council, the local unitary authority, as well as the policies of central government and its regional bodies. Although urban space is unique in its infrastructure, the similarities and core themes have been widely influential in the analysis of the governance of these spaces and its relationship to broader urban history. To understand how the institutions and practices of

¹⁵⁶ Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, (2nd Ed), (Policy Press, 2000)

urban governance have structured York, it is imperative to frame the role of governance within this research.

The study of governance and governmentality has been highly influential over urban history. Although a century old, Max Weber's elaboration of the 'Occidental' (or Western) city posited the fusion of both economic and military purposes of urban places.¹⁵⁷ In addition to this, he alluded to a requirement of law and regulation through an autonomous body of legal and administrative authority in which urban citizens had some say.¹⁵⁸ Although criticised for his Eurocentric investigation, Weber's principles strongly influenced subsequent urban historical investigations.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, the current field of investigation has taken a more pluralistic approach to examining a series of distinct approaches, each representing a different perspective on the study of power and authority.¹⁶⁰

By the 1990s the relationship between central and local government was recast under a more neo-liberal regime. This was reflective of a decline of municipal power and prestige, and the resurgence of extra-institutional forms of local civilian engagement in the form of clubs and societies.¹⁶¹ Throughout the second-half of the twentieth century, local government was increasingly rendered an agent of central government rather than a partner, and in turn was increasingly reliant upon the Exchequer for its funding. Therefore, in response to Thatcherite policies, funding was reduced, leading to a clientelist approach into the 1990s. As such, governance replaced 'government' as reflecting a more process-centred, less institutionally bound approach to the business of regulating towns and cities.

¹⁵⁷ Max Weber, 'The nature of cities', in Richard Sennett (ed.), *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1969). pp35–8.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ See for example the discussion of Weber's theory of the city in James Blaut, *Eight Eurocentric Historians* (New York, 2000), pp.19–30; Jack Goody, *The East in the West* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.228–9.

¹⁶⁰ For a more robust historiography and understanding of governance please see Simon Gunn and Tom Hulme, 'Unravelling Urban Governance', in Simon Gunn and Tom Hulme (eds) *New Approaches to Governance and Rule in Urban Europe Since 1500* and Shane Ewen, 'Governing Cities', in Shane Ewen, *What is Urban History?* (John Wiley & Sons, 2016)

¹⁶¹ Mike Goldsmith and John Garrard, 'Urban governance: some reflections' in Robert J Morris and Richard Trainor, *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond since 1750*. (Routledge, 2000). pp15–16.

This can be defined as being concerned with the 'ordering of order and...the organisation and legitimisation of authority', thus opening up the ability to consider additional actors and parties.¹⁶² This was highly influential over the field of urban history, as this divergence of direct state intervention to more informal steering of policy allowed for robust questioning and displacement of conventional divisions between local government and its official institutions.¹⁶³ This shift expanded the range of 'collective bodies engaged in the regulation of towns and cities, including those previously seen as 'economic', like guilds and trades councils, or deemed purely 'cultural', like museums and art galleries'.¹⁶⁴ Coinciding with the broader cultural turn of urban history, investigations into these spaces became more interdisciplinary.¹⁶⁵ In more general terms, aspects of philosophy, sociology and psychology became interwoven and complementary, while greater emphasis was placed on the symbolic meanings and representations of authority. Underlying this was the broader acknowledgement of actors, both as a collective and individually, that actioned change. This was a tapestry of art, a rich interwoven system of an ensemble cast that exercised a specific and complex form of power.

The interpretation of this artistry was discussed by Michel Foucault in a series of lectures in the late 1970s addressing the 'genealogy of the modern state'.¹⁶⁶ The lectures of 1978 and 1979 make use of the concept of 'governmentality', which Foucault coined as a guideline for the analysis of power through historical reconstruction since ancient Greece through to modern neoliberalism.¹⁶⁷ Studies on governmentality, inspired by two of Foucault's courses entitled 'Security, Territory Population' (1977-78) and 'The Birth of Biopolitics' (1978-79), draw attention to the complex relationships between thought and

¹⁶² Ewen, *What is Urban History?* p64

¹⁶³ Gunn and Hulme, 'Unravelling Urban Governance', p.7.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p.9.

¹⁶⁵ Please see Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA, 1989); Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁶⁶ Michel Foucault, 'The Birth of Biopolitics' Lecture 5 April 1978, p.43. In Thomas Lemke, 'The Birth of Biopolitics- Michel Foucault's Lecture at the College de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality', *Economy and Society*, 30 (2) (2001), pp. 190-207.

¹⁶⁷ Michel Foucault, 'Security, Territory, and Population', in Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault, Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, (New York: The New Press, 1997b), p. 67.

government, particularly in the transition from medieval Europe to its more contemporary interpretation.¹⁶⁸ Through the course of the lectures, Foucault addressed how the interdependent processes utilised by repressive and centralised forms of state power and exercised by the sovereign, evolved into more decentralised and diffused forms of power exercised by the myriad of institutions and by the subjects themselves. As such, his theory looked beyond the notion of centralised stable power and perceived it as something altogether more dispersed.¹⁶⁹ The significance of this concept therefore removed the more traditional focus of who governed spaces and introduced more explicit investigations in the how and why things were governed. Governmentality has therefore been perceived to be more about the techniques and practices of governing. The subsequent literature has thus focused upon extending this into the material technologies of governance, such as through street lighting and pedestrianisation of space.¹⁷⁰

Subsequent urban historical studies have included greater interdisciplinary analysis inclusive of architecture, sociology, economic studies, and geography, with a focus on the materiality of space.¹⁷¹ Studies by Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett presented materiality as a response to the early dominance of representations of power constituted through the combination of multiple technologies and practices in what Joyce called 'liberal governmentality'. Given the potential influence of the material world, studies have increasingly focused on aspects of welfare, waste, pollution, and technology as a form of bio-political regulation within governance.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Wendy Larner and William Walters, 'Globalisation as Governmentality', *Alternatives*, 29 (2004), pp.495-514.

¹⁶⁹ Colin Gordon, 'Governmental rationality: an introduction', in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (University of Chicago Press 1991), p.4.

¹⁷⁰ See Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (London, 2010). And Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800–1910* (Chicago, IL, 2008). pp4–10.

¹⁷¹ Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago, IL, 1989), p.9. See also Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830–1864* (Chicago, IL, 1995).

¹⁷² See Joyce and Bennett (eds.), *Material Powers*; and Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City*, (Verso, 2003).

It is within this more progressive aspect of the field that this research is placed. The role of materiality and technology is influential in ordering a sense of place. The conventional interpretations relied on observationalist interpretations of urban space. Foucault's earlier work on the 'panopticon', although influential, was structured upon a mechanism of surveillance that was limited in scope and circumstantial in analysis.¹⁷³ Large urban spaces were often the focus of such studies and therefore studies overlooked, smaller or hidden aspects of these spaces. This has been reflected in recent scholarship by Chris Otter, Tom Crook and others in terms of examining habitual, daily routines and how technology was used to govern the population by shaping or encouraging 'forms of conduct' such as health, cleanliness, respectability from a distance.¹⁷⁴ This work thereby bridges the studies of governance with urban history, by applying empirical research to earlier understandings of governance through the means of material realities and practices. Within this assemblage of material components and institutional control there is still the much-overlooked perspective of the individual. Whilst change across urban spaces has been produced by complex assemblages of human and non-human actants, and of technology and politics, the individual has remained a key actor of that network.¹⁷⁵ It is therefore important to position studies within the multiple interactions in operation to produce a credible urban history.

These studies generally address large-scale urban change across sites not comparable to this research. National changes, including references to London, are useful in framing these grandiose narratives. However, York, although a city, is dwarfed in comparison with other metropolises located within the UK (Table 2.1). Therefore, this study is significant in broadening the application of these themes of governance and urban history in reference to a scaled case study. The concepts of actors, materiality and civil governance are utilised to frame the space and lead the additional investigations into the public's

¹⁷³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London, 1977 [1975])

¹⁷⁴ Otter, 'The Victorian Eye': pp4–10. Tom Crook, 'Power, privacy and pleasure: Liberalism and the modern cubicle' *Cultural Studies*, 21 (4/5) (2007), pp.549-569

¹⁷⁵ Geneviève Massard-Guilbaud and Richard Rodger (eds.), *Environmental and Social Justice in the City: Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge, 2011).

relationships with urban heritage. However, beyond residing within this established frame of work, this research expands upon these examples and addresses the impact of inclusivity and emotional heritage which urban history and governance to examine how these more contemporary approaches have been considered in decision making.

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
England	54,316,618	54,786,327	55,268,067	55,619,430	55,977,178
London	8,539,398	8,666,930	8,769,659	8,825,001	8,908,081
Liverpool (Metropolitan District)	474,569	480,873	487,606	491,549	494,814
Newcastle (Metropolitan District)	288,340	290,764	293,713	295,842	300,196
Leicester (Unitary Authority)	338,491	344,036	349,513	353,540	355,218
Manchester (Metropolitan District)	518,834	529,809	541,319	545,501	547,627
Yorkshire	5,360,117	5,390,211	5,425,370	5,450,130	5,479,615
York (Unitary Authority)	203,654	205,784	206,920	208,163	209,893

Table 2.1. Population figures of prominent UK cities in comparison to national and regional figures (Data compiled from national statistics, Varbes summarised data and from York City Council).¹⁷⁶

Defining York

... the city has grown and expanded, it's lost various bits, it's brought various bits of historical past with it, so that where we are with it today, is this strange accumulation of bits of this whole narrative of urban development over 2000 years and that's what makes an absolutely fascinating place and we've reached a point where for some reason collectively there is this great inertia and this feeling that change is bad, and yet if York is going to continue, it has to continue to change, it is the fundamental, change is what make cities, the places they are.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Varbes, 'Population figures' <<https://www.varbes.com/population/york-population>> [Accessed 18th September 2019], York City Council, *York at a glance 2019*, (York City Council 2019)

¹⁷⁷ John Oxley, City Archaeologist, Interview with Author 1 November 2nd, 2016.

What this quote from a member of council staff summarises is the principle of path dependency in relation to urban environmental change. Path dependency is a phenomenon whereby history matters; what has occurred in the past persists because of resistance to change. This resistance to change could be based on the financial implications, or because policymakers are making cautious or uninformed decisions. Therefore, industries follow path dependency when initial concepts or standards are adopted and maintained even if there is a better alternative. For example, a factory is located at a distance away from residential areas for various reasons. However, factories are often built first, and the workers' homes and amenities are built close by. It would be far too costly to move an already established factory, even though it would better serve the community if it were located on the outskirts of town. Such decision-making processes are addressed by Martin Melosi; as cities expanded throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and were required to re-evaluate the urban environment that, whilst derived historically, often did not serve the same purpose or efficiency as previously.¹⁷⁸ In turn, what this reflects is that the city is a palimpsest with layers built up over time and continual change across the landscape.¹⁷⁹

How York has been structured and continues to function is heavily shaped by its historical trajectory. The history of York stems several millennia based on archaeological evidence, which is indicative of Mesolithic settlers.¹⁸⁰ Its more recently documented history focuses on the formation of Eboracum in 71AD when General Quintus Petillius Cerialis led the Ninth Legion and established a military presence at the junction of the Rivers Ouse and Foss.¹⁸¹ Through various iterations, settlements have remained on the site of present-day

¹⁷⁸ Martin V. Melosi, 'Path Dependency and Urban History: Is a Marriage Possible?' in Bill Luckin, Geneviève Massard-Guilbaud, Dieter Schott, *Resources of the City: Contributions to an Environmental History of Modern Europe*, (Routledge, 2016)

¹⁷⁹ G.H. Martin, 'The Town as Palimpsest', in Harold Dyos (ed). *The Study of Urban History*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1968)

¹⁸⁰ Nicky Milner, 'Preserving and presenting Mesolithic heritage', *Star Carr Case Study*, <<https://www.york.ac.uk/research/impact/mesolithic-heritage/>> [Accessed 27th June 2020]

¹⁸¹ The presence of the area was previously known before the establishment of Eboracum due to the Brigantes who occupied the area and were initially accepting of the Romans becoming a client state until hostilities arose forcing the arrival of Cerialis and the Ninth. See Ronald Willis, *The illustrated portrait of York* (4th ed.). (Robert Hale Limited, 1988), pp. 26–27.

York. Rather than provide of a comprehensive look at each of these developments, a summary of defining characteristics is provided in this section.¹⁸²

The influx of Roman, Norman and Viking settlers was culturally influential. With the Danish occupation in 866AD the city was renamed Jorvik, acting as a major river port on Northern European trade routes. As Peter Connelly, Project Director of York Archaeological Trust, notes, York offered a connection to Europe that bypassed London entirely.¹⁸³ The three main periods of settlement involved heavy cultural investment in the region and established the initial boundaries of the city through the erection of walls, street names and archaeological evidence, which have left reminders across the city of its rich history. From an ecclesiastical perspective, York was significant due to building works under Emperor Constantine that reflected the development of Christianity in the area, noted by a bishop of York named Eborius being attested, and several artefacts decorated with chi-rho symbols discovered in the city.¹⁸⁴ This early growth led to the establishment of the Archbishopric of York and in 1080 Archbishop Thomas began construction of the cathedral that later became the minster.¹⁸⁵

Although York had always been subject to change, it was during the nineteenth century that its place as a central city was cemented with the arrival of the railways. George Hudson, a railway promoter behind the York and North Midland Railway, established York as

¹⁸² For a more comprehensive history of York across period, please examine works such as Willis, *The Illustrated Portrait of York*, Patrick Ottaway, *Roman York*. (Tempus: Stroud 2004), pp.140–150; Angelo Raine, *Mediaeval York: A topographical Survey based on original source*, (Murray, 1955), p.1 and David Palliser, *Tudor York*, (Oxford University Press, 1979), p.4. R.W Unwin, 'V. Leeds becomes a transport centre'. In Derek Fraser, *A History of modern Leeds*. (Manchester University Press. 1980), pp.132–133. Alan Armstrong, *Stability and Change in an English County Town: A Social Study of York 1801–51*. (Cambridge University Press.2005), pp. 37–43; Stephen Lewis, 'East Coast Main Line: York's part in the history of the railways', *York Press*, (3 July 2009).

¹⁸³ Peter Connelly, Project Director and York Archaeological Trust, 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

¹⁸⁴ Ottaway, *Roman York*. pp.140–150.

¹⁸⁵ York Minster, 'Minster History' <<https://yorkminster.org/learning/the-minsters-history/>> [Accessed 10th June 2016]

a major rail hub with his saying, 'mak all t'railways cum to York'.¹⁸⁶ This new era of transport brought other perks, including the headquarters and works of the North Eastern Railway, which were instrumental in the expansion of Rowntree's Cocoa Works and Terry's of York.¹⁸⁷ In turn this transformation brought industrialisation and an investigative mindset into the social condition of industrial workers through the work of Rowntree.¹⁸⁸

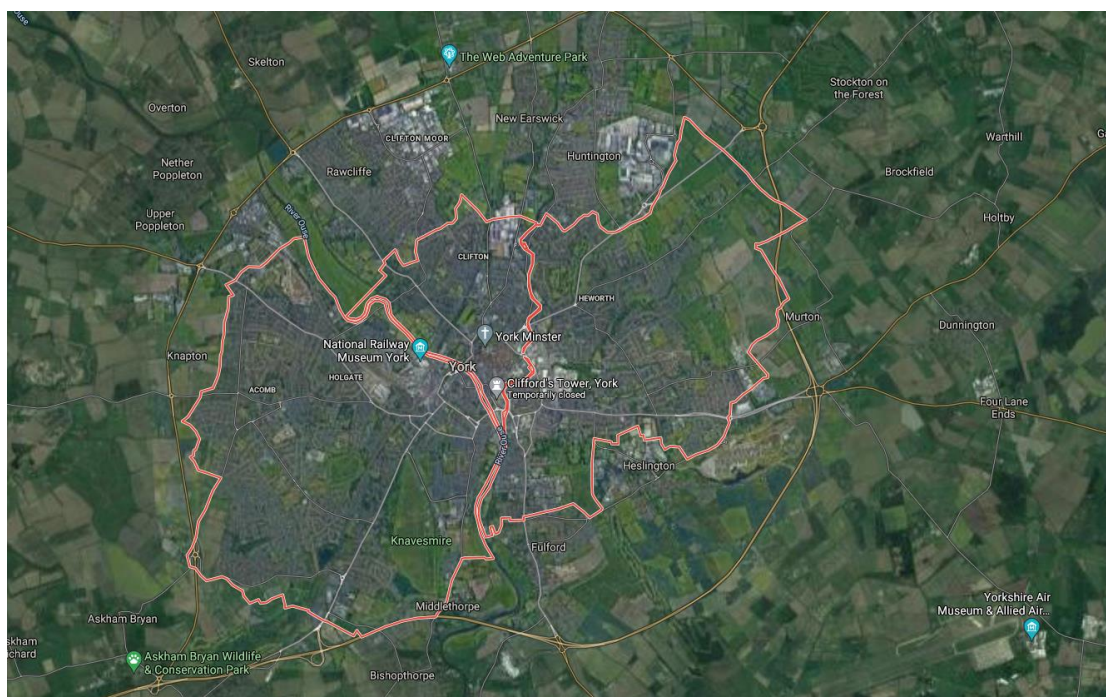
This variable history provides recognisable aspects of the cityscape which in turn informed the boundaries of this study. The city of York as it stands (see Map 2) is segregated into three sections divided by the Rivers Ouse and Foss. However, the area of York in Map 3 is representative of the City of York Unitary Authority boundary. To provide reference for this project the boundaries of the project are limited within the area shown in Map 2. This area has been selected as it represents the variety of history, the core centre of tourist attractions and city landmarks, whilst avoiding a discussion about the contemporary history of local government reorganisation, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Unwin, V. Leeds becomes a transport centre', pp. 132–133; Armstrong, *Stability and Change* pp. 37–43; Lewis, 'East Coast Main Line'; Andrew Dow, *Dow's Dictionary of Railway Quotations*. (John Hopkins University Press. 2006), p.774.

¹⁸⁷ York Museum Trust, 'Industrialisation' < <http://www.historyofyork.org.uk/themes/industrialisation>> [Accessed 19th May 2016]

¹⁸⁸ Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, p.5.

¹⁸⁹ For the purpose of context, it is important to note aspects of York's political history. York is mentioned briefly in J.A Chandler, *Explaining Local Government: Local Government in Britain Since 1800*, (Manchester University Press 2013). In doing so it is important to note that the city was largely unmapped in terms of political boundary until Ordnance Surveyors were tasked with documenting boundaries as part of the Municipal Corporations Act 1835. For general jurisdiction, the area defined as the city and bound by royal charter included the parishes and townships surrounding the city: east of the Ouse, the liberty of St. Mary (i.e., St. Olave's parish), Heworth, Osbaldwick, Heslington, and Fulford; west of the Ouse, Middlethorpe, Dringhouses, and Holgate. At the earliest time, therefore, the liberty probably comprised no more than the walled city, Knavesmire, Hob Moor, and perhaps Bishop's Fields Prior to this act, the area was largely controlled by the Whig corporation, however, within two years the Tories were elected to power led by rail Magnate George Hudson. Between 1850 and 1902, the corporation extended its functions to include health care, sanitation, fire services, provision of public libraries and education. Whilst the corporation retained control and responsibility of York, private Quaker enterprise provided a model for the provision of housing, slum clearance and mental health support. A model that was unable to be repeated by the corporation due to a shortage of private housing and financial stresses. The post-war corporation was deprived of its chief trading activity by the nationalization of the electricity undertaking in 1947; the privately run gasworks was similarly taken over in 1948, as were most of the city's municipal and private hospitals, but the waterworks remained in private hands in 1959. Control of the council was achieved by the Labour Party for the first time in 1945 and re-gained by the party on a number of subsequent occasions. The Conservative Party held the city's seat in Parliament throughout the period 1939–59. Further developments in the city's cultural life arose from the establishment in 1946 of the York Civic Trust, a body designed to preserve and enhance the city's amenities. The trust's Academic Development



Map 3. Boundaries of York Unitary Authority (York City Council, 2023).

The city walls are taken as primary markers of York's boundaries for this project. As Daniel Jütte notes, city walls are significant to urban identity and inequality as they are crucial to marking urban areas.¹⁹⁰ The city walls follows boundary lines established in the preceding

Committee in 1956 became a separate body—the York Academic Trust. The first extension of the municipal boundaries came 50 years later in 1884. By the York Extension and Improvement Act of that year the city was extended on the north to the parliamentary boundary of 1832 and on the south and west beyond it into Holgate, Dringhouses, Knavesmire, and Fulford. The parliamentary boundary of 1832 was not affected by the Act but by the Redistribution of Seats Act of 1885 the parliamentary boundary was extended to the new city boundary of the previous year. In 1893 the city was again extended on the north, to bring within the boundaries some suburban building in the Haxby Road district; this area was brought within the parliamentary boundary by the Representation of the People Act of 1918. The city was extended in the same area and on the east in 1934:

P M Tillott, 'Modern York: The City after 1939', in: P M Tillott (ed), *A History of the County of York: the City of York*, (London, 1961), *British History Online*, pp. 308-310. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/city-of-york/pp308-310>> [accessed 2 July 2020]. In 1974 by the Local Government Act 1972. Under the act, the Yorkshire ridings lost their lieutenancies and shrievalties and the administrative counties, county boroughs and their councils were abolished. The area of Yorkshire was divided between a number of metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties with York falling under North Yorkshire's catchment. This was further developed following the review of local government in the 1990's which defined as a unitary authority within the ceremonial county of North Yorkshire.

¹⁹⁰ Suzanne Conklin Akbari, Tamar Herzog, Daniel Jütte, Carl Nightingale, William Rankin, Keren Weitzberg, 'AHR Conversation: Walls, Borders, and Boundaries in World History', *The American Historical Review*, 122(5), (December 2017), pp. 1501–1553.

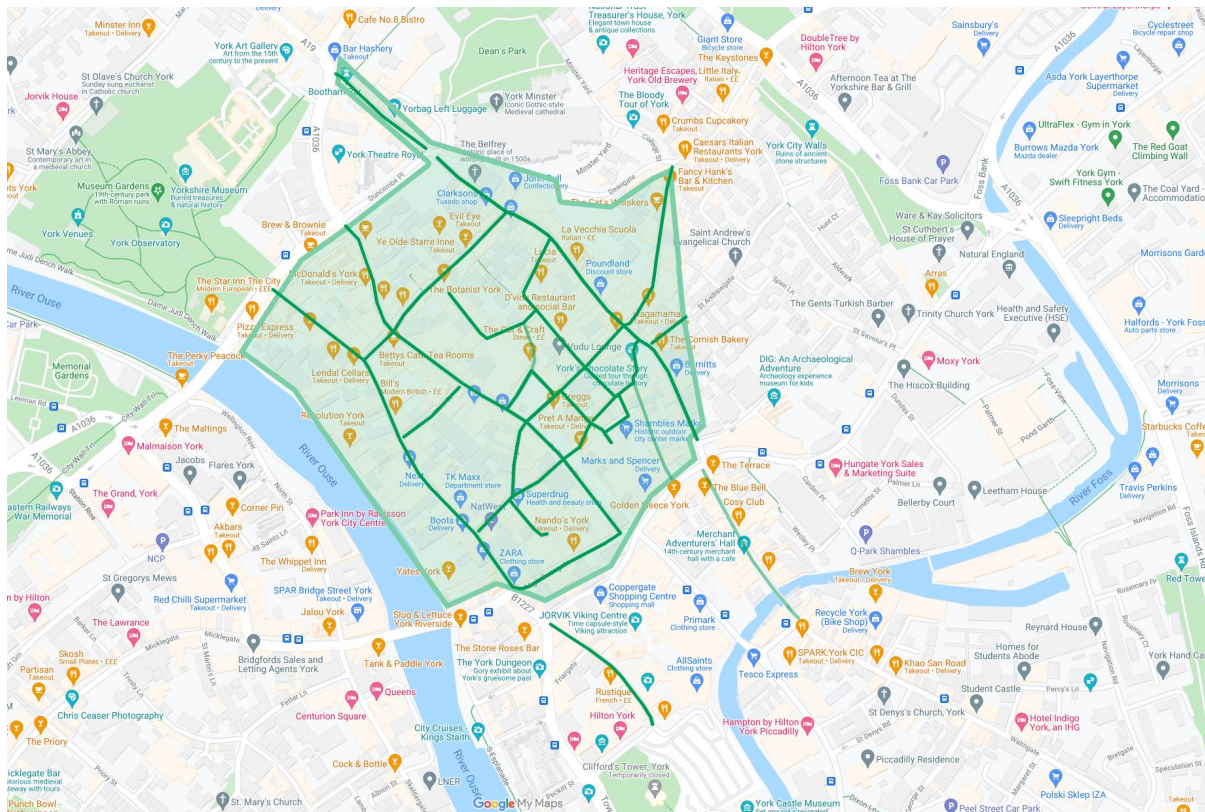
Roman and Norman periods and are noted for being among the most complete in England, retaining their principal gateways.¹⁹¹ The walls as they currently stand incorporate part of the Roman fortress, some Norman and medieval work, as well as later renovations.¹⁹² Today, they can be traversed by foot as a means of transport and public engagement with the past.

In relation to the theme of urban governance, this denoted area is significant for its pedestrianisation based on consultation, conservation, and urban development. The 1960s was a period of unprecedented growth in population and with this the use of motor vehicles. In response, the Buchanan Report on Traffic in Towns (1963) established the awareness and need to prevent untoward damage from motorcars; however, large scale pedestrianisation was not fully implemented at this time.¹⁹³ The green area marked within MAP denotes the pedestrianised core of the city. The darker green lines denote the pedestrian streets of the city. Heavy restrictions within this area prevent vehicles except for loading purposes to accommodate businesses.

¹⁹¹ Barbara Wilson, Frances Mee, *The City Walls and Castles of York: The Pictorial Evidence*. (York Archaeological Trust, 2005), p. ix.

¹⁹² Nikolaus Pevsner, David Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding* (2nd ed.). (London: Penguin Books, 1995[1972]), p.192.

¹⁹³ Simon Gunn, 'The Buchanan report, environment and the problem of traffic in 1960s Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22(4), (2011), pp. 521–42.



Map 4. Pedestrianised core of York (York City Council based on Google Maps, 2023).

The history of pedestrianisation is reflective of governance in operation within the city of York. In the late 1960s there was a concern over the destruction of historic towns in the wake of rampant commercial development, which was not helped by the expanding tourist industry and the rise of mass car ownership.¹⁹⁴ As Gunn notes, the report was hailed as a pioneering response to how cities could adapt to and create the necessary conditions to support a car owning society. However, the legacy of the report has been ambivalent with many cities opting for a more environmentally sensitive approach rather than the radical reconstruction of urban areas. For context, Birmingham more heavily adopted the principles within the report leading to a more drastic integration of urban highways through the urban

¹⁹⁴ Gunn and Townsend, *Automobility and the City*; Simon Gunn, 'People and the car: the expansion of automobility in urban Britain, c. 1955–1970', *Social History*, 38(2), (2013), pp. 220–37 and Gunn, 'The Buchanan report', pp. 521–42.

core of the city.¹⁹⁵ In contrast, Leeds opted to segregate local and regional/national traffic with the use of inner ring roads to link the city to more trunk motorway infrastructures that were built through the 1960s and 1970s. To account for this, local urban planning focused on the construction of multistorey car parks around the perimeter of the city core.¹⁹⁶

However, given York's historic urban centre, such radical redevelopment was not easily applicable. As noted in Hansard, it was difficult on a national level to suggest any unifying recommendations as no two cities were alike. 'Each community will have to decide for itself. By "each community" I do not necessarily mean each local authority. I mean, perhaps each conurbation, but certainly each large community. York, for example, is different from Sheffield. Chester is different from Liverpool and the Merseyside conurbation...' ¹⁹⁷

Therefore, while other cities such as Birmingham were able to adopt many of these prescriptions, it was debated that each region or city should be allowed to determine its own planning and strategies.

In the case of York this was furthered by its selection as a site for a 'Study of Conservation', which resulted in the publication of the Esher report in 1968/9.¹⁹⁸ This was formally known as *York – A Study in Conservation, The Esher Report on the future of York as an historic town*. The document was delivered by Viscount Esher to the Government's Preservation Policy Group, and York Corporation recognised the need to preserve elements of York's urban landscape for future development of the city, inner-city when wider trends of gentrification were appearing.¹⁹⁹ As such this approached more than just the broader themes of automotive insertion but as a broader challenge to modernism and brutalist design seen across other cities with concrete structures and high-rise tower blocks as part of urban

¹⁹⁵ Gunn and Townsend, *Automobility and the City in Twentieth Century Britain and Japan*

¹⁹⁶ Gunn, 'The Buchanan report'. pp521–42

¹⁹⁷ HC Deb 10 February 1964 vol 689 cc32-160

¹⁹⁸ Ministry of Housing and Local Government and Department of the Environment 'York – A Study in Conservation', *The Esher Report on the future of York as an historic town: publication of report, implications and dispute regarding publicity; includes reviews of proposal to develop Aldwarl area and papers on ministerial visit*. 1968 HLG 156/328

¹⁹⁹ Ibid

renewal.²⁰⁰ To countermand this, the Esher report called upon the institutions of the city, notably the City of York Council, to improve the inner-city conditions to entice people back to the centre and repopulate historic buildings that had fallen into disuse. As the purpose of this review was based on York's historical characteristics, the preservation of space, particularly that around the remaining architectural components, was key. As part of this, Esher recognised the dangers posed by motorcars and lorries on the fragile fabric of the historic city and issued recommendations to restrict traffic across much of the city. Rather than satisfy the growth in automobiles or built dedicated bypasses, the recommendations included the complete removal of traffic in areas around Bootham Bar, restrictions along Micklegate Bar and limitations placed on Walmgate and Monk Bar. This accompanied recommendations for multistorey parking to be built outside the walls to assist the restriction of traffic within the city.²⁰¹ Therefore, this appears as a complete contrast to the urban development in Birmingham which focused on building transport routes through the city to support drivers. Instead, Esher urged a more preservative course of action to limit vehicles to outside the city core as denoted by the city wall. In response, later development plans focused on implementing many of the city's car parks in this area outside the wall to prioritise pedestrian access within the core.

What this suggested is a much broader recognition of the historical significance of the city and the need to preserve such aspects rather than simply support more generalised urban and societal development. Whilst this does not reflect a national response to these changes, it does reflect a strong adaptable approach to conservation based on prioritisation of key areas of the urban structure. The demarcation of the city boundary, as noted by Daniel Jütte, has strong connotations of segregating both physical and societal aspects of an urban area.²⁰² Therefore, in this instance, the wall is utilised as a boundary for protecting the

²⁰⁰ See Otto Saumarez Smith, *Boom Cities: Architect Planners and Politics of Radical Urban Renewal in 1960's Britain*, (Oxford University Press, 2019)

²⁰¹ *York – A Study in Conservation*.

²⁰² Daniel Jütte, *Transparency: The Material History of an Idea* (New Haven, CT, 2023).

historical inner city at the expense of the extended city. As part of this response, in 1968 the historic core of York was designated a conservation area; in 1971 Stonegate became the city's first foot-street being completely paved in 1975.²⁰³ In addition to this, the Esher report further recommended restricting the construction of new developments to below the height of the Minster to preserve the skyline of the city.²⁰⁴ These actions are critical in guiding the subsequent urban development of the city.

The Esher report was significant for two main reasons: firstly, the core principles of conserving the inner core of the city were necessary to rejuvenate and popularise the image of York as a historic city at a time of increased tourism. The transition to a tourist destination had been instigated long before Esher's report for as a measure of this marked change in visitor numbers since war time; sites such as the Castle Museum noted a considerable rise from 110,000 annually in 1946 to 352,000 visitors in 1957.²⁰⁵ As an indicator of growth of outside interest to visit York, such figures are indicative of the wider need to support visitors and tourists to the city through proactive support and development but, most importantly, persistence of the character that attracted these visitors. Secondly, the report's address of positioning of parking and amenities outside of the central core was designed to develop a new infrastructure as well as preserve the city core as it was only accessible by foot. The subsequent pedestrianisation was a result of continued work by the city council and other institutional bodies within the city to persist with this vision and transition broader city infrastructural development beyond the city wall.

From the initial academic perspective this is in keeping with other contemporary examples of urban conservation. Sites such as Castlefield in Manchester and areas of Newcastle, for example, were similarly redeveloped to encourage a greater diversity of

²⁰³ York City Council, Conservation Area: Central Historic Core Conservation Area (Conservation Area 1) Jan 1968.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Tillott, 'Modern York: The City after 1939', pp. 308-310.

visitors to the city.²⁰⁶ However, in pursuing a more public history approach to this research, such changes were not unanimously accepted. In his autobiography, Esher reflects on the hostile environment in which he found himself: 'I was told by Mr Burke (railwayman and leader of the Labour group), in his solid Yorkshire drawl, "we don't like consultants here" ... The Conservative boss was, if anything, even more unfriendly.'²⁰⁷ Although efforts were undertaken to transform sections of the city, Esher's experience indicates a difference in the appropriate method of initiating change and in contemporary attitudes towards outsiders and professional experts. The earlier works on governance suggested a more authoritative approach often stemming from the council. In this instance, neither main party was supportive of the outside recommendations of the government-appointed consultant. Therefore, to understand the position of York at that time and, in turn, during the time of this research, it is necessary to consider the political structure within York and the network of institutional bodies operating within this boundary.

York's Need for Governance

Generally, urban planning constitutes the technical and political process concerned with the welfare of people, control of land use, design of the urban environment including transportation and communication networks, and protection and enhancement of the natural environment. As such, it is a requirement to have in place a key structural city plan, outlining fundamental development and distribution of work. However, in York, due in part to political instability since 2007 resulting from a lack of majority in local government, there has been no coherent city plan in place since 1956, rather repeated attempts to implement structure and

²⁰⁶ Rebecca Madgin, 'Reconceptualising the historic urban environment: conservation and regeneration in Castlefield, Manchester, 1960–2009', *Planning Perspectives*, 25(1), (2010). pp 29-48; John Pendlebury, 'Conservation and regeneration: Complementary or conflicting processes? The case of Grainger town, Newcastle upon Tyne', *Planning Practice and Research*, 17(2), (2002). pp145-158.

²⁰⁷ Lionel Esher, *Our Selves Unknown: An Autobiography* (V. Gollancz, 1985).

change with no objective output.²⁰⁸ As David Fraser, Chief Executive of the Civic Trust, comments, this has led to the stagnation and stalling of the city which has meant ‘the best public space in England’s second city has been a disgrace for the last 80 years...’²⁰⁹ In the absence of a single agreed plan and authoritative guidance, institutions across the city have had to operate intuitively in an amalgamated form of collaboration of change with no clear designated plan beyond each project.

The City of York Council operates as a unitary authority; this is significant as, compared to other cities noted through this thesis, York is not a metropolitan area. However, as a unitary authority, the council is permitted the powers of a non-metropolitan county and district council combined. In doing so, the council can provide a level of automation in the delivery of services such as Council Tax billing, libraries, social services, processing planning applications, waste collection and disposal, and it is a local education authority.²¹⁰ There has been a constant shift in political control which has, in turn, led to an instability in planning and policy correlating to this shift. The table 2.2 addresses the changes in political power since the mid-1990s.

²⁰⁸ Mark Wildling, ‘Why York has not had an adopted development plan in place since 1954’, *Planning*, < <https://www.planningresource.co.uk/article/1457688/why-york-not-adopted-development-plan-place-1954>> [Accessed 27th July 2018]

²⁰⁹ David Fraser, Chief Executive, Civic Trust, ‘Interview with Author’ 14th December 2016

²¹⁰ York City Council, ‘About Us’, <<https://www.york.gov.uk/council>> [Accessed 24th January 2017]

Party in control	Years	Council leader	Seats
Labour	1995 - 2003	Cllr Dave Merrit	L 27 LD 22 C 3
Liberal Democrats	2003 - 2007	Cllr Steve Galloway	LD 29 L 15 G2
Liberal Democrats (Minority Control)	2007 - 2011	Cllr Andrew Waller	LD 19 L18 C 8
Labour	2011 - 2015	Cllr James Alexander, Cllr Dafydd Williams	L 26 C 10 LD 8
Conservative/Lib Dem Coalition ²¹¹	2015 - 2019	Cllr Christ Steward (Con) and Cllr Keith Aspden (LibD)	L 15 C 14 LD 12

Table 2.2: Depiction of changing political leadership in the council (Political Party, Term and Leader).²¹²

²¹¹ Although initially Labour had the most seats (though not a majority with 15 of the necessary 24), the Labour party were unable to acquire the necessary backing to lead, allowing the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats to form a coalition.

²¹² Based on information taken from BBC News, 'Local Election Results 2007 – York' <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/vote2007/councils/html/ff.stm>>m, [Accessed 14th June 2019] and

The swing between different parties having overall control, interspersed with periods of minority leadership and coalition, has created a state of inertia within the city's planning regime and limited consistent focus on development and agenda. This is most apparent in the period since 2011, in which the Labour party had sought to deliver on an agenda of large-scale greenbelt development that was heavily opposed by opposition parties.²¹³ The response to this was reflected in the subsequent election. As part of the coalition's formation, a 12-point policy plan was drawn up which protected the green belt and adjusted broader plans on building new homes.²¹⁴ However, the impact of this coalition and broader political instability has been fundamental to the interworking dynamics of civic institutions across the city.

Through interviews with David Fraser, the Chief Executive of York Civic Trust, following the installation of the coalition it was clear that this political instability has had a notable impact on the ability to initiate change in the city: 'I generally think the flip flopping of politics has done more harm to York than any single party being able to rule for 20 years and put forward a vision, whatever it may have been would have been better than this uncertainty'.²¹⁵ The lack of majority government has made it increasingly difficult to implement a coherent city plan. As such, it has been necessary to implement several *ad hoc* policies to ensure continued development devoid of a city plan. For the purposes of this research two examples are examined, with analysis of interviews with senior figures from York City Council and York Civic Trust to help frame the role of governance in York.

In contrast to the city council, which reflects the politically influenced authority of the city, the Civic Trust was established as a charity to preserve, protect, and advise on the

BBC News, 'Local Election Results 20015 – York', <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics/constituencies/E14001061#election2015-logo>> [Accessed 14th June 2019] and BBC News, 'Local Election Results 2019 – York', <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics/constituencies/E14001061>> [Accessed 14th June 2019] and

²¹³ Wildling, 'Why York has not had an adopted development plan in place since 1954',
²¹⁴ Ibid

²¹⁵ David Fraser, 'Interview with Author', 14th December 2016

historic fabric of York. Initially founded in 1948 by residents of York, its major concern was the proposed over-development and post-war planning of the city. The Trust's main worry, as with the Esher report, was the potential risk and damage to the medieval core and its archaeological remains. In the inaugural meeting, the Archbishop of York delivered a speech addressing the four main threats facing the city at that time: time and weather, commercial greed, the effects of war²¹⁶ and ignorance, especially that of 'people who thought they were improving and restoring when really they were ruining and destroying.'²¹⁷ The initial positioning of the Civic Trust was as an antithesis to rampant development at the expense of York's history.

In reading literature published by the Civic Trust, most notably regarding 'York Castle Gateway' is it clear that the Trust has subsequently taken credit for saving the special characteristics of York's built environment, both through the pedestrianisation of the city centre and in preventing the demolition of key historic sites such as Clifford's Tower.²¹⁸ This is significant in relation to Esher's report, which similarly revealed tensions between the city council as the statutory planning authority and extra-institutional bodies like the Civic Trust which positioned themselves as the defenders of York's built heritage. This is highly reflective in comments with the Trust's 2017-2018 Annual Report which covers development of the Castle Gateway, but also the lost opportunities as part of these plans to open the River Foss which runs through this site.²¹⁹ This reflects the position of the trust more accurately as a body aware of the need to preserve as part of modernisation. However, tackling development on a case-by-case basis had plagued the city since 1956 and thus

²¹⁶ The city suffered some damage during the Baedeker raid in 1942.

²¹⁷ Stephen Lewis, 'Happy birthday York Civic Trust: 70 years fighting the ravages of time, ignorance and the 'malice of man'. *York Press*, 22 July 2016 < <https://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/14636681.happy-birthday-york-civic-trust-70-years-fighting-the-ravages-of-time-ignorance-and-the-malice-of-man/> > [Accessed 19th May 2017]; J. Shannon, *York Civic Trust, the First Fifty Years: Preserving, Restoring, Enhancing, Enriching England's Second City* (1996)

²¹⁸ York Civic Trust, *York Castle Gateway – August 2017 – Presentation and Response*

²¹⁹ York Civic Trust, *York Civic Trust Annual Report 2017-2018*, (York Civic Trust 2018). p36

within this same report the Trust sought to make note of the potential success of a local plan being installed. 'We believe that having a Local Plan is better than not having one at all. Failure to agree on this plan would lead to having an alternative forced on York by central government, unlikely to be fully aware or caring of the historic and unique features of our city.'²²⁰ This is the core of the Trust's ethos, but with it is also the underpinning of the authority to which the Trust carries; ultimately, they are a charity and advisory body. Although they enact civic activities through pedestrianisation schemes and the implementation of Blue Plaque schemes to celebrate the historical nature of the city, ultimately the authority of urban planning and action still lies with the council.²²¹

Both institutions are focused on the development of the city and the need to grow. As Andrew Scott, the chair of the Trust, states, the Trust 'is all about trying to be the voice of people who care about York. We can easily take York too much for granted. The Civic Trust is a group of people prepared to recognise that if we take it too much for granted, we could lose what's there. We're trying to be a voice for those who care about that.'²²² This comment is significant within the wider consideration of this thesis, as it suggests that the Trust provides a voice of concern and reflects the dynamism of authority in York but is also the source from which that expertise is drawn. Referring to earlier ideas of citizen expertise, the Trust's members and supporters are residents and interested bodies with key knowledge and experience of the city. In contrast, as noted in the Annual Report, broader local government is far more bureaucratic and unconcerned with understanding public interests and the preservation of the city. The suggestions of consultations and so on provide a form of participatory involvement, but as the Council ultimately are the decision makers this suggests a broad failure to incorporate such citizen expertise more succinctly in urban decision making.

²²⁰ Ibid

²²¹ York Civic Trust, 'Civic Trust Plaques', < <https://yorkcivictrust.co.uk/heritage/civic-trust-plaques/> > [Accessed 2nd July 2017]

²²² I. Stephen Lewis, 'Happy birthday York Civic Trust' and J. Shannon, *York Civic Trust, the First Fifty Years*.

Given the lack of a singular city plan and the level of expertise available within York it is important to examine how the city has made efforts to plan further development of the urban space. Through initial interviews with David Fraser, it was discussed how the uniqueness of the city was the main *raison d'être* to all operations. It was considered that what the Trust sought to achieve was the development of a Local Development Framework (LDF) in 2007 to encourage investment through a clear vision of beauty.

We want York to change; we'll die if it doesn't; but any new physical structures of social structures we aspire for them to be the highest quality to create a new layer of heritage [and] identity.²²³

However, the lack of a city plan has been a consistent concern for several decades:

York hasn't had an adopted local plan since 1956, that's quite unusual. We should succeed in getting a plan adopted, but the problem with not having a formal plan is that it's easier for undesirable development to take place. We are always trying to encourage the city council to get it together, to decide what sort of future they want, write it down, put it in a plan, do it.²²⁴

This statement suggests an expectation for the council to lead; however, due to the political turmoil since the mid-1990s that has not been possible. Each change in leadership required a reformulation of relationships, time, and resources to regain lost ground. The impact of this is that work is continually repeated. During interviews with Fraser, it was evident that years of work were reutilised, rebranded but still not fulfilled. 'We have to work with them all the time, I mentioned two of our campaigns, one was reinvigorating York, one was sustaining the city beautiful, they are exactly the same the only difference was we had to rebrand for the next administration. Which takes time to do and get them onside but it's basically the same campaign. Every time there's a change in power, we spend a year building up relationships again.'²²⁵ Fraser's comments reflect the reality of York's governance; with no majority control of the council, it is necessary for councillors and appointed officials to work

²²³ David Fraser, 'Interview with Author', 14th December 2016

²²⁴ Ibid

²²⁵ Ibid

collaboratively with other institutions such as the Civic Trust. However, it is clear the issues facing the city go beyond the formal institutional actors to a broader level.

During the period of this research, the topic of greenbelt development provided an example of the practicalities of drafting city plans. In 2014 the then Labour-run council published a draft plan on the city's greenbelt, which amended an earlier plan to build houses to accommodate the booming city economy. This was significant in reducing the number of newly built homes to 996 a year. However, the plan was not adopted and was adjusted two years later by the new coalition in control of the council. Cllr Aspden (LibDem) said, 'We wanted to put forward an evidence-based plan. The city badly needs a Local Plan to protect its character and to protect the greenbelt.'²²⁶ Cllr Carr (Con) said:

Progressing York's Local Plan is a priority for the council and over the past few months, officers have been working behind the scenes to ensure the best possible outcome can be achieved before announcing its next steps... and for the first time – create a permanent Green Belt to ensure the city's boundaries are protected for two decades.²²⁷

Whilst the intentions of this plan were to support the boundaries of the city and the protection of the greenbelt, it is an example of a more traditional top-down authoritarian approach that subsequently failed to gain traction. During interviews with John Oxley, the (now former) city archaeologist for the City Council, it was clear that part of the council focused on the future of the area and providing housing but was overwhelmingly focused on getting the plans through at all cost. However, in doing so this the plans overlooked many substantial aspects of the greenbelt as well as the city's broader development:

That might be below plough soil, at the moment it's under threat from ploughing, in the future it will be in threat of development offers. An acre of agricultural land sells for £10,000 an acre of land with planning permission sells for more than one million. The ability

²²⁶ Victoria Prest, 'Big new plans for York Greenbelt plans slashed', *The Press*, 21st June 2016 <http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/14568576.UPDATED__Big_new_plan_for_York__Greenbelt_plans_slashed/> [accessed 19th October 2016]

²²⁷ Ibid

to carry out ambitious of archaeology research and community involvement in these sites is very large.²²⁸

As such the fringes of York present a constantly shifting battleground. The dual focus on expansion and preservation in this plan seem devoid of each other. This is consequently more reflective of conventional methods of governance with different bodies competing for their visions and goals. Instead, what both Oxley and Fraser recommend is a collaborative approach that addresses a multitude of different perspectives and draws on the experience and understanding of those within the city. Through collaborative assessment and agreement, there is potential to address both the broader expansion of the city alongside its preservation. Attempts have been made previously to develop such a collaborative vision and endeavour and through its analysis it is clear to extrapolate the operational potential of York.

York: New City Beautiful - Toward an Economic Vision

In 2009, the City of York Council, in collaboration with Yorkshire Forward (YF), the regional development agency for the Yorkshire and Humber region (1999-2012), commissioned the production of a long-term, economic vision for the City. The result, *York: New City Beautiful*, was a blueprint for York's future, aimed at playing a pivotal role in its Local Development Framework (LDF) and boosting its economy by enticing more investment. The team behind it was led by urban design expert Professor Alan Simpson, with a team of experts including Professor Franco Bianchini, a cultural geographer, Scott E. Adams, an architecture and urbanism specialist, and Mark Reynolds, a specialist in economic planning.²²⁹ This project sought to operate across all institutional bodies to develop a coherent framework. At that time, the value of York's economy was £3.37 billion, which the report team recommended growing to £4.5 billion by 2035 through enhancement of the city's cultural, social, and physical assets. This would be best achieved through a collaborative approach involving

²²⁸ John Oxley, City Archaeologist, Interview 1, 2nd November 2016.

²²⁹ York City Council, *York New City Beautiful - Toward an Economic Vision* 'has been prepared by a professional panel expert in Architecture and Urbanism; Cultural Planning; Economic Planning; and Movement. (York City Council. 2010), p.2.

local businesses, the universities and colleges, the voluntary sector and residential communities, to achieve sustainable economic growth.²³⁰ This was highly significant because, rather than enforcing a top-down authoritarian plan, the council and YF sought to utilise the experience and authority of a wide range of interested actors within the city, namely businesses, educational institutions and voluntary bodies. This reflects a deliberate shift away from more conventional structures and echoes the notions of Schofield and Fairclough in authorship.²³¹ The New Labour Government (1997-2010), as per its Urban Renaissance programme, encouraged a greater number of public-private partnerships as a way of sharing expertise and costs of development in a more holistic way. This plan was designed to build upon this vision.²³²

As a starting point, the *York: New City Beautiful* report claimed that a ‘constrained transport network, street clutter and lack of quality spaces’ risk holding York back in the face of competition from rival cities such as Leeds.²³³ The subsequent pages dissect the variation of plans to redevelop the city with a focus on culture to encourage economic growth. This continues to reflect New Labour’s preference for culture-led regeneration through this period. ‘As the glue that binds the people and the physical fabric together, the city’s culture and heritage play a significant role in enhancing economic competitiveness.’²³⁴ Rather than rely solely on what was already available and in place, the report’s authors suggested the need to develop alternative forms of culture and entertainment to diversify the evening and night-time economy as well as draw the international appeal of its events and festivals strategy. This is a core focus of this research, both in how these cultural aspects have been developed and utilised to reinforce this vision, and beyond that how they have failed to

²³⁰ Ibid, p.11

²³¹ Schofield, ‘Who Needs Experts?’

²³² HC Deb 16 November 2000 vol 356 cc1084-104; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), *Our Towns and Cities - the Future - the Urban White Paper implementation plan*, (ODPM, 2001_ Simon Frank Parker, ‘*The Urban Renaissance Revisited: Richard Rogers and the Idea of Planning as a Public Good.*’ (Conference, *Architecture, the Urban and the Politics of Public Space. Architecture, the urban, and the politics of public space*, University of York, 26-27 May 2022)

²³³ York City Council, *York: New City Beautiful*, p.11.

²³⁴ Ibid, p.27.

encapsulate the public's interest and needs from the city. At the core of the report is reference to Chicago's City Beautiful strategy to rebuild following citywide fires at the end of the nineteenth century.²³⁵ The strategy has been revered well over a century after its implementation as an example of a plan considering more than just the city but also the broader surroundings drawn through collaboration and sustainable planning. Similarly, since the 1990s it had been preferable to study foreign models of urban development against practices within the UK. As an example, development in Barcelona was utilised as a symbol of regeneration and Bilbao as one for culture-led regeneration, as reflected in the mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall, contributing the foreword for the Urban Renaissance report.²³⁶ By considering the similarities and differences it was possible to build a broader narrative of the need for change the approaches that were befitting each mode.

In this iteration, the visions constituted a refocusing of the city core to emphasise the city's rivers and provide accessibility to remove neighbourhood segregation and rebuild the important heritage that they provide. Several of the steps proposed an expansion of the core themes of the Esher report to remove risks to the inner core of the city, by distributing schemes such as park and ride and pedestrianised walkways to limit the number of motor vehicles in the city. In addition to this, the report further recommended the creation of more green spaces to support the vision of the beautiful city. Improved street lighting was also identified as a useful way of increasing accessibility and improving public safety in these in-between spaces.²³⁷

Key to this report was the discussion of eight sites for development that provided the 'underpinning for economic growth and it is clear there are some very interesting ideas, including the quality of the public realm.'²³⁸ For the purpose of this thesis, two of the York

²³⁵ Ibid, p.33.

²³⁶ Shane Ewen, 'Transnational Municipalism in Europe of Second Cities', in Saunier. and Ewen (eds) *Another Global City*.

²³⁷ York City Council, *York: New City Beautiful*, pp.54 &60

²³⁸ Ron Cooke quoted in Mark Stead, Stephen Lewis, 'Vision for York over next 30 years reveals more parks, a car-free centre, riverside facelift and tree lines boulevard', *York Press*, 12th October 2021

sites are relevant for their utilisation of archaeological resources and the impact of individual choice for visiting. The first, Hungate, 'lying by the River Foss... can contribute to important river, wall, park and street connections...as a vital early step in the realisation of the city beautiful plan. Development here must set the standard for future development in York.'²³⁹

Tied to this was York Minster, the second site, with the authors' recommendations for the maintenance and enhancement of its views as well as an 'enhanced car-free environment within the Hungate development, complementing the extended network of footstreets.'²⁴⁰

The core aspect of the development was a diverse new urban quarter providing more than 18,000 square metres of high-quality development space, more than 500 additional jobs and around £0.2 billion of gross value added to the local economy.²⁴¹ The infrastructure and economic benefits of this development drew upon pedestrianisation and the preservation of the skyline as well as the regeneration of existing sites such as Hungate. However, the value remained on a municipal level. Succeeding chapters of this thesis will consider the diverging values and merit of such developments. In particular, the Hungate redevelopment site is mentioned for its sociological and economic merits, not for the historic importance uncovered during its excavation. As chapter 3 will discuss, this provided a significant resource to the city beyond this vision that provided both cultural and historical value to the site in addition to economic value.

The plan set out what potentially could have been a thirty-year framework for the city. Adam Sinclair, chairman of York Business Forum, said: 'We would support anything which enhances the quality of the city centre, which is the jewel in the crown of our economy.'²⁴² Whilst the plan focused on maintaining the uniqueness of York in a manner to encourage investment and conserve the inner core, it was never fully implemented. Therefore, throughout the remainder of this thesis, discussion of York's governance is done so with

<http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/8446245.Vision_for_York_over_next_30_years_revealed/>
[Accessed 19th October 2016]

²³⁹ York City Council, *York: New City Beautiful*, p.95.

²⁴⁰ Ibid

²⁴¹ Ibid

²⁴² Stead and Lewis, 'Vision for York over next 30 years'

additional caveats taking note of the parties or approaches involved. Though the city beautiful scheme remains a fixture of subsequent attempts to implement a scheme, the most recent iteration was within the attempt to implement the Local Development Plan 2017, however, the inclusion of the document was in an unchanged form.²⁴³ However, the extent to which this is measurable is unclear as nearly a decade of austerity and change has occurred since the instigation of this scheme. This failure to implement it is a larger reflection on the issues of York's governance and inability to deploy a long term and concise strategy for urban planning. The ramifications of this are a more disparate and selective array of developments focused on key areas and themes rather than a unified citywide scheme.

Conclusion

Urban history, like other historical sub-fields, continues to develop in synchronicity with the wider discipline of historical geography. Emerging interest in emotional heritage and authorship as well as governance has commanded the attention of scholars alongside more traditional questions related to the control and development of the built landscape and the demographic changes in urban populations. Yet whilst scholarly interest has increasingly shifted to more bespoke themes and consideration of alternative narratives, the predominant city typology remains the industrial town or city as well as the capital city. London, Birmingham, Manchester, and Leicester all feature prominently as the most common British case studies in urban history scholarship, the latter in part because the Centre for Urban History is based at the University of Leicester.²⁴⁴ As such, framing York within these established frameworks has been problematic. The conventional notions of governance are more nuanced within the city. In turn, studies focused on public engagement have developed

²⁴³ York City Council, *City of York: Local Development Plan*, (City of York Council 2017) Please also note that this documentation was part of the development requiring further consideration, potential enactment of this may not occur till 2024.

²⁴⁴ For examples see Shane Ewen, *Power and Administration in Two Midland Cities, c.1870-1938*, (Doctoral Thesis, University of Leicester, 2003) for addressing Birmingham and Leicester in addition, Charlotte Wildman, 'Urban Transformation in Liverpool and Manchester, 1918-1939', *Historical Journal*, 55(1), (2012). pp119-143 and Simon Gunn 'Ring road: Birmingham and the collapse of the motor city ideal in 1970s Britain', *Historical Journal* (2017).

beyond the more academic tropes of urban history and exceeded the initial learnings of the Chicago School.

The lack of a comprehensive city plan has been significant in denoting York's broader development as a city. Attempts to promote and provision change have been approached in largely interdisciplinary cross-party initiatives based on a core underlying theme to protect and promote the city. Though these have not always been successful in achieving implementation, they are useful in considering the processes and valuation of the city and its character. By referring to the themes of space and place, it is hard to ignore the reference to Massey in relation to the ability to populate space with a story and value. In turn, this approach is what has driven the city's development thus far through a sense of civic preservation of the city's historic character. As noted, since the end of the Second World War, York had seen a natural growth in tourism, however, unlike other cities the decision has been made at an institutional level to balance this growth with an overall awareness of York's significance. This is most vividly apparent in the Esher Report and the subsequent actions taken to pedestrianise the inner core of York and promote a persistent boundary to the city.

Given the significance of this historic character, it is necessary to further examine how this has been developed and upheld to generate such value. Therefore, the following chapters focus on how the historic narrative is sustained within this boundary without the existence of a clear city plan. The emphasis therefore lies with museums, individuals, theatres, and cultural hubs, beyond the conventional Council and Civic Trust dynamic. The focus is therefore in applying the principles of Massey to grasp how the multiplicity of narratives is paramount to understanding the strategies and agendas for sustaining the historical nature of York.²⁴⁵ Attention now turns to the investigation of York's archaeological resources to determine the value and relationships involved in presenting a cohesive

²⁴⁵ Massey, 'Space' 2013

historical narrative that has driven subsequent economic and cultural development plans since the 1950s.

Chapter 3: The Present of Past Things: Digging Up York

Over the past decade, urban history has taken a material turn in its approach to the study of cities. In addition to studying conventional city sources (maps, plans, minute books, and newspapers, amongst others), urban historians have started to incorporate material objects and the remains of social infrastructure (streetlights, street advertising and water mains, for example) into their research. With the heavy focus on industrial and post-industrial sites, this material turn was framed around a mixture of commercial industrial sites and sociological investigations into urban populations and welfare provision within the urban area. Within the sub-field of urban archaeology, a complementary wave of scholarly attention towards materiality has highlighted the importance of archaeological evidence in understanding the lives of people, particularly across industrial urban areas. Until now, few urban historians have made use of archaeological evidence and those that have tend to focus on modern examples of industrial and institutional archaeology. Notably, Patrick Joyce (influenced by the work of Bruno Latour) postulated the theory that material things allow liberal elites to govern urban populations from afar.²⁴⁶ Building on this, scholars such as Katherine Fennelly, Chris Otter and James Greenhalgh have been influential in positing the potential materiality of city life through advertising, demarcation of lighting and material culture.²⁴⁷

Waves of urban regeneration since the 1980s around the globe have led to an increased amount of commercial archaeological work on previously developed land, or so-called 'brownfield' sites, prior to the start of new development schemes. Conventionally, such projects have been given little credence due to their traditional representation as sites that are 'archaeologically sterile, or else too heavily polluted to allow formal

²⁴⁶ Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*.

²⁴⁷ Katherine Fennelly, 'Materiality and the urban: Recent theses in archaeology and material culture and their importance for the study of urban history'. *Urban History*, 44(3), (2017). pp564-573. and Katherine Fennelly, 'The institution and the city: The impact of hospitals and workhouses on the development of Dublin's north inner city, c. 1773–1911.' *Urban History*, 47(4), (2020), pp. 671-688. Also see Otter, *The Victorian Eye*, and James Greenhalgh, 'The Control of Outdoor Advertising, Amenity, and Urban Governance in Britain, 1893-1962', *The Historical Journal*, 64(2) (2020). pp1-26

archaeological investigation.’²⁴⁸ However, these digs and the remnants that remain beneath cities contribute to the narrative richness of urban environments. After all, that which lies below was once connected with that which resides above. This interest in the subterranean city has attracted increased scholarly attention in recent years. Focus has often been on the infrastructure under our feet in the sense of sewers, catacombs, and underground transport systems, as popularised by Stephen Graham’s work on hidden military infrastructures and David Pike’s work on the subterranean cities of London and Paris.²⁴⁹ This trend has supported the growing work of urban exploration and the uncovering of histories under our feet. Whilst this is addressed more specifically in Chapter 7 and through discussion of the work of Bradley Garrett, these reinforce the need to factor into urban narratives the multiple layers of history and infrastructure available.²⁵⁰

Through conservation of archaeology as part of broader governance, urban planning and narrative making in a holistic manner, it is possible to discern a true sense of the interconnectivity of the urban environment. However, due to the timescales afforded to archaeological digs, the significance is often confined to a window of opportunity devoid of interaction beyond that of the immediate excavation team.²⁵¹ Typical practise before large scale urban development is small investigatory excavation. As such, the broader connotations and interwoven connections can remain divorced of context. Therefore, this chapter examines the impact of archaeological digs within the city of York as a fundamental driving force in its narrative formation as a historic city, as well as its cultural development as

²⁴⁸ James Symonds, ‘Tales from the City: Brownfield Archaeology – A Worthwhile Challenge’ in James Symonds, *Cities in the World, 1500-2000*, (Routledge, 2006)

²⁴⁹ Stephen Graham, ‘Subterranean urban politics: Insurgency, sanctuary, exploration and tourism’ (Keynote Lecture, Conference on Subterranean Infrastructure and the City, 22nd May 2018) and David Pike, *Subterranean Cities: The World Beneath Paris and London 1800-1945*, (Cornell University Press, 2005)

²⁵⁰ Bradley L. Garrett, ‘Picturing Urban Subterranea: Embodied aesthetics of London’s Sewer’, *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 48(10) (2016). pp 1948-1966

²⁵¹ Michele Russo & Darius Arya, ‘The effects of time constraint on 3D acquisition and data processing: the case of “Villa delle Vignacce”’. Conference: 37th annual international conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology (CAA) - Making History Interactive (2009) and John Oxley, City Archaeologist, Interview with Author, 2nd November 2016, and John Oxley, ‘Archaeology and sustainable development in York’. In *Planners Summer School 2002*, (University of York. Royal Town Planning Institute, York 2002).

a major tourist destination in the north of England. Whilst not constituting active archaeology, as part of this research it is necessary to provide context and significance to the role of archaeology within urban studies and the place making of York.²⁵²

Drawing together the multiple interdisciplinary aspects of the thesis requires consideration of the core themes of place making and inclusivity. As with notions of heritage and architecture, archaeology is highly significant as it produces a form of relational space which allows for increased meaning and value to be applied to a contemporary urban place.²⁵³ As Massey notes, space is always under construction: 'it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed.'²⁵⁴ Massey further claims that these spaces are constantly imbued by the social relations that exceed the initial location and link to broader spaces and ideas.²⁵⁵ As such, it is the contemporary perspective of tradition that shapes our understanding of the past.²⁵⁶ There are multiple layers upon which to investigate and dissect the past archaeologically. However, the practice of archaeology and anthropology reflect the core difference in perception rather than reality in surveying archaeological finds. In part this is due to the implied divorce between disciplines in which archaeology is approached with a rigid brief to extract and evidence findings, whilst anthropologists are offered a more open brief to impart a narrative and meaning.²⁵⁷ Therefore, these practices and the fundamentals of archaeology have the potential to bridge the gap between that which was and that which is, transplanting a sense of inherent history into the contemporary city. Unlike other notable studies within the field, much of the defining

²⁵² For further information on urban archaeology please see Symonds, *Cities in the World, 1500-2000*, Marko Rukavina, Mladen Šćitaroci & Tatjana Lolić, 'Integrating Archaeological Heritage into Towns and Settlements' *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*. 20(5-6). (2018). pp. 340-363.

²⁵³ Doreen Massey, *World City* (Polity, 2007). p.156 and Gieryn, 'A Space for Place in Sociology', pp.463-496.

²⁵⁴ Massey, *For Space*, p.9.

²⁵⁵ Massey, 'Places and Their Pasts', p.183.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, p.184.

²⁵⁷ Barbara Bender 'Perspectives from an anthropologist' in Stephen Harrison, Doreen Massey, Keith Richards, Francis J Magilligan, Nigel Thrift and Barbara Bender, 'Observation - Thinking across the divide: perspective conversations between physical and human geography', *Area*, 35(4) (2004), pp. 440-1.

characteristics of York lay buried underground rather than as part of living memory or as still standing monuments to the past.

The interest in what came before or what lay under the streets of York did not suddenly emerge in the late twentieth century. Rather, documented digs had taken place since at least the seventeenth century and stemmed from Martin Lister's paper to the Royal Society in 1683, in which he revealed that the Multangular Tower was Roman in date.²⁵⁸ Such was the significance of this investigation that it sparked further enquiry in *Britannia Romana* and Francis Drake's *Eboracum* on the origins of the city.²⁵⁹ As interest in conservation, preservation and structured archaeological investigation developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, further evidence was discerned of the city's past. Around 1835, Rev. Charles Wellbeloved carried out excavation work in preparation for the construction of the Yorkshire Museum.²⁶⁰ This produced the first rigidly documented archaeological finds within York and these later inspired larger excavations across the city in the early twentieth century, by S. Miller as part of his investigation into the early defences of the city.²⁶¹ Subsequently, bodies such as York Archaeological Trust (YAT) were founded to champion archaeological conservation and enquiry within the city. Therefore, this chapter investigates the work of the YAT, founded in 1972, and the City Council in reference to the complex dynamic of urban development cultural valuation through archaeological resources.

For this chapter, two archaeological digs have been selected which were influential on the subsequent interpretation of the city in terms of both the archaeological finds and their method of public engagement. The two sites, as seen in Map 5, represent the Coppergate dig from 1976 to 1981, and the Hungate dig from 2007-11. The former was later redeveloped as the site of a retail centre and the Jorvik Viking Centre, which sits over the dig site housing

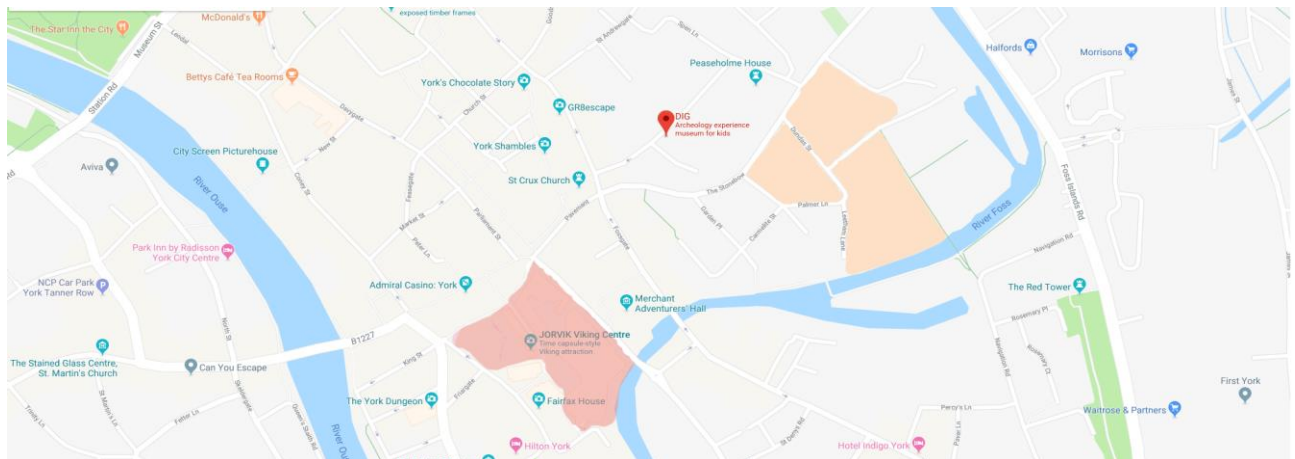
²⁵⁸ Martin Lister, 'Some Observations upon the Ruins of a Roman Wall and Multangular-Tower at York'. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 13. (1683), pp. 238–242.

²⁵⁹ Royal Commission Historic Monuments England, *Eboracum: Roman York*, (1962), pp. xxxix–xli

²⁶⁰ Please see *A Handbook to the Antiquities in the Grounds and Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (1881) and *Eboracum or York under the Romans* (1842).

²⁶¹ Royal Commission Historic Monuments England, *Eboracum: Roman York*, pp. 64–65.

many of the finds. The latter dig was carried out as part of a larger redevelopment of the brownfield site by Hungate (York) Regeneration Ltd and JTP Architects. In line with Massey's work these digs were selected for the relationship formed between the physicality of the digs and the association of meaning extrapolated to build a narrative understanding of the city based on them.²⁶²



Map 5. Map showing the locations of the two major digs: red shaded area represents the site of Coppergate dig while the orange shaded area depicts the Hungate dig (Author's own using Google Maps).

Development, Destruction and Conservation

The twentieth century bore witness to unprecedented urban change, including aerial bombardment, post-war reconstruction and the shifting dynamics of industrialisation, de-industrialisation, gentrification, renewal, and regeneration. As a result, it was necessary to create robust and specific local plans to prevent areas and localities from 'getting left behind.'²⁶³ As referenced previously, York's political instability prevented the emergence of a coherent city plan. Therefore, the Coppergate and Hungate digs reflect opportunities in

²⁶² Massey, *World City*, p156 and Gieryn, 'A Space for Place in Sociology', pp. 463–496.

²⁶³ John Urry, 'Conclusion: Places and politics.' In Michael Harloe, C. Pickvance & John Urry (eds.), *Place, policy and politics: Do localities matter?* (London: Unwin Hyman.1990), p.204.

York's more recent history to develop the city for the future. In doing so these sites have proven to be integral to the shaping of York's physical landscape as well as sites of its cultural narrative based on the archaeological resources unearthed. In a nutshell, Coppergate revealed the preserved history of Vikings within the city, while Hungate radically developed methodologies of York's archaeology as well as revealing its forgotten industrial heritage.

Environmental change caused by urban development, land drainage, agriculture or climate change may result in the accelerated decay of *in situ* archaeological remains. For example, worsening environmental conditions resulting from the Sutton Hoo dig in Suffolk in 1939 resulted in the subsequent loss of the timber boat and burial chamber.²⁶⁴ As a result, *in situ* preservation has been a primary objective of agencies such as the United Nations International Council of Monuments and Sites, formed in Warsaw in 1965, and the Council of Europe, as expressed in the Valetta Treaty, which was signed in 1992 with the aim to protect European archaeological heritage "as a source of European collective memory and as an instrument for historical and scientific study".²⁶⁵ In England this was taken up in the form of Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG 16), introduced by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government in 1990 following threats to The Rose, an Elizabethan Theatre in Southwark, London, which was excavated by developers during planned redevelopment works in 1989. Clause 8 of PPG 16 states that 'where nationally important archaeological remains, whether scheduled or not, and their settings, are affected by the proposed development, there should be a presumption in favour of their physical preservation in situ.'²⁶⁶ The preservation of archaeological resources has been intrinsically tied to urban planning ever since.

²⁶⁴ Martin Carver, *Sutton Hoo: burial ground of kings?* (British Museum Press, London. 1998)

²⁶⁵ Willem Willems, 'The future of European archaeology'. *Oxford Lecture series 3*, (Oxford, 1998.) and ICOMOS. 'The ICOMOS charter on the protection and management of underwater cultural heritage'. *11th ICOMOS General Assembly*, Sofia, Bulgaria, from 5-9 October 1996.

²⁶⁶ Department of Environment, *Planning Policy Guidance Note 16: Archaeology and Planning*. (HMSO, London, 1990).

In the context of York, the geological qualities of the soil and the river basin were such that they preserved large quantities of archaeological material. Beneath certain parts of the city there are up to 8 metres of organic-rich archaeological deposits with a 2-5 m thickness below most of the city centre.²⁶⁷ In part, this is due to the neutral pH level which at Coppergate was reported within the ranges of pH 7.0-7.6.²⁶⁸ Due to this geological significance the potential of archaeological remains beneath the city has since become a fundamental consideration of all planning decision making processes across the York area. As Oxley notes, approximately two per cent of the historic city has been investigated archaeologically, while 'of the remaining 98% we can probably reckon that somewhere 40-50 per cent is perhaps either partially or completely destroyed'.²⁶⁹ Consequently, efforts have been made to limit the potential destruction of the city beyond its current state.

To mitigate the circumstances, a multiparty study was undertaken in 1991 to examine the potential of York's geological foundations to provide actionable suggestions for future developments.²⁷⁰ Further demonstrating the multi-partner approach taken towards urban governance in York, this study was led by the engineering firm Ove Arup & Partners in conjunction with the University of York. Arup specialises in the provision of design, engineering, architecture, planning and advisory services across every aspect of the built environment. To account for the high rate of damage, *The York Development and Archaeology Study Report* put forward recommendations which influenced all subsequent developments in the city:

On the majority of sites in the area of archaeological importance the destruction of 5% of the volume of surviving archaeological deposit shall be regarded as acceptable compromise between the need for preservation and the need for development. This 5% should normally

²⁶⁷ Harry Kenward, Allan Hall, 'Biological evidence from Anglo-Scandinavian deposits at 6-22 Coppergate'. *The Archaeology of York*, 14(7), (Council for British Archaeology, York, 1995), pp. 435-797.

²⁶⁸ Joseph Holden, Jared West, Andy Howard et al. 'Hydrological controls of in situ preservation of waterlogged archaeological deposits' *Earth-Science Reviews*, 78(1-2). (2006), p.69.

²⁶⁹ John Oxley, City Archaeologist, Interview with Author, 2nd November 2016, and Oxley, 'Archaeology and sustainable development in York'

²⁷⁰ Ove Arup & Partners 'York development and archaeology study', Ove Arup & Partners for English Heritage and York City Council. London: English Heritage, 1991.

be regarded as a maximum and not as a norm. The location and form of the destruction shall be carefully considered, so as to achieve this aim.²⁷¹

Issued mid-way between the Coppergate and Hungate digs, the report's recommendations sought a compromise between the preservation of the past alongside the viability of future developments. However, this approach towards in situ developments has been subject to criticism for only focusing on 'superficial' damage at the expense of 'surrounding disturbance' to a site.²⁷² In addition, the 5 per cent rule only applied to untouched parts of a site, which failed to account for additional redevelopment or modification of a site. The compounded impact of this was therefore overlooked by the study team. This has proven to be influential in the broader scope of York's development as larger developments such as the Hungate dig required robust foundations. Conventionally, piled foundations are used to support larger buildings to accommodate the height and complexity of structures on weak or unconsolidated sediments.²⁷³ However, the report suggested that the archaeological deposits and soils in York were unsuitable for carrying normal building loads and hence piling was recommended as an alternative method.²⁷⁴ This was criticised for the potential damage caused not only in the direct piling of foundations but in multiple directions within the adjacent soil.²⁷⁵ Holden further argues that such piling methods could lead to a permeable break in the confining layers, causing drainage of perched aquifers or rising water under pressure.²⁷⁶

To contextualise urban development in York in correlation to archaeological resources, it is important to consider both the driving force of developments as well as the

²⁷¹ Ibid, p. 28.

²⁷² G.P. Tilly, 'Engineering methods of minimising damage and preserving archaeological remains in situ'. In M. Corfield, p. Hinton, T. Nixon, and M. Pollard, (eds) *Preserving archaeological remains in situ: proceedings of the conference 1st -3rd April 1996* (London Museum of London Archaeology Service, 1998). pp1-7.

²⁷³ Holden et al, 'Hydrological controls of in situ preservation', p.26.

²⁷⁴ Ove Arup & Partners 'York development and archaeology study'

²⁷⁵ Ibid

²⁷⁶ Ibid, p.26.

impact on buried resources. Following the Coppergate dig there was a renewed interest in the archaeology of York. Andrew Miller suggests that this was due to the then Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments assessing the financial value of expensive urban excavation projects and analysing potential areas of the city worthy of future investment.²⁷⁷ The Ove Arup Report was thus produced in the aftermath of what was viewed by archaeologists as 'embarrassing mistakes made in York and elsewhere in the late 1980's'.²⁷⁸

For this reason, the investigation and governance of archaeology in York reveals how the abundance of resources is offset by the outdated management of information. The initial report proved to be influential as a reference manual in its review of past archaeological work and in constructing a database based on historic topography of the region.²⁷⁹ Such was its significance that it formed the basis of archaeological practices into the twenty first century. It was not until 2013 that these practices were again reviewed by Ove Arup.²⁸⁰ The timing of this was significant because, as part of the ongoing efforts to deploy a local plan within York, the review was able to make note of the Heritage Topic Paper (2013).²⁸¹ The paper had highlighted two key challenges which were pertinent, that 'Heritage assets and evidence can also be intangible, relating to aesthetics and interests which are hard to quantify and therefore difficult to manage and monitor'.²⁸² More importantly to the review by Ove Arup was the admission that the City of York Council does not have 'evidence of all the undesignated historically valuable and architecturally interesting buildings, streets and urban landscapes because that data does not exist'.²⁸³ This reflected a far greater understanding and awareness of heritage and archaeological remains in the city. What this also reflected

²⁷⁷ Andrew Paul Miller, *The York Archaeological Assessment: an investigation of techniques for urban deposit modelling utilising Geographic Information Systems*, (Doctoral Thesis, University of York 1997), p.50.

²⁷⁸ Martin Biddle, 'The Rose reviewed: a comedy(?) of errors', *Antiquity* 63(241), (1989), pp. 753-760.

²⁷⁹ Ove Arup & Partners 'York development and archaeology study', pp. 6-7.

²⁸⁰ Ove Arup, *City of York Council: Review of 1991 York Development and Archaeology Study*, (Ove Arup 2013)

²⁸¹ City of York Council, 'Heritage Topic Paper', Conservation and archaeology documents (2013) <https://www.york.gov.uk/downloads/20214/conservation_and_archaeology> p52.

²⁸² Ibid, p.29.

²⁸³ Ibid, p.29.

was the disparity between the standing report of 1991 and the Council's approach in 2013, this reflected broader changes in strategies of heritage conservation on a global scale as well as a more prioritised need to preserve the unique historical characteristic of the city. As such the review by Ove Arup comments on the robustness of its original recommendations as well as suggestion the creation of a clearer heritage management strategy in York.²⁸⁴ However, as has been noted in Chapter 2m the development of long-term plans within the Council is a difficult challenge. Moreso, whilst the original recommendations have been crucial to informing broader archaeological management and Ove Arup perceive this as so, this sentiment has not been shared by all archaeologists in the city.

The Arup report, while providing third-party input to the situation in York, was heavily criticised within wider archaeological circles for being too heavy handed in its valuation of material in York's subsurface. Peter Connelly, the project director for the Hungate Dig at York Archaeological Trust, discussed this matter during interview and stated that in his opinion this rate 'is too high and that the policy in place has allowed economic development but stalled archaeological opportunity.'²⁸⁵ The reason for this is a matter of timing, as few digs are granted more than a preliminary excavation, which is used to gather preliminary findings before construction begins. Coppergate and Hungate are the two most prominent digs in York's recent past owing to them taking place over years rather than days. This has had a detrimental impact on the narrative creation of York, with archaeological perspectives predominantly focusing on the Roman and Viking periods that were uncovered in the digs.

As Connelly notes:

Digging is obviously preservation by record; you dig and you destroy, but you preserve by record, but that's not its primary function, the primary function should be there to tell the stories, tell the tales of the city that are read through the archaeology, it should be there to say, you know, this is what we are getting from the Roman period, here are the details, that these Roman people are leaving us and same for the Vikings and every other period. So,

²⁸⁴ Ibid. p.36.

²⁸⁵ Peter Connelly, 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

at the moment the city's tales are stuck in a way that haven't changed much since Jorvik opened.²⁸⁶

The balance between development progressing the city and archaeological investigation has been fraught and a persistent issue across multiple sites. In York, this is furthered by the narrative focus on Roman and Viking finds that prominently featured in the Coppergate excavation. However, whilst much of the significance of York's past is derived from its three major historical periods, resources spanning its broad history are preserved within the soil. The focus on risking 5 per cent and supporting piling strategies prioritised the archaeology of these older historic levels, which not only put more modern archaeology at risk, but also reflected the focus of both contemporary archaeologists and political decision makers. Whilst influential from a governance perspective, to provide a framework it is necessary to consider the richness of archaeological resources in York and how these provide more than has been represented in official material.

An examination of the Hungate dig (for reasons of timing, public engagement and organisation) exemplifies how archaeology has been used to bridge the gap in narrative creation by addressing the windfall of engagement by policymakers. The dig, led by Connelly, involved a five-year excavation that provided a level of public engagement which highlighted more than just York's earlier historical periods and included its more recent industrial past. This was derived from the time afforded to the dig, to build momentum and arrangements for schools and wider public engagement with the dig site to ensure that it was inclusive of York as much as it was focused on researching the site. This dig was significant as it allowed the Trust to deliver large scale engagement programmes with schools as well as members of the public. 'Activities included open days, special events, talks, training courses, community arts projects, school visits and workshops, outreach, exhibitions, oral histories, popular publications, online resources, a popular press release and social media

²⁸⁶ Peter Connelly 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

campaign, and a huge legacy of archaeological research, skills development and public involvement.²⁸⁷

Case Study: The Hungate Dig

The Hungate Project was part of a multimillion-pound regeneration scheme funded by Hungate (York) Regeneration Ltd (HYRL), a joint venture between Lend Lease and Evans Property Group, as part of the work to create a new Hungate neighbourhood. This was located in the inner historic core in York and involved the largest archaeological excavation in York city centre.²⁸⁸ At the time there had not been such a sizeable archaeological excavation or urban redevelopment since the Coppergate development in the 1970s. As such there was anticipation of similar archaeological finds akin to those of the previous dig. The £3million site was spread over seven 'blocks', with block H proving to be the most in depth excavation, with work carrying on until 2011 and becoming the setting for much of the community engagement.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ York Archaeology, 'Hungate: Case Study' < <https://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/case-studies-blog/2019/6/3/hungate> > [Accessed 20th June 2018]. York Archaeological Trust, 'Jorvik Dig! What is Dig?' < <https://www.digyorke.co.uk/what-is-dig/> > [Accessed 20th June 2018].

²⁸⁸ City of York Council, 'Planning Documentation 17/03032/REMM', <<https://planningaccess.york.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=documents&keyVal=P19AN2SJKWO00Fig>> [Accessed 2nd March 2020].

²⁸⁹ York Archaeological Trust, *Block H, Hungate, Summary Archaeological Assessment for Hungate (York) Regeneration Ltd*, (York Archaeological Trust 2021).

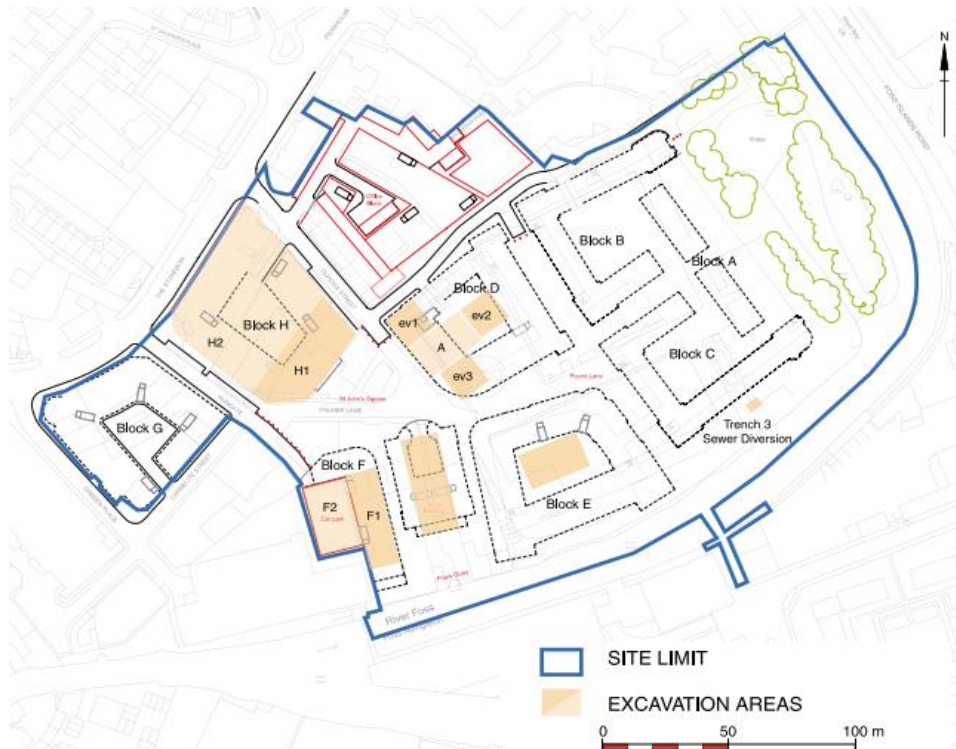


Figure. 3.1. Showing the Excavation sites across the Hungate site (York Archaeological Trust, not dated).²⁹⁰

To ensure the greatest value was made of the dig, it was organised from the planning phase to operate a pro-engagement methodology as part of the excavation, with the intention to ensure the broadest involvement of outside parties to generate additional value to the site during excavation.²⁹¹ For the purpose of this thesis, pro-engagement refers both to the forms of public outreach developed in conjunction with this excavation as well as the participation of outside institutions and individuals to conduct the work. The size of Hungate offered the opportunity to answer a wide range of research questions which were integrated into the seven years of planning before excavations started. As Connelly notes, there was a receptive approach between all parties of the development towards this: 'look, what we want to do is develop an archaeological project that is going to be research based, community orientated, that will after a process of evaluation identify one or more areas on site where

²⁹⁰ York Archaeological Trust, 'Hungate Excavation Report, <<https://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/YAT-12-web.pdf>> [Accessed 19th April 2016]

²⁹¹ Ibid.

you can answer key research questions. Then what isn't excavated we will tuck away under the ground using our 95% rule.'²⁹² This was fundamental in framing the 5-year dig and the subsequent period of analysis with a core focus on ensuring public accessibility. This dig consequently was as much a part of the fabric of the city as it was a process of urban development. Rather than being sealed away it was opened up to the fullest extent possible. Block H, as shown in the upper left-hand part of Figure 3.2, was dedicated to community excavation projects conducted in conjunction with Jon Kenny, a Greater York Community Archaeologist, and Hungate Community Trust. This included participation from members of York Youth Offending Team as well as a public pilot training scheme called Archaeology Live, which started in 2007.²⁹³ To support the active excavation, additional public walkways were created around the excavation site to allow members of the public to observe the site as part of the DIG! Experience.²⁹⁴ This is significant, as public interest in the dig reflected the impact of the past on the modern living of the city. On its first day 530 members of the public visited the site in approximately five hours.²⁹⁵ This component has since been developed in subsequent years to offer an educational experience to children to work hands-on with archaeology.²⁹⁶ The interest in active participation and looking beyond established narratives is one of the fundamental resources of this excavation, particularly in reference to its resources in understanding York's social history and the impact this dig has had on the broader historical narrative of York.

Hungate Dig and York's Social History

The pro-engagement aspect of the Hungate dig fundamentally challenged the long-held perspective of York's past reinforced by the Coppergate Dig. Participants were no longer

²⁹² John Oxley, City Archaeologist, Interview with Author, 2nd November 2016

²⁹³ Peter Connelly 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

²⁹⁴ York Archaeological Trust, 'Hungate Excavation Report, <<https://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/YAT-12-web.pdf>> [Accessed 19th April 2016]. pp.3-4.

²⁹⁵ Ibid

²⁹⁶ For further information please visit the Jorvik Dig! Page at < <https://digyork.com/>>

passive observers of the urban space but actors forming and informing the wider narratives of the city of York. The significance of Block H reflected the decision by archaeologists to disregard established pre-1990 methodologies and incorporate modern archaeological approaches. This has been common practice in cities such as Manchester and Liverpool which placed a significant value on the industrial history of the city as an equal component to its early past.²⁹⁷ This in turn was supportive of the broader cultural shift in urban history and heritage studies. In York, however, the industrial perspective had been often overlooked in lieu of the more commercialised history of the Romans and Vikings. Despite that, York has a rich industrial history, forming as a national railway hub and housing confectionary manufacturing for the Terry's and Rowntree families.²⁹⁸ The main reason that YAT sought to investigate this industrial aspect of York's past was due to the location of Hungate, which had previously housed a Victorian gas works and Leethams Flour Mill, the biggest flour mill in Britain at the start of the twentieth century as seen in Figure 3.3.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ Richard Jackson, 'Episode 5: Crucibles, Pubs and Slums: An Overview of Industrial Archaeology in Sheffield', *Archaeology & Ale with Archaeology in the City, University of Sheffield*, (2021) <<https://www.archaeologypodcastnetwork.com/archandale/35>> [Accessed June 19th, 2021]

²⁹⁸ Peter Connelly 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

²⁹⁹ Dig Hungate, 'Sheet 2 – Industry in Hungate', *Looking Back at Hungate*, <<http://digyork.com/files/2012/10/Sheet-2-Industry-in-Hungate-2.pdf>>



Figure 3.2. View of Leethams Flour Mill from York Minster circa 1900 (DigHungate, not dated).

Leethams was described by a contemporary as a 'huge building that dominates the skyline... a massive industrial working right on the River Foss in the heart of the city'.³⁰⁰ However, by the 1930s the whole area had been cleared once it was no longer financially viable to operate. This reflected the ever-evident development of York, with the skyline fundamentally changed over the course of a century. The dominance of this mill and its

³⁰⁰ Peter Connelly 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

implications in flour production across Europe was effectively wiped clear from the city.³⁰¹

Through Hungate, it was possible to engage with an overlooked part of the York's past.

Beyond the industrial influence, the significance of the site was also reflective of the social components of work and everyday life in that of worker welfare, housing, and experiences of poverty. For these reasons, in comparison to Coppergate, Connelly had reservations that his colleagues would be supportive of the investigation into industrial archaeology in comparison to more traditional periods that fitted with York's conventional archaeological identity. This position was understandable, given the significance of the Coppergate dig several years earlier, which unearthed some of the best preserved Roman and Viking relics. Whilst Connelly 'thought it was going to be difficult to enthuse the staff here who had lived off Viking, Roman and medieval archaeology, in many ways, they really engaged with it.'³⁰²

Connelly attributes this to the tangibility of industrial heritage, particularly that which survived into the twentieth century: 'Medieval cess pits, and rubbish pits that are 800 years old you can understand that people chuck things and go to the toilet and stuff like that but there is still an isolated aspect to it.'³⁰³ For this reason, Connelly's view supports Lowenthal's contention that the past is a foreign place. The Roman world, whilst culturally rich, is fascinating because it is alien in comparison to twenty-first century beliefs.

By addressing the tangibility of York's industrial past, this excavation imbued an additional emotive value to the site, which was further built upon by subsequent public engagement activities. In particular, the archaeologists uncovered the remains of Haver Lane, a Victorian street of overcrowded back-to-back housing. In addition to this, nearby a communal toilet block was uncovered on what was originally Dundas Court. The evidence

³⁰¹ Richard Perren, 'Structural Change and Market Growth in the Food Industry: Flour Milling in Britain, Europe, and America, 1850-1914', *The Economic History Review* 43(3) (1990), pp. 420–37.

³⁰² Peter Connelly, 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

³⁰³ Peter Connelly, 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

of Duckett's tipper flush toilets (Figure 3.3) suggested renovation of an earlier communal block utilising a dry pit.³⁰⁴



Figure 3.3. Images of Communal Toilets of Dundas Court (Michael Andrews – York Archaeological Trust, 2007).

These were significant finds within the broader context of York and Hungate as this area of the city was one of the poorest within the city. It also featured as a slum within Seebohm Rowntree's eponymous *Poverty: A study of Town life*, which discussed the situation of this area:

though not large in extent, it is still large enough to exhibit the chief characteristics of slum life-the reckless expenditure of money as soon as

³⁰⁴ Peter A Connelly, 'Flush with the Past: An Insight into Late Nineteenth-century Hungate and its Role in Providing a Better Understanding of Urban Development', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 15 (2011), pp.607-616.

obtained, with the aggravated want at other times; the rowdy Saturday night, the Monday morning pilgrimage to the pawn shop, and especially that love for the district, and disinclination to move to better surroundings, which combined with an indifference to the higher aims of life, are the despair of so many social workers.³⁰⁵

By uncovering these houses, it was possible to make tangible Rowntree's words; these were people's homes, and the finding challenged the established view of the slums by humanising the past and imbuing 'vibrancy and a richness in the archaeology; maybe not a richness in the artefacts'.³⁰⁶ As Oxley notes, 'the thing about a slum and the label is that it's given by someone else. The people in that community don't view it as such, the slum tag is given by someone else' therefore by utilising such archaeology it is possible to challenge stories and perceptions of the city, to formulate new narratives and engage new people.³⁰⁷ This is an idea supported by Alan Mayne in his cultural history of the imagined slum and the misappropriation of the term as a derogatory connotation irrespective of the inhabitants.³⁰⁸ By uncovering these material remains, we are returned to the notion of a materialistic turn and the analysis of value associated to tangible remains. Within York, there is a heavy precedent for this from the earlier Coppergate Dig which found unprecedented amounts of Viking era remains which were subsequently showcases in museum settings. Regarding Hungate the focus on providing comprehensive forms of engagement beyond purely those of an observer, helped enforce this connection and in turn the associated value.

This helped form a relational space as per Massey's interpretation; the archaeologists and the public were able to infer a contextual perception of this place and its people. This was furthered by work undertaken by York People First, a community group of residents that actively engaged with the Haver Lane site.³⁰⁹ The group worked with the

³⁰⁵ Rowntree, *Poverty: Study of Town Life*, p.5.

³⁰⁶ John Oxley, City Archaeologist, Interview with Author, 2nd November 2016.

³⁰⁷ Ibid

³⁰⁸ Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representations in Three Cities, 1870-1914*, (Leicester University Press, 1993)

³⁰⁹ York People First, 'Main Page' <<http://www.yorkpeoplefirst.co.uk/what-we-do>> [Accessed 9th April 2016]

community archaeologists, albeit with its own agenda to conduct independent research on No.4 Haver Lane.



Figure 3.4. Photography of Haver Lane from the Nineteenth Century (York Community Archaeology, not dated).

Through archival research, the group was able to discern the names of previous residents of the property and understand some aspect of their daily lives. By naming the residents, an intergenerational and genealogical understanding of Hungate was provided. This later informed the group in the production of a bespoke reconstruction of the residents of No.4 Haver Lane, which was performed at York Theatre Royal. The focus was on representing life in cramped, damp Hungate in 1901.³¹⁰ This play provided a voice for those who were rarely heard. However, this goes beyond just the narrative of the slums and those who lived there; the group involved from York People First each had a form of learning difficulty which had previously inhibited their own creative expression.³¹¹ This approach to heritage reflects the value that was added through public engagement. Beyond the more conventional depictions of artefacts, Hungate actively encouraged and supported residents to understand their city's past. The performative elements in this instance reflected broader

³¹⁰ Charles Hutchinson 'Review: Once Seen Theatre Company, Number 4 Haver Lane, The Studio, York Theatre Royal' *York Press*, 11th March 2010 <<https://www.yorkpress.co.uk/leisure/theatre/5056990.review-once-seen-theatre-company-number-4-haver-lane-the-studio-york-theatre-royal/>> [Accessed 17th April 2017]

³¹¹ York People First, 'Main Page' <<http://www.yorkpeoplefirst.co.uk/what-we-do>> [Accessed 9th April 2016]

efforts across the city to work with minority groups in embracing and engaging with creative depictions of the past (this will be further discussed in Chapter 5).³¹² More so, in this depiction, the community group took ownership of the information and made it their own, generating different voices and interpretations for the situation, which was supported and contextualised by the archaeological findings. This level of authorship surpasses the intentions of the dig and reflects the interest in the public of York to have control over the history of their landscape.

This example aligns with scholarship on experience and emotional heritage. Whilst this approach is not indicative of all archaeological digs, the ability to examine how the site and findings were utilised and to understand the reasoning, is a significant insight into public engagement with the past. It is argued here that emotion was fundamental beyond the purely tangible archaeological evidence. Emotional attachments can be reflective of change in relation to both historical and contemporary settings. The play and associated public engagement reflected the connection and understanding of past residents, via feelings of cramped, unhealthy living standards. The underlying intention in this instance was to replicate the reality of these conditions and the real relationships of people in that environment with a reinforced sense of place attachment. This correlates with Madgin's research to re-conceive place as an emotional and value laden construct.³¹³ This in turn draws on the discipline of environmental psychology and understanding people-place relations and particularly the way that people form emotional bonds with place.³¹⁴ In more recent research, Madgin has focused on how this emotive response is a reaction to ongoing urban development and change, such as site development. However, arguably such reactions can also be in reference to historic changes. Therefore, in imbuing the difficulties of the Victorian period in Hungate, the community group reflected the broader history of the

³¹² Chapter 5 focuses on the performative heritage of York and ideas of festivalisation, mystery plays and community productions that reflective bespoke aspects of York's history.

³¹³ Madgin and Lesh, (eds.), *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation*.

³¹⁴ See Lynne Manzo and Patrick Devine-Wright, *Place Attachment. Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications*, (2nd edition) (Routledge, 2021).

period and the impact on York through its industrial history. In her 2021 report on why historic places matter, Madgin postulates that there are three main causes of emotional responses to historic urban places:

1. The look, feel and everyday experience of the historic urban place.
2. A comparison between what the place currently is and what it could become.
3. As a result of the process of urban change and how the present and future of the historic places was being managed.³¹⁵

Admittedly within these there is an underlying complexity that prevents clear segregation between the categories of period or tangibility. In this instance, Madgin focuses on addressing the emotive response to urban change as it happens in the contemporary period. As such, the reference to explore the emotive response to changes in an historical sense is not directly addressed within this model. Although the archival and performative aspects took place after the planning phase of Hungate, as a form of output it is both contextual and significant in the wider discussion of representing York's historical narrative. Had it not been for the archaeological excavation, it is arguable that interest in this area of the city would not have persisted to this extent. Therefore, while this was a unique opportunity given the circumstances, it is important to note the scope for improvement within current scholarship to consider such scenarios.

Impact of Archaeology

As a discipline, archaeology is viewed as independent of history or heritage with archaeologists focused on the excavation, discovery, documentation, and presentation of tangible artefacts. In reality it is a far more complex situation of interwoven disciplines. In the case of the Hungate dig, it provided was an opportunity to expand upon the

³¹⁵ Rebecca Madgin, *Why Do Historic Places Matter? Emotional Attachments to Urban Heritage*. (University of Glasgow, 2021), p.4.

archaeological practices within the City as well as engage the public with the buried history of York. As Connelly notes, 'I don't think we could have done much more than we did, we in the end got 25,000 visitors to the site. We trained over 1,300 people on the site'.³¹⁶ The implications of this level of participation are multifaceted; not only was there an experiential element of the dig allowing the public to view the site, but the dig and its organisers actively engaged with young offenders as part of justice reparation hours. Connelly notes how one young offender approached a field team several years after his time spent at Hungate: 'this lad comes bounding over and jumped off a tipper truck and comes over to talk to him and saying, 'I dug here, this was my first dig here.'"³¹⁷ The experience had been so informative that it had impacted the life of one individual so much to pursue a career in a similar field. As such, it is the value beyond the archaeological evidence that is important when considering the narrative of place making. How visitors engaged and perceived the site as well as supplementary academic work, public engagement and media coverage helped build the narrative of York as an historical city, one in which the past was still very much active as a component, rather than buried and hidden away. The tangibility of this, to be on site or actively excavating and then view the artefacts on display, builds a relational connection between place, objects, and self, reinforcing much of the established literature already discussed. The correlation with heritage studies draws upon the intangible components as well such as the emotive response as a fixture in the narrative of visitors.

For this thesis, questionnaires were issued to fifty randomly selected participants to share their views on archaeology and history in the city. In this instance, random selection approaches were used to eliminate bias in the participants and gather a mix of locals and visitors to the city to provide information.³¹⁸ From a practical perspective, it was also important to capture data in situ, with the participants discussing the environment they were

³¹⁶ Peter Connelly 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

³¹⁷ Ibid

³¹⁸ John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, (SAGE, 2009) p140 &199; Pat Hudson, *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches*, (2nd ed) (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).

in at the time rather than in a more detached setting. Over the course of the thesis 3 questionnaires were utilised to address a variety of circumstances and changing needs in the research development (Appendix 9.3-9.5). However, in this instance, the participants were asked two questions to gauge the perceived impact in interest in York's archaeological history:

Q6. Over the last 50 years there has been several archaeological digs, most recently the Hungate excavation in the early 2000s that allow the public to visit the site and take part in the excavation. What do you feel has been the significance of this sort of approach on the city?

Q7, As part of the Hungate excavation Jorvik Dig! Was set up. Do you feel that there should be greater public engagement with archaeological activities like this?

Based on the variety of response, some participants were able to provide a particular perspective that is worth further analysis here. In regard to Q6 MA replied with a response that reflects the weighting and value applied to this excavation. 'But they didn't find anything cool, did they?'³¹⁹ This in part reflects the interest and overwhelming value placed on the Viking finds of the Coppergate Dig which revolutionised the narrative of York and led to the establishment of Jorvik and its narrative storytelling and showcasing of the dig. This is furthered by MA who noted that 'there's all that great stuff they pulled out before; isn't that why we have Jorvik? But yeah, I don't remember anyone saying they found anything cool like a crown or anything.'³²⁰ This in part supported some of the concerns held by Connelly, that embracing the significance of other aspects of archaeological investigation may be difficult for some participants to comprehend. In this instance, clear valuation is placed on the Viking and Roman finds as being culturally rich and exciting with a precedent established that unless surpassed leaves the overall outcome to be deemed lesser. However, throughout analysis of responses to these questions it

³¹⁹ MA Q1 Q6

³²⁰ MA Q1 Q6

was clear that there was a much broader understanding and appreciation for the work that was being undertaken during this period of excavation. Almost in complete contrast to MA is SM with the response that ‘Yeah, it was great to see them actually digging again, nice to see they’ve not just forgotten we’ve got more under our feet and Jorvik isn’t everything.’³²¹ Similarly, responses such as ‘I went to DIG! When it started that was cool, was just nice to see people doing stuff and not just people dressed as Vikings pretending to be entertaining’ suggest a much broader appreciation for the change that was brought from this dig.³²² However, this was not the general consensus, with other participants suggesting some feelings of stagnation and boredom to. ‘I’ve been in Jorvik a lot I’ve seen stuff and the Yorkshire museum, I’m sure they’ve found some good stuff, but I think I’ve seen it all now, maybe some professor somewhere will find it interesting though.’³²³ Additionally, ‘who cares about it now really? Don’t we have enough of that crap in the museum, why not just give us a new shopping centre or something?’³²⁴ This disparity in responses suggested that there is no consensus in responses, even considering the mixture of visitors to residents the response was equally random. Therefore, this reflects the more subjective nature of value which is derived and associated to such material aspects of the city. Archaeology is a heavily tangible practice that provides a more traditional form of engagement with the past. Museum interpretations conventionally present archaeological artefacts in a traditional format presented behind glass or out of reach to preserve and conserve the object. Whilst Jorvik was directly mentioned by 17 out of 50 respondents to question 6, the bulk of artefacts from Coppergate within the museum are presented in this manner.

³²¹ SM Q1 Q6

³²² AO Q1 Q6

³²³ RT Q1 Q6

³²⁴ JB Q1 Q6

However, Hungate Dig presented the opportunity to explore and allowed the audience to be an active part of the process rather than a passive observer. Given the value placed on public engagement by YAT, the evidence shows that this is possible and has provided both a learning resource and increased participants' values in getting hands-on with the site. As discussed in Chapter 1, the Chicago school emphasised hands-on learning and, although the Hungate dig was not a purely academic one, the system of learning was similar in the hands-on approach to immersive learning and the academic research that followed. Moreso, it appears to be this aspect that was not considered in many of the responses provided, which focused more heavily on the tangible finds and physical consequences of the dig rather than experience and learning gathered during this period from the public and the institutions.

For this reason, it must also be remembered that underpinning this excavation was a commercial intent, with a primary focus to fulfil archaeological requirements. The ability to better understand the social history of the site at a public and archaeological level was a result, not an outright intention. Therefore, whilst significant to the broader context of place making and narrative formation, such digs remain rare, and their potential influence is curtailed by both urban development and the governance of the city. As Connelly noted, it is not possible to just 'pick part of the city centre and think, right we want to put a research project in here to create a new story, new narratives for the city.'³²⁵ Perhaps as a broader criticism of archaeology in Britain, the restrictions imposed on digs and the reliance on future developments to provide a window of opportunity limits the potential of York's growth and historical narrative. As such, it is necessary that academics, archaeologists, heritage practitioners, and/or the public should work with the readily available resources within the city and understand how they are utilised to further public engagement.

³²⁵ Peter Connelly, 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

Jorvik: Return of the Vikings

Whilst Hungate was influential in broadening public engagement through archaeology, the Coppergate dig was seminal in sparking interest in York's history in the late twentieth century. As with Hungate, the Coppergate dig uncovered around 40,000 artefacts. This consisted of thousands of Roman and medieval roof tiles³²⁶, pottery fragments³²⁷, animal bones³²⁸, oyster shells³²⁹ woven wattles³³⁰, preserved timber used for building materials as well as metal working slag and organic remains.³³¹ For the purposes of this chapter, it is the later utilisation of these artefacts and their commercialisation and narrative formation that is important.

Coppergate predated much of the conversational policymaking discussed earlier in this chapter. The primary goal of the excavation was to allow for the eventual development of the Coppergate Shopping centre.³³² However, the subsequent volume and quality of finds altered York beyond any initial intentions.

³²⁶ These were noted for being repurposed through later periods.

³²⁷ A quarter of a million pieces of pottery; pieces that can be used for dating, showing where the pots were made and what they were used for.

³²⁸ Five tons of animal bones – mostly the remains of food eaten over the centuries

³²⁹ This were present as they were a cheap and common food source.

³³⁰ These were used as building materials to make walls, pathways, and screens.

³³¹ Kenward, Hall, 'Biological evidence from Anglo-Scandinavian deposits at 6-22 Coppergate'. pp .435-797.

³³² R. A. Hall, *Medieval Urbanism in Coppergate: Refining a Townscape*, (Council of British Archaeology, 2002)



Figure 3.5. Photography taken of the Coppergate Dig in process 1976 (York Archaeological Trust, not dated).

Access to these resources presented an opportunity to present a tangibility to the past which reinvigorated the narrative of York through a tourist perspective. When considering the principles of place marketing, the Coppergate dig was influential in representing the Viking history of York through archaeological evidence and the subsequent creation of the Jorvik Viking Centre (Jorvik for short). Ashworth and Tunbridge attribute the 'Tourist-Historic City' as having three forms or functions:

1. Both a form and a function. It is a particular sort of urban morphology but also, and increasingly, and urban activity.
2. Both a particular type of city and a specialised morphological-functional region within a city.
3. Both a particular use of history as a tourism resource and a use of tourism as a means of supporting the maintenance of the artefacts of the past and justifying attention to the historicity of cities.³³³

³³³ Gregory Ashworth & John Tunbridge, *The Tourist-Historic City*, (Routledge 2001), p.3.

Jorvik is a museum and visitor experience managed by York Archaeological Trust and sited above the Coppergate Dig site. It was officially opened in 1984 following the completion of the Coppergate development. Unlike the Hungate and Dig! Experience, Jorvik was primarily developed as a tourist attraction, one that 'has to attract and engage with the public' and address the 'competition in that marketplace.'³³⁴ Underlying this is an academically constructed narrative with an 'emphasis on recreating every detail of the experience; from the flora and fauna growing in the ground to the breeds of animals portrayed and even the splashes of natural dyes found in one of the backyards.'³³⁵ In essence, Jorvik was designed to provide an 'authentic Viking adventure.'³³⁶ Whilst still operated by YAT, there is a stronger distinction in the driving forces beyond such a development. As Connelly and Oxley both note, Hungate was delivered as a purely archaeological component of a development plan that included public engagement components. In comparison, Coppergate and Jorvik were commercially driven, which Connelly notes was at odds with the principles of archaeology:

Part of me again, of course I'm an archaeologist, want things to be a bit more in depth academically but I know, all the stuff that's in there is based on excavated evidence and that's a brilliant thing, none of it is Disney, none of it is made up, it's interpreted, you've got to have interpretation and tell a tale, but I knew that I need to step back and think about what the public want, not what an archaeologist wants.³³⁷

That is not to suggest that Jorvik is not significant in the narrative making of York, as the museum received its twenty millionth visitor in 2022.³³⁸ Its utilisation of material culture has been particularly influential in supporting the tangibility of the past and visitors' engagement with it. At the outset of this PhD project Jorvik was intended to be examined as a significant aspect of York's tourist narrative, through an

³³⁴ Peter Connelly, 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

³³⁵ Jorvik: About us' < <https://www.jorvikvikingcentre.co.uk/about/> > [Accessed 19th October 2016]

³³⁶ Ibid

³³⁷ Peter Connelly, 'Interview with Author', 1st December 2017

³³⁸ Jorvik, '20 millionth visitor' 18th October 2022, < <https://www.jorvikvikingcentre.co.uk/press/family-from-edinburgh-becomes-jorvik-viking-centre-20-millionth-visitor/> > [Accessed 19th October 2022]

investigation of its impact on Viking history within the city and wider region. As such, the investigation of Jorvik was always intended to be a cornerstone of this research to establish how the impact of the Coppergate dig had led to the formation of York's Viking narrative with Jorvik as the primary form of public outreach and engagement. However, before an initial site visit was able to be undertaken, the museum was subject to heavy flooding in the winter of 2015 which prevented appropriate observational research to be undertaken. Therefore, it is important to contextualise the work that was undertaken through this period of investigation and ultimately the reopening of the museum. As can be seen in Figure 3.6 much of the standing interpretative material was submerged in water and as Sarah Maltby says, the situation of the museum was in a dire state.

When we went down there, it was pitch black – no lighting at all and eerily silent. The elevated parts of the recreation were dry, but the lower parts – the entrance to the ride and the quayside – were under up to a metre of water. The floors in the galleries were under water – it was a devastating and quite unbelievable scene.³³⁹



Figure 3.6. Photography of the Jorvik exhibits after a flood in 2015 (Jorvik, 2016).

³³⁹ Sarah Maltby, director of Attractions for York Archaeological described what it was like to be in the Jorvik Centre following the floods: Jorvik Viking Centre '2015 The Jorvik Flood' '<<https://www.jorvikvikingcentre.co.uk/about/jorvik-story/2015-2/#9iBU27MG2l3jOGV7.97>> [Accessed 19th October 2016]

Given the significance of the Jorvik project in providing a public facing form of public engagement, three satellite exhibitions were established between 2015 and 2017 whilst renovation works were undertaken.³⁴⁰ Each site-specific exhibition focused on a different part of the collection: Firstly, 'Jorvik: Life and Death' was held in York Theatre Royal on the site of St Leonard's Hospital, with an exhibition covering Viking healthcare habits and sanitation based upon archaeological remains of human waste. Secondly, 'Jorvik: Home and Abroad' explored trade both within the city and wider national and international networks of the time and was held in St Mary's Church near the Jorvik site. Thirdly, 'Jorvik: Treasures and Belief' was held in the Undercroft of York Minster and addressed ideas of faith and cultural ephemera that resulted from a transitioning faith system. Each of these temporary exhibitions offered an opportunity for visitors to directly engage with aspects of the dig in a more contemporary and curated fashion that had been possible since the initial dig. For example, the Home and Abroad exhibition included a trading vessel and opportunities for visitors to experience appropriate forms of dress and cooking utensils first-hand rather than being locked behind display cabinets.

For the purpose of analysis, the bulk of the research was reserved for observation site visits to Jorvik. Academic interest in Jorvik was heavily invested in understanding its role as a living history museum with the use of re-enactment in combination with more traditional displays.³⁴¹ As such, much of the focus was on the management and practical approaches taken in the earlier iterations of the museum.³⁴² However, much of this analysis was based on earlier understandings and interpretations of heritage. Therefore, in approaching the understanding of Jorvik, in this instance, it was necessary to examine its role in how narratives were formed and supported in correlation to the archaeological finds.

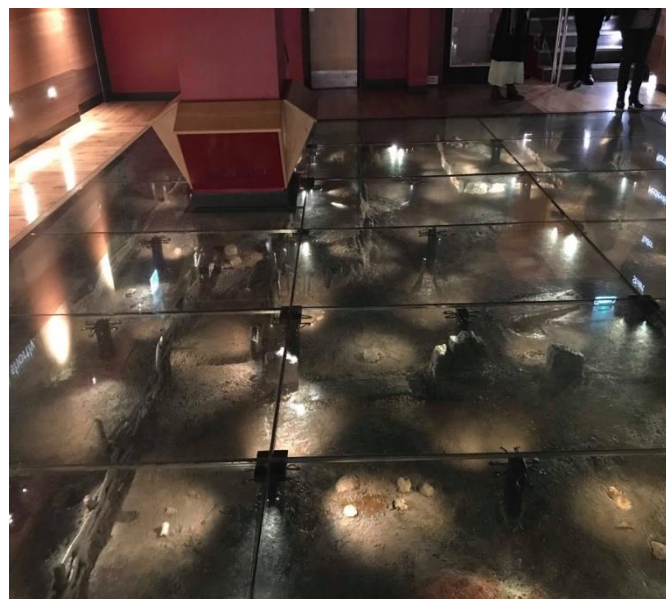
³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ C. Halewood & K. Hannam, 'Viking heritage tourism: authenticity and commodification', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(3), (2001), pp.565-580.

³⁴² Sandra Maria Shafernich, 'Two Heritage Centres in England', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 15(1) (1996), pp.37-47.

The subsequent reopening of the site in April 2017 retained several aspects of the museum, including the railed rollercoaster guided tour and traditional display cabinets with environmental conservation lighting. This meant that, during subsequent site visits, it was necessary to consider the public engagement components of this museum.³⁴³

Contextualisation is key to Jorvik's continued operational success. The museum, whilst open on the Coppergate walkway, is situated below the ground within the dig site. As such visitors begin their experience walking on a transparent floor that allows a view of the original dig site with artefacts still *in situ* (Figures 3.8-3.10). Despite the information boards fixed onto walls, this is fundamental in framing the tangibility of this space. It is inescapable within the confines of the museum to not witness the reality of the dig first-hand. As such the visual relationship of the dig, the content and location are cemented immediately. The content of the tour and subsequent rooms is then complementary within this context.



³⁴³ Observational notes, 5th July 2017, Observational notes – Site Visit Jorvik, 20th March 2018

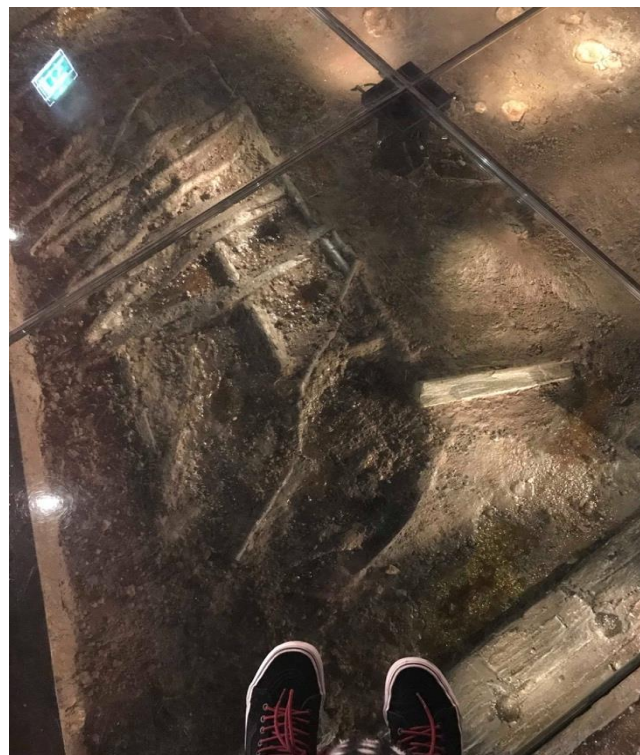


Figure 3.7-3.9. Depiction of Jorvik's transparent floor allowing visitors to walk over dig site (Author's own 20th March 2018).

Beyond the visitor experience, this ability to see the dig relates to the practicalities of conservation. Although not an active and hands-on component, the ability to visually walk the site presents a unique opportunity within the city to see active history. This concept is crucial for, as Jim Clifford notes, active history is present, inclusive interpretation of the past at a community level. Such an approach promotes the importance of the subject without

heavily enforcing an overbearing narrative.³⁴⁴ In this situation, whilst both Connelly and Holden acknowledge the importance of in-situ archaeology not only for contextual purposes but for preservation, the utilisation in this manner allows the public to engage and witness a plurality of the past.³⁴⁵ Not only does the excavation relate to the archaeological dig but also to the historical context of the artefacts. Whilst the overarching narrative of the museum is that of Viking history in the city, the presentation of the archaeological site without additional material establishes a strong and immediate association with the site. Regardless of narrative, the approach was authentic and real based on what was visually within reach of the visitors.³⁴⁶

Jorvik's museum experience is formed through a multisensory adventure as visitors ride cars around sets. Amongst the mannequins and later animatronics are real life reenactors (Figure 3.10-3.1). While the experience utilises visual input from the set pieces there is changing audio playing within the car as voices narrate the actions of the set pieces. As the accompanying marketing material states, 'In the new JORVIK experience you will have the chance to discover more of this cultural 'melting pot' with the help of 22 new animatronics characters on our ride experience. With a strong emphasis on authenticity, everything from their clothing, facial features and speech has been meticulously researched to offer our visitors a real insight into the lives of people who lived over 1,000 years ago. Listen out for the all the ancient languages spoken in Jorvik; from Old English and Old Norse and even Ancient Arabic, showing us that the city really was a multi-cultural hub.'³⁴⁷ The organisers attempt to reflect on a wide scope of Jorvik life in example form. Their intention is to present an idealised version of what Jorvik was like.

³⁴⁴ Jim Clifford, 'What is Active History?', *Left History: An interdisciplinary journal of Historical Inquiry and Debate*, 15(1), (2010), pp. 12-19.

³⁴⁵ Holden, et al. 'Hydrological controls of in situ', pp. 59-83.

³⁴⁶ Observational notes, 5th July 2017, Observational notes – Site Visit Jorvik, 20th March 2018

³⁴⁷ Jorvik, '2017: The Return of the Vikings', < <https://www.jorvikvikingcentre.co.uk/about/jorvik-story/return-of-the-vikings/> > [Accessed 17th November 2017]



Figure 3.10: Photograph of automated carriage moving through display at Jorvik (Jorvik, 2019).



Figure 3.11: Photograph depicting aspects of the rail tour in the fabricated Jorvik setting (Author's own, 20th March 2018).

This aspect presents a version of Viking York influenced by the archaeological findings as references are made to health, gaming, trade, and manufacturing, amongst other aspects.

To further this immersion and to consolidate the experience, the museum utilises smells. The interest of smell is longstanding with urban histories with notable investigations by David Garrioch pursuing the multisensory scape of the environment in consideration to Paris.³⁴⁸ This is because, as Bembibre and Strlic comment, smells can heighten the experience for the public, acting as a complimentary resource to the visual.³⁴⁹ This multisensory experience of audio, visual and smell complements the overall ride, but it is the smell that has come to dominate the narrative. From the perspective of memory recall, smell is one of the strongest and evocative senses; a scent of perfume can recall prominent memories. In Jorvik the 'cess pit' smell reminds visitors that this place once existed. This smell has become a fixture of the wider Jorvik experience, building strong associations between the smell and site, with twenty-four references to smell recorded in interview and questionnaire responses. Examples include, 'Always that smell, I'm glad it's still there' or 'I always remember the first time I went, I wonder if it's still got that smell.'³⁵⁰ The latter respondent, DR, has since relocated to Australia but still remembers the smell of Jorvik. This response, while helpful in building a strong multisensory association to the site and the history of the city, overshadows the other aspects of the museum experience, notably the rich archaeology and the work of re-enactors. When the same recipients were asked what they could remember of the ride experience, only 7 out of 20 mentioned models or mannequins.

This use of smell suggests the broader consideration of material culture in such sites. Museums carry with them a physicality, as they offer opportunity to understand the past with

³⁴⁸ David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, (University of California Press, 2002)

³⁴⁹ Bembibre and Strlic, 'Smell of heritage'. pp2-3

³⁵⁰ RET Q3Q2 and DR Q3 Q2

an onus on the 'real thing' that has the virtue of having a direct relationship with past events.³⁵¹ Having the opportunity to smell something familiar and relatable aligns that association with the past. The connotation of the smell being fabricated is irrelevant in comparison to the association that is built from it. This is part of the wider offerings of museums that allow for re-enactment or participation under this narrative guise. In Jorvik it is possible to forge coins based on archaeological finds, whilst stood next to the displayed originals. Passive immersion thus reduces a museum to that of an experience.

Although there are still artefacts displayed in climate-controlled cases that remain out-of-reach – including a shoe and sock, jewellery, homewares, and tools – these add to the narrative of the experience that the visitor is a part of something larger than themselves (Figure 3.12-3.14). That is, they emphasise the role of place, space and history in a manner that is not dependent on the visitor. By not enforcing a strict form of text-based interpretation the museum avoids alienating visitors and imposing a more restrictive experience. As Bella Dicks has commented, the role of material culture and display cabinets influence how visitors interpret their role based on immersive and hierarchical perception. The criticism in this instance is that whilst Jorvik has the potential to engage visitors with the Coppergate dig, the heritagisation and commodification of the site places the onus on a limited aspect of York's broader history.

³⁵¹ Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*, (Leicester University Press, 1992), p.24.



Figure 3.12-14: Photographs of the Jorvik museum after the rail tour showing archaeological displays and public engagement (Author's own, 20th March 2018).

Conclusion

Knowledge of the past is a powerful asset that provides identity to both the public and the city. Lowenthal articulates this in 'the sureness of I am because I was'.³⁵² Urban historians have often examined the cityscape as a material space. The architecture and impact on public life has been widely influential on studies, particularly in the context of urban regeneration. However, within that stems the importance of archaeology. The tangibility and at times intangibility of the artefacts contextualises the past in a spatial frame. How this is then utilised has varied, from providing education and information to community groups and academics, to offering a commercial immersive experience for tourists. Archaeology underpins a large quantity of York's current historical narrative. It has created a mechanism for Viking interpretation through the development of Jorvik whilst subsequently producing an emotive interpretation of the city's industrial past through Hungate's public engagement policy.

The governance of the city has supported such efforts as the abundance of archaeological finds has provided a core resource for the promotion of the city's history beyond its architectural remains and in turn allows for a more robust transition to a tourist economy. The potential of archaeology to continue to influence city narratives is impossible to determine. Although archaeologists suggest that much of the city's archaeology has already been damaged or is too dangerous to excavate, there is still potential that any future development plan may uncover new historic contextualisation. The issue is that archaeology is utilised by institutional actors as a tool to achieve a specific goal rather than being granted an exploratory opportunity. In this sense, York is not unlike other British cities, the difference being the good fortune that two of the largest digs in recent history proved so fruitful. For academic studies, though, and particularly urban history and heritage studies, it is necessary to consider the interdisciplinary inclusion of archaeology within any examination of a

³⁵² Lowenthal, *The Past*, p.41.

cityscape's heritage and identity. Whilst many urban histories examine a particular time frame of enquiry, in this context archaeology and its interpretation within the confines of these digs blends the temporality of history and the present day. In considering the broader literature on this, it is possible to refer to the works of Fennelly and Otter who are able to utilise the materiality of the urban environment to inform the practice of social interactions and class.³⁵³ As a primary resource, archaeological finds have the potential to be utilised to enforce and promote particular narratives as well as ground broader understandings of the societies of history.

This in turn relates to the earlier discussion of value attributed to material objects as per the broader shift in interest in urban studies. Given the scope and scale of these digs in particular, and the abundance of artefacts recovered during the Coppergate dig, it has already been established that in engagement with the public this is seen as a highly valuable asset to the city. As such this has been used to build a broader value that attracts over twenty million visitors to partake in that narrative and to associate the value of the history below the streets with the history of the city. The broader management of the city and approaches to archaeology have led to a modern interpretation and approach that derives from Massey's understanding of space and populates it with these materialistic values to drive the stories.

An archaeological approach to urban history therefore goes beyond just the materiality of the past; archaeology presents the opportunity to investigate emotions, not just relating to the current urban changes but to those of the past. As new branches of studies form so too does the need to consider other disciplines and the unique perspectives that can be afforded. As chapter 4 will illustrate, archaeology is a fundamental aspect of the broader narrative-making of York as a historic city. It is to the mechanisms of the city's main

³⁵³ Fennelly, 'Materiality and the urban', pp.564-573.

institutions to market this narrative as a core component of its urban governance that this thesis now turns.

Chapter 4: Selling the City: Marketing York's History to the World

Both heritage studies and urban history have increasingly focused on the materiality of space in recent years. Urban architectural and archaeological remains provide a rich array of resources to ground historical interpretations of a site. For example, Bath draws predominantly upon its Georgian architectural heritage; by comparison, the industrial archaeology of former mills, factories and steelworks continues to shape Northern England's post-industrial landscape.³⁵⁴ For the purpose of this study, York, with its eclectic historical narrative, represents a rich tapestry of assets reflective of the multiplicity of varying perspectives and historical periods. Rather than one historical narrative unifying the outward portrayal and governance of the city, the governing institutions of York attempt to balance the historical narrative of the city. As such, the principles of place marketing are fundamental in understanding York and the decision-making process behind its public portrayal.

Notable scholars such as Philip Kotler, Gregory Ashworth and Stephen Ward have examined how marketing practices and strategies are utilised to commodify urban space.³⁵⁵ As a base principle, marketing is defined by Kotler and Armstrong as 'a social and managerial process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating and exchanging products of value with others.'³⁵⁶ Subsequent studies have suggested that this aspect of marketing is artificial and a form of 'organisational fiction' that creates and delivers 'values to customers for managing certain relationships in ways that benefit this organisation and stakeholders.'³⁵⁷ As discussed in chapter 2, a network of

³⁵⁴ Madgin, 'Reconceptualising the historic urban environment', pp. 29-48; Pendlebury, 'Conservation and regeneration: Complementary or conflicting processes?' pp.145-158.

³⁵⁵ This chapter will address several aspects of place marketing and promotion. For a more in-depth literature review see John Logan and Harvey Luskin Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*, (University of California Press, 1987), Ashworth and Voogd, *Selling the City* (1990); Philip Kotler, Donald Haider and Irving Rein, *Marketing Places* (University of Michigan Press 2002) John Gold and Stephen Ward, *Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions*, (Wiley1994) and Stephen Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotions of Towns and Cities*, (Taylor & Francis, 2005).

³⁵⁶ Philip Kotler & Gary Armstrong, Veronica Wong and John Saunders, *Principles of Marketing*, (5th ed) (Prentice-Hall of India, New Delhi, 2008), p.3.

³⁵⁷ Kotler and Keller, *Marketing Management*, p.6.

institutions governs the city through their shared perspective of what it constitutes. Whilst the governmental strategies and relationships have been discussed previously, the focus of this chapter is how these same institutions invoke place marketing to form and reinforce an official narrative based upon an agreed extra-institutional consensus.³⁵⁸ In particular, this chapter examines the creation of marketing strategies and branding based on the visual imagery and materiality of York, and specifically of two historic landmarks: first, the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Saint Peter, popularly known as York Minster, and second, the Shambles, a medieval street in the city centre. Framing these two case studies, the chapter will discuss the commodification of York through institutional policy led by civic organisations such as Make It York, Visit York and the York Business Improvement District (BID) that contribute to the wider work of the Civic Trust and City Council in generating content, strategies and reinforcement of the vision of York as an historical city. In particular, it is the preservation of this long history that unites these different institutions in a complex network to further the preservation and public engagement with the past. Unlike other cities that have heavily redeveloped and in turn removed and repurposed what would be considered historical structures, the core of York is widely accessible. The mixture of period architecture, monuments and commemorations are visible and part of the city's atmosphere. As such, the collection institutions work towards a unifying purpose to preserve this historical aspect of the city and ensure it remains accessible to the public.

Due to the significance of these groups, it is important to outline their role and affiliation for context. Make It York (MIY) is a private limited company (incorporated in 2014) wholly owned by the City of York Council to deliver tourism, city centre and cultural activities for the city. For accountability, MIY reports twice a year to the shareholders' committee with its board of directors comprised of both public and private sector members ensuring objectivity in its decisions.³⁵⁹ During the period under scrutiny, the company focused on four

³⁵⁸ Ashworth and Voogd, *Selling the City*. p.29.

³⁵⁹ Make It York, 'About Us' <<https://www.makeityork.com/about/>> [Last Accessed 9th April 2022].

key areas of development: culture, events, markets, and the visitor economy. As a result of this, MIY's typical annual turnover of operations is £4.8 million, generated commercially from a range of revenue sources and, other than any dividends payable to the shareholder, any surplus is invested back into the city.³⁶⁰ Within this work, the company produces multi-year cultural strategies to develop value through the provision of festivals, attractions, markets, public events as well as investing in the York brand of leisure and business ventures supporting of the tourist economy.³⁶¹

At the outset of this research, MIY operated as the commercial arm of the city's tourist strategy as a destination management organisation (DMO) responsible for overseeing multiple aspects of the city's public activities, including festivals and events, business support, city centre management as well as tourist information. The latter activity was operated through Visit York as a commercial leisure tourism brand.³⁶² Under the brand Visit York, MIY's aim is to market York as a must-see world-class destination to the leisure and business visitor and ensure investment to develop the quality of tourism in York. More specifically, the activities of this brand focus on tourism marketing, including market intelligence, as well as providing business support through a membership programme. In addition to this, the company operates York Pass, York's city-sightseeing card and runs the city centre-based Visitor Information Centre.³⁶³ The core intention is to deliver marketing and public relations (PR) activity to support York's tourism businesses.³⁶⁴

Though less focused on commercial tourism, York Business Improvement District (BID) is a collective of local businesses focused on delivering key investments and economic

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ At the time of writing, this includes the York City Council, *York's Creative Future, York Culture Strategy 2020-25*, < <https://www.makeityork.com/culture/yorks-creative-future-york-culture-strategy-2020-2025/>> [Accessed 9th April 2022].

³⁶² Visit York was originally an autonomous aspect of York's tourism strategy but has since been dissolved and incorporated into MIY retaining the brand name in an effort to reduce duplication of information.

³⁶³ Visit York, 'The Visit York Pass', <<https://yorkpass.com/>> [Accessed 19th November 2021].

³⁶⁴ City of York Council, 'Outside Body: Make It York Board', <<https://democracy.york.gov.uk/mgOutsideBodyDetails.aspx?ID=324>> [Accessed 19th November 2021].

growth in the city. BID is a not-for-profit independent organisation launched in 2016 with the support of local business owners, stakeholders and key partners from retail, hospitality, leisure and professional sectors investing more than £4.5m into projects and initiatives for the city centre.³⁶⁵ Within the UK there are 260 operation BIDS, in which all commercial premises with a rateable value exceeding £17,500 pay a levy to the BID to act as a strategic partner in the major decision-making processes of the city. The York BID area is predominantly located within the city's inner ring road area, contouring the ancient city walls, with 912 levy paying businesses residing within it.³⁶⁶ In particular, the work undertaken by the BID is focused on raising the standards of safety and cleanliness within the district to improve and incentivise visitors, families, professionals, and investors to the city.

The significance of these three bodies is their intrinsic focus on encouraging tourists and professionals into the city, particularly its central area. They also collectively influence broader decision-making processes within the City Council by signposting the attractive characteristics of the city. Central to this cross-institutional collaboration are several iconic sites within the city such as the Minster and the Shambles, as well as prestigious festivals and public engagement events including York Ice Trail, Jorvik Viking Festival, and Illuminating York.³⁶⁷ This chapter examines these examples in order to examine how the city's heritage has been utilised to produce a York brand that is consistent across all three bodies. A mixed method approach is used: this includes documentary analysis of a mixture of council-produced public material available through Visit York as well as Civic Trust annual reports published between 2014 to 2018. In addition, interviews undertaken with members of the Civic Trust and institutions such as York Theatre Royal are utilised to gain a broader understanding of strategies employed. Finally, the chapter will analyse the most frequently occurring images associated with York and the landmark sites mentioned above, with

³⁶⁵ York BID, 'About Us', <www.theyorkbid.com/about-overview/> [Accessed 17th November 2021].

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Visit York, 'Visit York Homepage' <<https://www.visit-york.org/>> [Accessed 19th November 2021].

particular attention paid to the visual and material ephemera of artwork, postcards, and blue plaques.³⁶⁸

In addressing how the governing institutions of York have developed these marketing strategies it is important to consider the role of heritage and its application within them. Although for the purpose of this chapter it is viewed as a satirical interpretation, Lowenthal summarises the extent to which heritage has been morphed for this purpose:

All at once heritage is everywhere, in the news, in the movies, in the marketplace, in everything from galaxies to genes. It's the chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure of tourism. One can barely move without bumping into a heritage site. Every legacy is cherished. From ethnic roots to history theme parks, Hollywood to the holocaust, the whole world is busy lauding or lamenting some past be it fact or fiction.³⁶⁹

This statement recognises that heritage is a form of inheritance that requires a hierarchical control and governance to transform it into a commodity. The influx of logos, slogans, advertising, tax breaks, subsidies and cultural outputs and gift shops has fundamentally altered the urban landscape in the pursuit of a constructed vision of a city. More generally the ethos of selling places has intruded into all aspects of policy making to entice investors as well as visitors into consuming a curated and appropriated commodity. This is significant as it builds upon the long-term shift in the way that city institutions view their role in governing the built environment.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ The sites in question were chosen based on the most commonly occurring images associated with York, based on keyword searches for 'York', 'City of York', 'Visit York' on Google Image Search on three separate occasions on 9th December 2015, June 19th, 2016, 12th November 2016. The sampling was undertaken by counting the primary focus of content over the first page of results and tabulating the results. The later investigation and analysis then focus on the most prominent results. The Minster and Shambles were selected for case study analysis due to their feature in both official and public material, though other historic sites, notably Clifford's Tower and the City Wall, also frequently appeared in the results.

³⁶⁹ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*. p. xiii.

³⁷⁰ Gold and Ward, *Place Promotion* and Ward, *Selling Places* (2005).

What is Place Marketing?

The principles of place marketing are centuries old: town arms, coats-of-arms and escutcheons served a similar purpose to contemporary logos. In the late nineteenth century, according to David Cannadine, many of the commonly-recognised national symbols and conventions of the British Isles, in the form of currency, the national anthem and flags, were 'invented'.³⁷¹ Through his work on cultural identity, Stuart Hall identified five factors in establishing an invented community within Britain: the narrative history of a nation as a community of destiny (as constructed in school books and the media, for instance); the emphasis on origin, continuity, tradition and timelessness, suggesting a unity of national character as a natural fact; ritual and symbolic inventions of tradition offering historical explanations of national defeats; founding myths which place emphasis on foggy myths about Vikings or Germanic tribes as the origin of nations; and the idea of a primordial, aboriginal community that derives homogeneity from the purity of blood relationships.³⁷² Whilst the focus of this thesis is not on establishing national identities, several of these aspects can be adapted in order to study city case studies. More generally in terms of place marketing across Britain, emphasis is placed on social and cultural traditions, heritage, and the timelessness of the past.³⁷³ This is interwoven with further characteristics listed by Hall in drawing on more distant historical periods, such as the Roman and the Viking, to attribute origin. How this has been utilised as both a method of inwards and outward identification has varied to support agendas from political propaganda to expression of positive reputations. Such insights have more specifically been addressed as forms of pageantry and legitimisation of the past in a present context.³⁷⁴ With the case of York, associating with the

³⁷¹ For more information on the invention of British Traditions see David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c 1820-1977' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.101-164.

³⁷² Stuart Hall, *Racism and cultural identity. Selected writings 2*. (Hamburg/Berlin, 1994) p.202.

³⁷³ For a broader insight into place marketing please seek references in Ashworth and Voogd, *Selling the City* (1990), Kotler, Haider and Rein, *Marketing Places* (1993) Gold and Ward, *Place Promotion* (1994) and Ward, *Selling Places* (2005).

³⁷⁴ Angela Bartie, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman, Tom Hulme, and Paul Readman, "Performing the Past: Identity, Civic Culture and Historical Pageants in Twentieth-Century small towns" in Lud'a

past has become key to many strategies across the city, helping to ground the current iteration of the city to its long legacy into reinforcing decisions made.

Much of the urban studies scholarship since the turn of the present century with regard to the 'spatial turn' has related to the deindustrialisation and redevelopment of formerly industrial sites. An important corollary of this has been research into culture-led regeneration and gentrification to attract investment and tourism.³⁷⁵ This is not a unique concept but one that has seen multiple phases of implementation from post-war civic schemes to rebuild and boost progression to later post-industrial redevelopments, notably urban regeneration programmes.³⁷⁶ This latter shift within Britain, in particular during the 1980s and 1990s, changed the industrial infrastructure of the country and thus became a key focus of academic literature on changing urban environments. Throughout this period redundant docks, warehouses and factory districts were converted to post-modern living and working spaces.³⁷⁷ To support this development it was necessary for local government and developers to rebrand and sell a new narrative that built on the industrial past but removed the often-negative connotations of such sites.³⁷⁸ As Gold and Ward note, 'the brightly painted dockside crane provides a perfect foil to the atrium and mirror glass of the high-tech office. The factory clock that once defined the rhythm of industrial society provides the focal point for the new leisure and niche-retailing quarter. Such juxtapositions supply the glossy images which allow still largely dowdy and grimy cities to become eminently promotable in

Klusáková et al, *Small Towns in Europe and Beyond: 20th-21st Century* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2017), pp.24-51.

³⁷⁵ Franco Bianchini, J Dawson & R Evans. 'Flagship projects in urban regeneration'. In: Patsy Healy, Simin Davoudi, Solmaz Tavsanoğlu. (eds.) *Rebuilding the city; property-led urban regeneration*. (London: E & FN Spon. 1992), pp.249-252.

³⁷⁶ Peter Shapely 'Civic Pride and Redevelopment in the Post-War British City.' *Urban History* 39(2), (2012), pp.310–28.

³⁷⁷ Sue Brownill & Glen O'Hara, 'From planning to opportunism? Re-examining the creation of the London Docklands Development Corporation', *Planning Perspectives*, 30(4), (2015), pp.537-570; Sam Wetherell, 'Freedom Planned: Enterprise Zones and Urban Non-Planning in Post-War Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 27(2), (2016), pp.266–289.

³⁷⁸ Whilst Shapely's work examines post-war strategies it has strong associations with the germination of the boosterist approach which were later developed during this period focused heavily on promotion of new narratives and instigating investment in these areas.

the new post-industrial era.³⁷⁹ The significance here is in the modification and manipulation of the past to fit the new image of urban redevelopment. As Bianchini notes, the redevelopment of such sites as the London Dockyards acts as a broader catalyst for the regeneration of adjacent neighbourhoods to produce flagship urban spaces that relish in the revitalised historic area.³⁸⁰ In line with this, Loftman and Nevin comment on the resurgence of civic pride that derives from such urban policies due to the rise of cultural and financial value from the regeneration and repurposing of derelict spaces.³⁸¹ Within this is a broader investment not only of infrastructure, but also of cultural value to reinforce a new narrative of a liveable and vibrant space with a shared history rather than a purely industrial past which has often been perceived as a detriment to (progressive/or boosterist) urban narratives.

The reinvention of these spaces requires a particular balance and long-term commitment of local government, civic institutions, and urban policymakers to support the delicate interweaving of heritage, practical redevelopment, conservation, and place marketing. In addition to this, a complex exchange of resources between voluntary, public, and private sector bodies works to ensure the potential of these historic landscapes and their urban heritage.³⁸² In contrast to this it is also important to consider that place marketing is not solely about promoting change of urban areas but also reflects efforts to prioritise urban space and narratives to supersede other areas. Richard Rodger and Rebecca Madgin have shown how the construction of an artificial picture of Edinburgh as a non-industrial city continues to shape the contemporary policy agenda. Councillors, civic institutions, and planners privileged the ancient and historical nature of the Scottish capital with urban policies that actively downplayed and detracted away from areas of visible industrial heritage.³⁸³ Therefore, the consideration of place marketing requires an examination of the

³⁷⁹ John Gold, and Stephen Ward, 'Introduction', in John Gold and Stephen Ward, (eds). *Place Promotion: the use of publicity and public relations to sell towns and regions*, (Chichester, John Wiley, 1994), pp. 1-17.

³⁸⁰ F Bianchini, et al. 'Flagship projects in urban regeneration', pp. 249-252.

³⁸¹ P. Loftman & B. Nevin. 'Prestige projects and urban regeneration in the 1980s and 1990s: a review of benefits and limitations' in *Planning Practice and Research*, 10, (1995), pp. 299-316.

³⁸² Madgin, 'Reconceptualising the historic urban environment, pp. 29-48.

³⁸³ Rodger and Madgin, 'Inspiring Capital? pp.507-529.

methodology and the resources used to uphold these decision-making processes. A similar historical blindness is discernible in York's place marketing, which has traditionally marginalised the city's rich industrial heritage, perhaps due to its location outside the historic centre.

The practice of place marketing has been widely used since at least the early twentieth century to advertise all places of note using trade directories, guidebooks, and paraphernalia in order to promote the city's industry, housing, and civic infrastructure. However, the most mass consumable form of place promotion was in regard to the attraction of seaside resorts in the Victorian era. The use of press advertisements, posters and brochures alluded to specific claims of golden sands washed by clear water with opportunities for respectable leisure and relaxation.³⁸⁴ Such imagery was then supported by advertising campaigns such as 'Skegness is So Bracing', which invoked the British seaside holiday with John Hassall's image of a jolly fisherman as part of the Great Northern Railway's 1908 campaign.³⁸⁵ Similarly, on an international level, 'I ♥ New York' has been used within modern advertising since 1977 to create a positive feeling about a place in a truly original way that has since been widely replicated.³⁸⁶ In more recent times within Britain, this has expanded to cover aspects of out-of-town retail experiences in an effort to attract retail and shoppers away from high streets and more traditional city centres. The scale and scope of these have varied considerably with sites like Trafford Centre, Manchester and Bluewater, Dartford becoming almost self-contained entities with national recognition.

However, as Gold and Ward note, the eagerness on a global level to reinvent and replicate the success of other urban regeneration sites led to an air of cliché which reflected the failure of planners and local governments to innovate in their redevelopment policies

³⁸⁴ See R.C. Buck, 'The ubiquitous tourist brochure', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 4, (1977), pp. 195-207. Stephen Ward, 'Promoting holiday resorts: a review of early history to 1921', *Planning History*, 10(2), (1988), pp.7-11 and Nigel Yates, 'Selling the seaside', *History Today*, 38 (1988), pp.20-27.

³⁸⁵ J. Shackleton, *The Golden Age of the Railway Poster*, (London: New English Library, 1976), pp.44-6.

³⁸⁶ Briaval Holcomb, 'Purveying places: past and present', *Working Paper 17*, (Piscataway, NJ: Centre for Urban Policy Studies, Rutgers University. 1990), p.31.

throughout the 1980s and 1990s.³⁸⁷ As a result, many redevelopment projects lack generic and shared common themes rather than standing out on their own merit. This reflects the changes to urban planning throughout the twentieth century which had to navigate changing agendas, architectural styles, and politics. This century saw fundamental changes to the way that cities were managed, shifting from a largely decentralised political framework towards greater centralised planning restrictions and regulations for dealing with pressing social and economic problems like housing. As with other Western countries, the early post-war decades saw a fundamental change in the provision of social welfare, the emergence of a mixed economy and the development of new forms of social infrastructure in the form of planned residential areas, open spaces, leisure, and commercial amenities as a broader provision of resources for residents. Such planning process shaped the urban and regional reconstruction and later growth of Western European towns and cities during the 1950s and 1960s. However, the heavy focus on rebuilding discouraged active place promotion with the exception of tourist areas and new towns which were subsumed within an overall spatial planning framework.³⁸⁸ By the 1970s, global economic instability, restructuring and an acceleration of the international mobility of capital caused many regions to lose their traditional sources of employment that gave them their primary identity.³⁸⁹ Within academic literature this is attributed to the popularisation of neo-liberal ideas and approaches towards governing the city including the break with post-war consensus. To examine this transition, Wetherell addresses the attempts to create communities out of proximity through designed shared spaces designated by aspects of play for children or eateries to provide new spatial identities for urban communities.³⁹⁰ As the perspectives shifted on how to rebrand and reformulate post-industrial cities, the focus on marketing became more pronounced.

³⁸⁷ Gold and Ward, *Place Promotion*, p.6.

³⁸⁸ Sam Wetherell, *Foundations: How the Built Environment Made Twentieth Century Britain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020); Guy Ortolano, *Thatcher's Progress: From Social Democracy to Market Liberalism through an English New Town*, (Cambridge University Press, 2019) and Saumarez Smith, *Boom Cities*.

³⁸⁹ Gold and Ward, *Place Promotion*, p.6.

³⁹⁰ Sam Wetherell, *Foundations*

However, the conceptual problem derives from the fact that marketing is a business practice devised to promote a tangible and clearly defined product that is sold to consumers. In particular, the economic regeneration of the 1980s is reflected in the development of enterprise zones, Urban Development Corporations and structural funds geared towards attracting investment and business tourism.³⁹¹ The challenge, therefore, is to identify not only the intentions of the policymakers but also the public interpretation, one that is more democratic and that rejects the cyclical nature of top-down reinvention of space with a new thinking.

Therefore, in approaching this case study, it is important to investigate the methods which the institutions of the city have utilised in the redevelopment of the city in accordance with these historical narratives. As has been noted throughout the previous chapters, the lack of a coherent city plan has led to a disparity in how development has taken place with many small-scale projects. Therefore, in approaching the idea of place marketing in York, it is possible to consider the attempts to commodify the past and establish a rich narrative built on a complex package of goods, services and experiences that are consumed in different ways. In York, this includes the mixture of cultural amenities, markets, public events and festivals, activities, and parks alongside more traditionally iconic attractions such as the Minster in conjunction with tour guides, guidebooks, photography, and purchasable paraphernalia. While these are resources, it is necessary to factor in the different marketing strategies that are constructed to invent the vision of York. Kotler et al suggested four basic strategies for place marketing: image marketing, that is, the focus on an overly positive image; attraction marketing, the focus on natural attractions and sights; infrastructure marketing, the focus on infrastructural advantages; and people marketing, the focus on famous residents and institutions.³⁹² In particular, the work of this chapter addresses the creation of a more consistent branding of the city, through prioritisation of key elements of

³⁹¹ Ewen, 'Transnational Municipalism in Europe of Second Cities',

³⁹² Kotler et al, *Marketing Management*, pp. 51-66.

the city such as the Minster in published materials.³⁹³ Many early investigations into place identity addressed ideas of national identity as per Pierre Nora's 'Realms of Memory' addressing underlying French nationalism.³⁹⁴ More recently literature has shifted to the more municipal and city level; however, predominantly work has focused on eastern cities in China or major cities such as Paris and New York and rarely in reference to historical cities in Britain.³⁹⁵ Therefore, this chapter utilises this model to approach place marketing within the context of a city brand, drawing on its internal marketing through MIY, image marketing through the use of photography, symbolism and association and the inclusion of famous residents, events and institutions through the blue plaque scheme.

The growing significance of place marketing strategies within York reflects the city's transition towards a service economy. According to figures from the Office of National Statistics (ONS), rates of employment within York's Accommodation and Food services are on average 3 per cent higher than the national average. In 2015 10.7 per cent of York's employable workforce was in this sector, compared to a regional average of 6.6 per cent and a national average of 7.3 per cent. This has persisted over several years with a peak in 2018 of 11.4 per cent locally against 7.6 per cent nationally. Even during the fallout of COVID-19 and national lockdowns, the city retained 9.5 per cent against 7.2 per cent nationally.³⁹⁶ For context, the proportion of the workforce employed in the professional, scientific and technical sector has remained consistently below the national average with 7.8 per cent against 8.4

³⁹³ Denisa Cotirlea, 'From Place Marketing to Place Branding within the Nation Branding Process: A Literature Review'. *Ovidius University Annals, Economic Sciences Series*, 0(2) 14 (Nov 2014). p.297.

³⁹⁴ Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past Vol 1-3*, (Columbia University Press, 1996)

³⁹⁵ For reference to China see, Wenting Ma, Martin de Jong, Mark Bruijne and Thomas Hoppe, 'From city promotion via city marketing to city branding: Examining urban strategies in 23 Chinese cities.' *Cities*. 116. (2021). And Wenting Ma, 'From city branding to urban transformation: How do Chinese cities implement city branding strategies?'. (Doctoral Thesis, Delft University of Technology 2021). For examples of work on Paris, see Jean-Noël Kapferer, 'Paris as a Brand' in Keith Dinne (ed), *City Branding: Theory and Cases*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) pp. 184–89; Peggy R. Bendel, 'Branding New York City – The Saga of 'I Love New York'', in Keith Dinne. (ed), *City Branding: Theory and Cases*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 179–83.

³⁹⁶ Office for National Statistics 'Labour Market Profile York – I: Accommodate and Food Service Activities'. *Nomis*
<https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157112/subreports/bres_time_series/report.aspx?>
(Last accessed 1 March 2022)

per cent nationally in 2015 to 7.3 per cent to 8.9 per cent nationally in 2021.³⁹⁷ This demonstrates a larger proportion of the city's working population engaged in sectors of hospitality and entertainment. Statistics based on 2019 data indicated that tourism, which was worth over £765 million to the city, supported 24,000 jobs and attracted 8.4 million visitors each year.³⁹⁸ A July 2020 report by the City Council stated that York is worth '£5.2 billion to the UK economy ... with 9,000 businesses and 110,000 people employed across the city.'³⁹⁹ York has grown and developed since the 1970s to embrace a more tourist-focused economy. However, this was not uncommon across Britain which saw a contemporaneous national shift towards a post-industrial service sector economy.⁴⁰⁰ While these figures are supported by the ONS as mentioned above, several of the latter claims are part of marketing material published within the city. As such the focus then is on understanding the intention and overall aims of the city institutions regarding public engagement.

To begin, it is important to consider the work of the Civic Trust which was established in 1946 to address the inherent danger beset on an historic city in a post war period. The initial members drew on experience from various fields but shared a mutual interest in the city and its preservation, therefore, enshrining the code to 'promote heritage – shape tomorrow'.⁴⁰¹ Through civic works such as restoring the Lord Mayor's residence, the pedestrianisation of Stonegate, installing commemorative plaques, and preserving art work, the Trust has also consulted on planning proposals to ensure that the historic character of the city is retained.⁴⁰² Over seventy years this has led the Civic Trust to signify itself as being

³⁹⁷ Office for National Statistics 'Labour Market Profile York – M: Professional, Scientific and Technical Activities. *Nomis* <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157112/subreports/bres_time_series/report.aspx? > (Last accessed 1 March 2022)

³⁹⁸ Make It York, 'York Marketing Strategy' (PDF). 13 August 2020. [Last accessed 2 March 2021].

³⁹⁹ *City of York Council*, 'Back York'. <<https://www.york.gov.uk/BackYork>> [Last accessed 1 March 2021]

⁴⁰⁰ Jim Tomlinson, 'Re-inventing the 'moral economy' in post-war Britain', *Historical Research*, 84(224), (2011), pp. 356-373.

⁴⁰¹ York Civic Trust, 'History of York Civic Trust', < <https://yorkcivictrust.wpengine.com/about/history-york-civic-trust/>> [Accessed 19th March 2018]

⁴⁰² Ibid

the body to 'look after the public realm, the stuff that nobody else has any great financial incentive to look after, railings, coats of arms, benches in public parks, public parks themselves, wayfinding posts, all of the stuff that tends to not have a champion.'⁴⁰³ It supports this infrastructure through civic events, investment in civic redevelopment through provision of fencing, benches and commemorative plaques and events in addition to public outreach and educational pursuits and commemoration of the past. This has been evident in policy-making and civic programmes of pedestrianisation, lighting and security which have been implemented across the city. These ventures are investments in the city that engage with a clear public interest to enjoy and preserve the historic nature of the city. In conjunction with this and in parallel with MIY is the use of marketing material through imagery, slogans, and policymaking to encourage visits and investment from business to become part of the York brand.

Image Marketing and Branding

Imagine a city with Roman roots and a Viking past, where ancient walls surround contemporary independent shops and vibrant eateries and there's a festival for every month of the year. Welcome to York - the Original City Adventure!⁴⁰⁴

The prevailing picture of York, as expressed in this quotation taken from the Visit York official website, has become ingrained on the city's history. The earlier quotation taken from *Horrible Histories* satirises the same themes.⁴⁰⁵ Romans, Vikings and the city walls are consistent themes in references to York. The discerning aspect here is the contemporary reference to modern attractions such as eateries, shopping, and festivals as a hook to entice visitors through the availability of accessible infrastructure and cultural activities in addition to historical attractions. These references are just as timely as Camden's earlier depiction of the fortifications, the people, and the archbishopric.⁴⁰⁶ It is how these aspects are utilised

⁴⁰³ David Fraser 'Interview with Author' 14th December 2016

⁴⁰⁴ Visit York Homepage 2017 <<https://www.visityork.org/>> [Accessed on 01/03/2017]

⁴⁰⁵ Terry Deary, *Horrible Histories: Gruesome Guide: York*, (Scholastic, 2012)

⁴⁰⁶ William Camden, *Britannia*, (1586), p.407.

that is important. Marketing material in the form of brochures, conferences, videos, and award ceremonies are all produced with a singular image of showcasing the best the city has to offer. The material draws heavily on the iconic landmarks of the city, with the Minster reflecting the iconic and instantly recognisable cityscape.

As Kotler notes, strategic image management (SIM) refers to the ongoing process of researching a place's image among its various audiences. It involves segmenting and targeting its specific audiences, positioning the place's attractions to support its desired image, and communicating those attractions to the target groups. The underlying premise of SIM is that because images are identifiable and can change over time, the place-marketer must be able to track and influence the image held by different target groups.⁴⁰⁷ As such, selectively choosing images deemed recognisable and iconic feeds into marketing strategies. For this purpose, two iconic examples will be examined, York Minster and the Shambles, a preserved street within the city.

During field research conducted in 2015-17, members of the public were questioned on what made York iconic. Out of 64 responses, 9 referred to the Shambles and 17 referred to the Minster specifically in response to questions 3 and 4 of Questionnaire 1 (Appendix 9.3) with comments such as 'it's such a statement piece of the city, it's been here long before us and no doubt we'll all be gone and buried before it falls.'⁴⁰⁸ One participant referred to the value of the Minster to the city: 'well it centres us all, we all know where we are, you just look at it and immediately know it's not just a normal church, there's something special about it, you don't even need to know it's York to know it's special. I just see it every day and I know I'm in the presence of something magical; I can't explain it but it's just a feeling that everything is going to be all right as long as I can see it.'⁴⁰⁹ This reflected the intangibility of the Minster upon this respondent's perception of York. In contrast, references

⁴⁰⁷ Philip Kotler, *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, and Control*, (Prentice-Hall 2000), p.161.

⁴⁰⁸ JR 'Questionnaire 1: Q4', Kings Square 16th December 2016

⁴⁰⁹ KM3 'Questionnaire 1: Q4', Kings Square 16th December 2016

to the Shambles referred to its characteristics as ‘the busy medieval one’⁴¹⁰ and ‘the one from Harry Potter’.⁴¹¹ In these instances the responses refer to the broader association of the street to its historical depiction and similarity to popular cultural references; however, this again supports the marketing strategies for SIM as suggested by Kotler as targeted narratives. Additionally, broader research was conducted into the most commonly occurring images associated with York. The sampling was undertaken by counting the primary focus of content over the first page of results and tabulating the results. Whilst other sites such as the city wall and Clifford’s Tower feature in these results, there were not as statistically prominent in the search results or questionnaire responses as the Minster and the Shambles. Therefore, the subsequent case studies examine the application of imagery of these two sites to bolster the brand of York including their depiction across the visual medium of paintings, postcards, and photography. Traditionally, art historians have analysed such visual imagery in relation to iconography and iconology. However, as Peter Burke notes, such approaches are insufficient and instead these represent a medium upon which to address the social contexts and uses of the images.⁴¹² Therefore it is important to consider the view response and psychoanalysis of these resources. Due to the historical legacy of York, it is important to make note that this is not just a contemporary novelty and highlight how the significance of the Minster has persisted for centuries.

Case Study 1: York Minster

The Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Saint Peter in York, popularly known as York Minster, is the city’s cathedral and one of the largest of its kind in Northern Europe. The Minster is the seat of the Archbishop of York, the second-highest office of the Church of England and is the mother church for the Diocese of York and the Province of York. York Minster is the second largest Gothic cathedral in Northern Europe and clearly charts the

⁴¹⁰ AP Questionnaire 1: Q4’, Parliament Square 8th March 2017

⁴¹¹ CH Questionnaire 1: Q4’, Parliament Square 8th March 2017

⁴¹² Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, (University of Chicago Press, 2005)

development of English Gothic architecture from Early English through to the Perpendicular Period. The present building was begun in about 1230 and completed in 1472.⁴¹³ The striking Gothic architecture of the building acts as a statement piece of the city and is an iconic feature of its skyline, adorning marketing material and acting as a beacon to all who live in or visit the city.

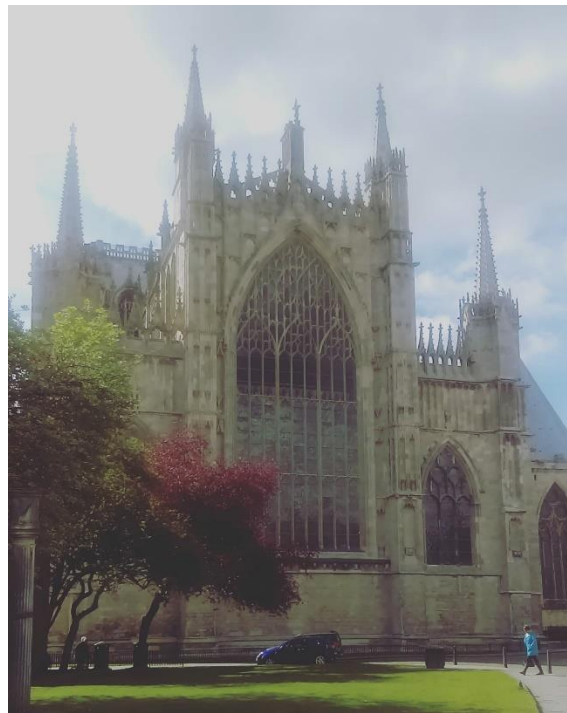


Figure 4.1 York Minster East Window (Author's Own, 4th April 2017).

Of particular note are the Minster's stained-glass windows, some of which date back to the twelfth century (Figure 4.1).⁴¹⁴ This includes the Great East Window, created by John Thornton in the fifteenth century. Standing at 77-foot (23 metres) high and 32-foot wide (9.8 metres), it is the largest expanse of medieval stained glass in the country.⁴¹⁵ This

⁴¹³ 'The Medieval Minster: History of York'. www.historyofyork.org.uk, Archived from the original on 28 January 2010 [Accessed 16th March 2016]

⁴¹⁴ Peter Gibson, *The Stained and Painted Glass of York Minster*. (Norwich: Jarrold Publishing 1979), pp. 5–6.

⁴¹⁵ York Minster Great East Window < <https://yorkminster.org/discover/conservation/great-east-window/> > [Accessed 14th January 2018]

window underwent considerable conservation and restoration in 2008, including the complete removal, repainting and re-leading of each panel. Due to the extended time periods during which the glass was installed, different types of glazing and painting techniques which evolved over hundreds of years are visible in the different windows. Approximately two million individual pieces of glass make up the cathedral's stained-glass windows.⁴¹⁶

From an operational perspective, the Minster is both a working cathedral and a museum. It acknowledges both the history of the Minster on the site of a former Roman Barracks (Figure 4.2) and the role of construction and religion within the region through craftsmanship continued to present day.⁴¹⁷ In addition to this, the Minster operates a gift shop, guided tours and opportunities to climb the central tower to allow visitors to '[e]xplore the cathedral's rich history, from the Roman Emperor who changed the course of Christianity, to the fires which threatened to destroy the cathedral'.⁴¹⁸ The practicalities of the Minster complement the broader level of museum and public engagement across the city, offering an experience to see and interact with the past within an historical setting. However, it is its depiction as a landmark of the city that is particularly important here in the consideration of place marketing.

⁴¹⁶ University of York <<https://www.york.ac.uk/50/impact/stained-glass/>> [Accessed 14th January 2018]

⁴¹⁷ The Roman Barracks are viewed in the Undercroft of the Minster via glass flooring to preserve the archaeology.

⁴¹⁸ York Minster, 'Minster Stories' <<https://yorkminster.org/discover/stories/>> [Accessed 14th January 2018]



Figure 4.2 Minster Undercroft Museum (Author's Own, 4th April 2017).

As a subject matter, the Minster is featured prominently across artwork, published materials and souvenirs as well as captured in the backdrop of numerous commissioned photographs. To ground this analysis, it is important to note that the Minster is a long-standing subject in this sense. As seen in Figures 4.3 – 4.4, artistic depictions of the city from the nineteenth century included the Minster as a prominent feature of the skyline. Whilst not the predominant focus of these pieces, the prevalence with which the minster is featured suggests its significance to this city in terms of identifying the location. As noted previously, the Minster is recognisable as one of the largest in northern Europe and thus, its inclusion in a wealth of published material correlates with the strong ecclesiastical importance of this location and is a defining characteristic identifying the site.



Figure 4.3 Bootham Bar (post 1835) watercolour by Thomas Shotter Boyes (York Art Gallery).

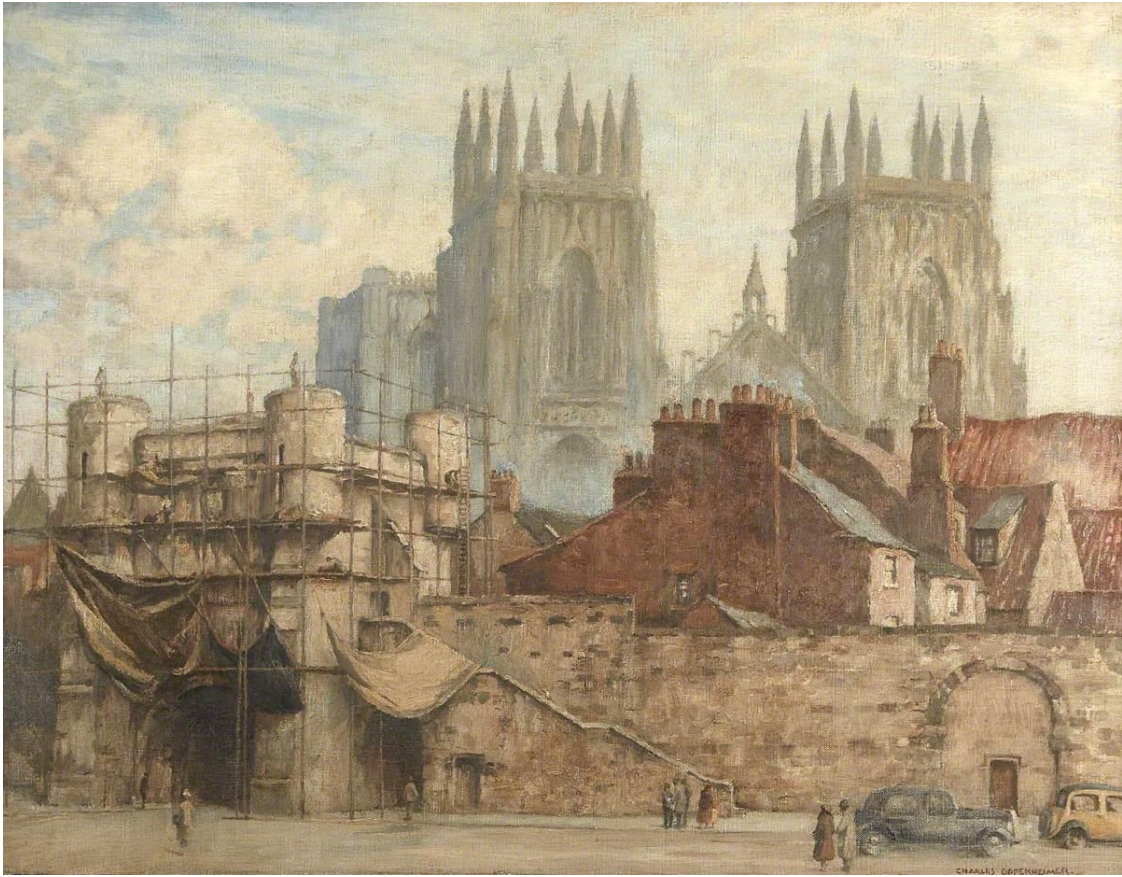


Figure 4.4 Approach to York Minster, Charles Oppenheimer (1875–1961) Royal Scottish Academy of Art & Architecture.

With the advent of photography and the growth in tourism in the second half of the nineteenth century, the fascination of postcards presented an opportunity to disseminate iconic scenes depicting locations. Postcards hold a unique status as objects that transcend the economic, social, or geographical nature of the site being depicted and are part of a rich urban visual culture. While scholarly literature on this topic is limited, Naomi Schor's work on Paris has captured the significance of including a mixture of iconic sites alongside the everyday social and cultural practices within photography and postcards.⁴¹⁹ Inclusive of varying photographic or artistic approaches, these material items offer a level of consumption for the individual who purchases the postcard as well as its intended recipient.

⁴¹⁹ Naomi Schor, 'Cartes Postales: Representing Paris 1900.' *Critical Inquiry* 18, Winter (1992), pp.188-245.

The dual relationship of sender and recipient is a further example of a brand economy already established within York. The production of postcards suggests a commercial process dedicated to capturing, producing, and sharing these images. As seen in Figure 4.6, each postcard states the name of the publisher and seller, which are clearly identifiable by their location denoted on both sides of the postcard. The sender buys into this commercial endeavour in purchasing the postcard, in turn sharing this information with the recipient. This sharing of a snapshot of the city in turn disseminates the discussion and symbolism of the image subject, in this example the Minster and River Ouse.

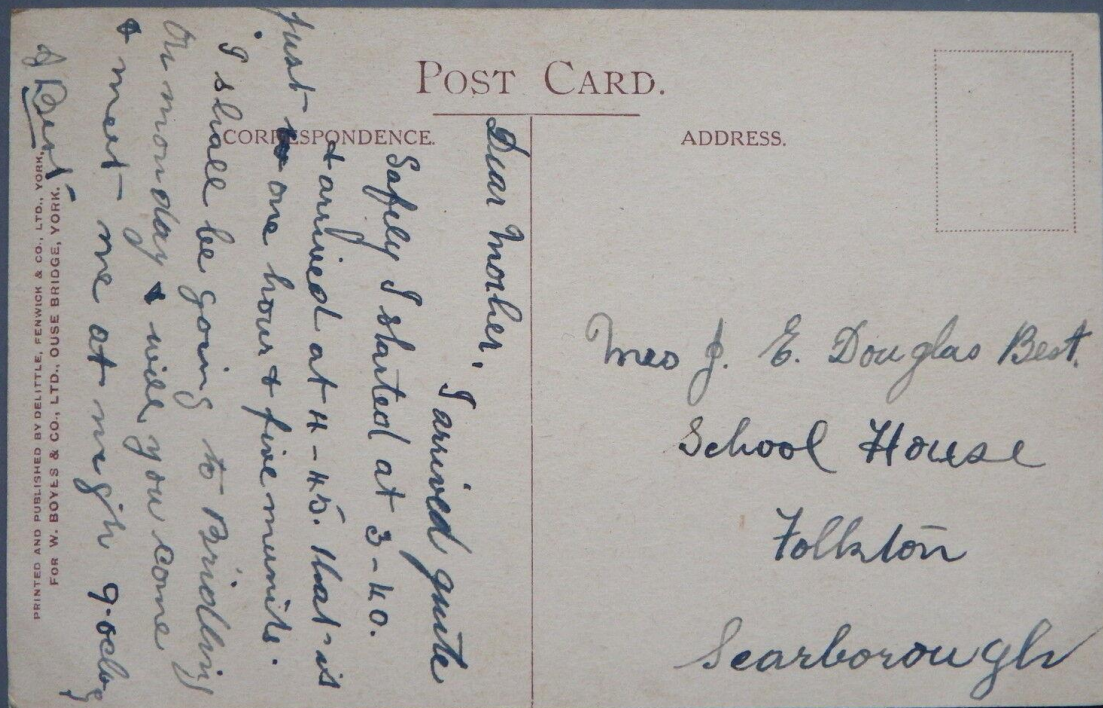


Figure 4.5-6 York Minster from Boyes Store by Delittle Fenwick (Date Unknown) (R&L Baines).



Figure 4.7 Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society (YAYAS), Postcard, 'York Minster from Southeast', circa 1930. (Credit is provisionally given to J Coney).



Figure 4.8 YAYAS, Photograph, 'Petergate', 1886. (Potentially George Nicholson).

Each of the examples in Figures 4.5-4.9 portrays the Minster as being at the heart of the city. This not only signifies it as a prominent architectural feature of the city's visual landscape, but also locates the image within the broader context of relying upon symbols of the city through which the recipient of the postcard builds an association with York. As the purpose of these images is to capture a moment in the city being visited, it is important to note that the underlying intention and frame of the subject matter is to include one of the city's most recognisable locations, thus reinforcing the principles of SIM.

The strategy to invest in the development of material depicting York and its Minster has developed over the centuries, but the depiction of the Minster has persisted as one of the most iconic landmarks of the city. In addition to the production of public souvenirs emblazoned with its imagery, the Minister's inclusion in artwork has continued to reflect this strong York branding. Two contemporary examples of artwork illustrate its persistent appeal. The first, 'Night Tracks' (Figure 4.4) by Richard Barnes, depicts the approach to the Minster along Duncombe Place, which leads southwest from the Minster. While taking an abstract artistic style, the structure of the Minster is still highly recognisable. Again, this reinforces the familiarity of this site within the broader perception of York. This piece was selected because Barnes utilises a multi-medium approach to capture the 'visual, tactile and haptic nature of the experience of being in a particular place, at that particular time.'⁴²⁰ As such, while sharing similar recognisable features such as the Minster, Barnes builds on the atmosphere of being near the near the Minster at night as the lights cast an array of hues over the landscape.

⁴²⁰ Richard Barnes 'Richard of York' <<http://www.richardofyork.com/Biography.aspx>> [Accessed 21st August 2021]



Fig. 4.9 Richard Barnes, 'Night Tracks', (2019) (York Open Studio)

Whist *Night Tracks* approaches the Minster within the context of a broader narrative on nightlife in the city, 'York Minster' by Elliot Harrison (Figure 4.10) provides a bolder depiction of the Minster as its sole focus. With a perspective taken from Precentor's Court to the west of the Minster, this pop culture interpretation directly addresses the Minster as a tourist destination and part of the city's commercial pull. The lack of additional context to this depiction, unlike the other examples, allows the Minster to be the main focus. As noted on the description of the piece this is designed to 'impress and attract' and is more akin to some of the examples of mid-twentieth-century seaside and railway advertisements noted by Yates and Shackelton.⁴²¹ In doing so this strongly reflects the core ideas of SIM, with

⁴²¹ For reference to the listing York Minster please see EHarrisonPrints 'York Minster' <<https://www.etsy.com/uk/listing/662148800/york-minster-print>> [Accessed 21st August 2021] For reference to seaside and Railway advertisements please see Yates, N. 'Selling the seaside', *History Today*, 38(1988), pp.20-27 and Shackleton, J. *The Golden Age of the Railway Poster*, (London: New English Library). (1976), pp.44-6.

decisions made by each producer to support the correlation between York and the Minster providing an intrinsic value to the content.

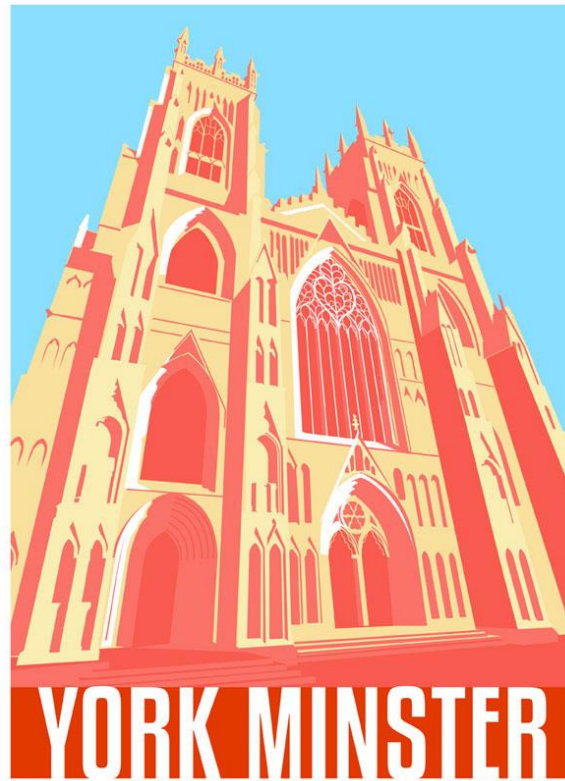


Figure 4.10 Elliot Harrison, 'York Minster' (2019).

This decision-making process to include the Minster has continued beyond artistic and tourist ventures into official publications. As depicted in Figure 4.11, the visitor guides produced by MIY through Visit York all feature the Minster prominently on the front cover. This is a visual implementation of SIM in practice with York's institutional bodies. The Minster is easily recognisable across audience groups as being distinctly part of York's skyline. The placement of this on the cover page of a visitor guide not only reinforces the association of the Minster and the titled city but also reflects the Minster's status as a key attraction of the city as per Kotler's definition.⁴²² However, the particular novelty within the

⁴²² Kotler, *Marketing Management*, p.161.

study of York and historic cities in general is that unlike more progressively developing cities with industrial redevelopment programmes at the core of marketing material, the imagery has remained unchanged across the years.



Figure 4.11 Visit York, *York: The original city adventure, Visitor guide* (2017-19 editions).

The utilisation of the Minster and cityscape to build recognition with visitor guides is not limited to the material produced by Visit York. For example, an earlier Automobile Association (AA) visitor guide from 1994 (Figure 4.12) shows a continuity in its appearance as a cover image across multiple guide producers. Whilst not as prominent due to the elevation of the shot, the Minster is positioned within the frame of the photograph as the main focus, drawing the eye of the observer and strengthening the relationship between York and Minster. In addition, in this example, the inclusion of members of the public experiencing the city builds the association of York as a visitor location. For this reason, we can associate this back to the work of John Urry, in arguing that the central themes of visual culture are heavily tied to tourism and more specifically, in building the desire to visit places. Therefore, the methods of learning employed to visually appreciate those places are not merely individual and autonomous but are socially organised.⁴²³ Therefore, tourists are

⁴²³ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, (Sage, 2011)

‘directed to features of the landscape that, which separate them off from everyday experience. Such aspects are viewed because they are taken to be in some sense out of the ordinary’. The tourist and the viewpoints are manipulated, ‘so that the gaze falls upon what the gazer expects to see’.⁴²⁴

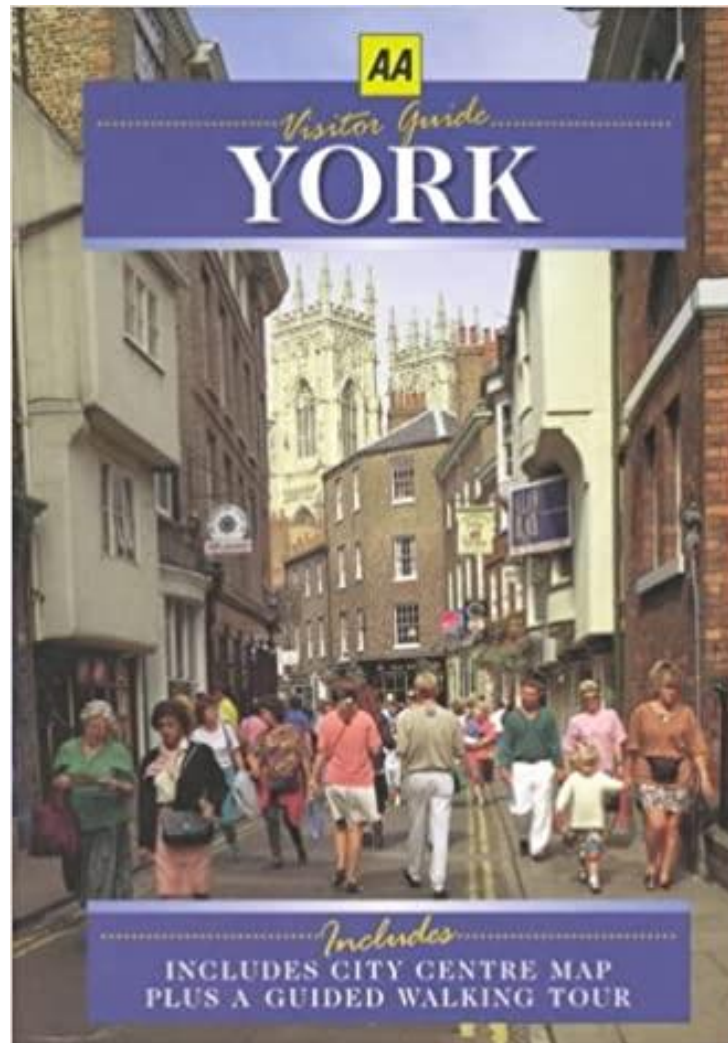


Figure 4.12 Automobile Association, ‘Visitor Guide York’ (1994).

How this imagery is utilised within existing branding mechanisms is important to understanding the significance that the managing institutions place on the association. In

⁴²⁴ Phil Turner, Susan Turner, Fiona Carrol, ‘The Tourist Gaze: Towards Contextualised Virtual Environments’, in Phil Turner, Elisabeth Davenport (eds), *Spaces, Spatiality and Technology: The Kluwer International Series on Computer Supported Cooperative Work, Vol 5* (2005), p.292.

examining the annual reports of the Civic Trust, it is apparent how much value is placed by the organisation on showcasing the relationship and bond between York and the iconic building. For example, the most recently available annual report, published in 2021-22, contains twenty-seven images (not including portraits of the team), of which five (18.5 per cent) depict the Minster.⁴²⁵ By examining the annual reports published between 2012-2022, it was possible to collate the number of photographs of the Minster and the Shambles, which demonstrates their centrality to the Trust's view of the city, with the Minster appearing sixteen times and the Shambles nine times. Given that the report focuses more broadly on the Trust's work, the use of the minster is interwoven with images of the Trust's members and staff in action, unveiling blue plaques and holding public events, amongst other activities. However, the 2016-17 report (Figure 4.13) includes a full-spread artistic depiction of the city featuring the Minster as its cover image. The art is titled *Alternative View of York*, designed by students of Osbaldwick School who won the Education Committee's competition. The competition (organised by York Art Gallery) was to encourage schools to design a picture of York that paid homage to John Piper's *View from Clifford's Tower* by developing a new perspective to view the city.⁴²⁶ Whilst other submissions are included later in the work, these depictions do not feature the Minster. Therefore, the decision to place this as one of the first images seen by any reader is central to the depiction the Trust wishes to set. In this instance, the inclusion of the Minster not only reflects the Trust's intention to draw a bond between the Trust and York with the Minster, but in turn denotes how students at a local school view the city, with the Minster as a central aspect of the city.

⁴²⁵ York Civic Trust, *Annual Report and Heritage Review 2021-22*, (York Civic Trust 2022)

⁴²⁶ York Art Gallery, 'An Alternative view of York – York's Primary School Challenge', <<https://www.yorkartgallery.org.uk/an-alternative-view-of-york-york-primary-school-challenge/>> [Accessed 19th November 2017]

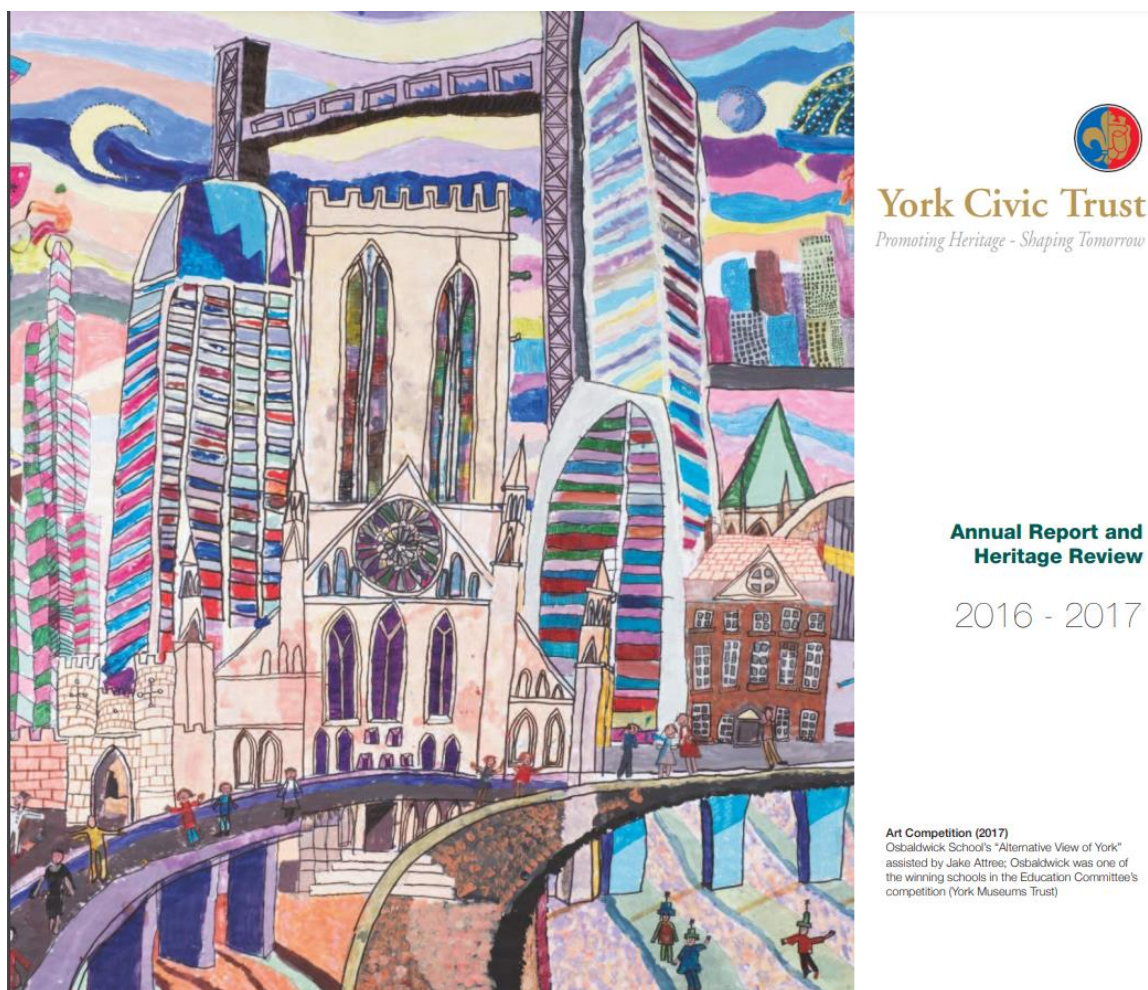


Figure 4.13 York Civic Trust, *Annual Report and Heritage Review 2016-17*.

Case Study 2: The Shambles

The Shambles is one of the best-preserved medieval streets in the world, lined with half-timbered houses that sit comfortably yet disjointed. It appears in the Domesday Book where it is recorded as operating as a street of butchers. This is reflected in the meat hooks that are still present outside many of the shop fronts.⁴²⁷ The narrow, sloping street had a raised pavement with a channel running down the middle, allowing the butchers to wash away the blood, waste, and offal from their premises. The street takes its name from the displays outside each butcher's shop. *Fleshammels* were 'meat-shelves', and Shambles comes from

⁴²⁷ D.M. Palliser, *Domesday York*, Borthwick Paper No.78 (York, 1990) and Gary Martin, 'A complete shambles' - the meaning and origin of this phrase". *Phrasefinder*.

the shelves; that is, *shammels*.⁴²⁸ The picturesque half-timbered houses are built with the upper floors hanging over the street level below. This gives the impression that the houses are gravitating towards each other; according to folklore the occupiers would reach across the street to shake hands with their neighbours opposite to celebrate Christmas and other special occasions. The reason for the design is so that the meat being displayed outside the shop on the 'fleshammels' and hooks would be protected from direct sunlight and from rainfall, both of which would do harm to the fresh meat.⁴²⁹ The shaded environment helped the meat stay fresher for longer.

The Shambles has come to reflect the history of the city in a singular location. It is impossible to escape the reality that this street is not contemporary and the attraction of this is evident in its popularity as a visitor destination. Out of nineteen field research excursions to the city it was only empty on two occasions: the first was at 7am while walking the city to take photographs and the second was at 11pm long after the city centre had closed. The Shambles gives the public a visible experience of walking around a different space than normal. The Shambles, along with other sites across the city, is a portal to a different place, to the York of the past. Though the businesses inhabiting the Shambles are now mostly boutiques and jewellery shops, it is the idea that it can be physically experienced that attracts visitors to visit the street and walk its cobbles.

⁴²⁸ Directory of York and Neighbourhood, including all villages within 6 miles of York, containing the private & commercial residents (alphabetically arranged), court directory, the trades classified, ... historical notes, local intelligence, &c *London: George Stevens. 1885*, p.231. Retrieved 8 June 2021 – via *University of Leicester: Special Collections Online*.

⁴²⁹ Van Wilson, *Butchers, Bakers and Candlestick Makers* (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2014); Van Wilson, 'Houses: Shambles-The Stonebow', *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 5, Central* (London, 1981), pp. 212-220. *British History Online*, www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol5/pp212-220 [accessed 20 September 2018].



Figure 4.14 Shambles (TJ Blackwell / Getty Images).

As with the Minster, the characteristic of this street has been captured in artwork, postcards, and photography as a reference to one of the main recognisable visitor sites in the city with photographic postcards documented to 1875 (for example, Figure 4.15).

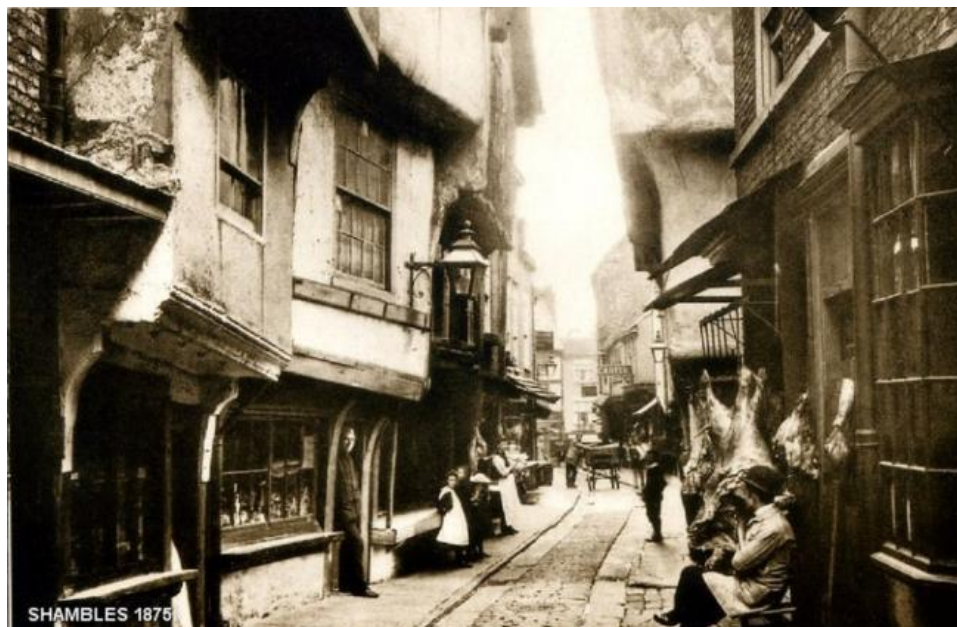


Figure 4.15 'Shambles 1875'. The postcard shows the butchers for which the street was once famed sitting outside their shops, while sides of beef and pork hang beside them (YAYAS).

Consideration of more historical portrayals of the Shambles juxtaposes the contemporary against the authentic. More so than York Minster, the use of this street in consumable material captures an invocative historical narrative. Whilst the Minster is prominent for its impact on the skyline, the Shambles offers an experience, something altogether different from the surrounding streets that return visitors to the contemporary world. This helps reinforce the larger tourist narrative and marketing strategies of an historic city with preserved monuments, sites, and activities. As such, the Shambles has repeatedly featured in official guidebooks published by the City Council and its partner organisations. Figure 4.16 from 1975, for instance, depicts the Shambles from its southern side facing northwards to also capture the Minster in the background. As part of this marketing, the City Council included a paid advertisement for Rowntree Mackintosh Ltd, the local confectionary manufacturer. Although a century separates the photographs depicted in Figures 4.15 and 4.16, efforts to preserve the Shambles show that while the architecture and street have remained consistent, the social and aesthetic use as well as its representation has changed markedly. The most notable difference is the lack of meat produce as the street has transitioned from a working street to a more preserved 'chocolate box' street acting as a form of preserved history.



Figure 4.16 York City Council, *York Official Guidebook 1975* (York City Council, 1975) (Image from Retro Curiosity).⁴³⁰

How this is then transferred and applied to other media is comparable to the Minster with artwork capturing the distinctive characteristics of this street. As Figures 4.17-4.18 show, the Shambles' inclusion in artwork reflects the innate recognisability of the street to the local audience. This was again reflected in questionnaire responses. Nine respondents directly mentioned the street with a further two alluding to 'the busy medieval one'⁴³¹ and 'the one from Harry Potter'.⁴³² Though this again supports the marketing strategies for SIM as suggested by Kotler, the dynamic with the Shambles also derives from its familiarity to contemporary pop culture references. CH's reference to Harry Potter draws a comparison to Diagon Alley that features within the Harry Potter film franchise, with the similar historic and distorted structures acting as a framed landscape for the narrative of several scenes. The Shambles in turn offers this same framing of space that allows the public to inhabit by

⁴³⁰ York City Council, *York Official Guidebook 1975* (York City Council, 1975), <
<https://www.retrocuriosity.com/product/vintage-1970s-york-official-guide-book-1975-history-city-tourist-guide-g/>> [Accessed 9 May 2018].

⁴³¹ AP Questionnaire 1: Q4, Parliament Square 8th March 2017

⁴³² CH Questionnaire 1: Q4, Parliament Square 8th March 2017

embracing the familiarity of pop culture rather than shunning it away, thus expanding upon the ideas of utilising recognisable imagery. While the Shambles is distinctly characteristic of York its similarity to a fictional location has provided an association to a broader audience.



Figures 4.17-18 The Little Shambles and The Shambles by Elliot Harrison.⁴³³

What these two case studies provide is very clear reference to a thought process taken to include certain images in a targeted manner as part of brand identity. The prioritisation in more modern media both in an official and unofficial capacity continues to feed into Urry's ideas of visual learning within this medium. The decision-making processes that have governed these are critical to understanding the broader understanding of the city. York has been established as more than just these two sites, therefore understanding their broader marketing strategies is critical.

⁴³³ For reference to the listing York Minster please see EHarrisonPrints 'The Little Shambles and The Shambles' < https://www.etsy.com/uk/shop/EHarrisonPrints?ref=simple-shop-header-name&listing_id=662148800&page=1#items > [Accessed 21st August 2021]

Targeted Marketing Strategies

Steve Brown, the managing director of Make It York (MIY), was responsible for leading the city's marketing campaign between 2015-18. MIY's work was focused on the education, guidance and selling of the city to encourage investment and support the growing tourist economy. Given the general governance of the city, having a dedicated body creating the marketing material for York suggested a clearer vision and tactic. MIY's focused branding fell in-line with Kotler's strategies with a heavy focus on encouraging outside investment to buy into the city's historic legacy. As a result, multiple forms of material were produced, dedicated to both corporate investment and public engagement. In addition, strategies for cultural engagement were developed by MIY, most recently with *York's Creative Future, the York Culture Strategy for 2020-25*, which was published in response to the global Coronavirus-19 (Covid-19) pandemic of 2020-21.⁴³⁴ This document reflects the MIY's plans for continued cultural place-based developments through new leadership and infrastructure to redefine meanings of spaces that utilise engagement with residents, heritage research and exploring the meaning of place.⁴³⁵

The focus on cultural diversity and heritage transcends a singular focus and is consistent throughout the strategy, with particular emphasis on place-making.⁴³⁶ Admittedly, this strategy is in response to the changing cultural climate of the Covid-19 era:

The Covid-19 crisis also laid bare the deep divisions in our society, especially as voiced by the Black Lives Matter movement. York has its inequalities, which were recognised in the drafting of the Culture Strategy before 2020. However, the Black Lives Matter movement has rightly demanded more extensive soul-searching by our cultural leadership; we must recognise that York is not an island and needs to become more overtly anti-racist. In this context, this strategy's ambitions for inclusion and diversity are yet more urgent.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ Please note that whilst the main focus of this work does not address the period of Covid-19 (2019-2021) it is mentioned here for the context and impact upon broader planning and policy making.

⁴³⁵ York City Council, *York Culture Strategy 2020-2025*. p.20.

⁴³⁶ Chapter 2 of the strategy is dedicated to place making and trying to build upon and utilise the array of arts and heritage available within a more open and diverse manner than has previous been achieved.

⁴³⁷ York City Council, *York Culture Strategy 2020-2025*. p.4.

The results of efforts to change and to bring more diversity into the city will only be visible with time. However, the efforts to focus on the city have made steps to ensure at least in principle how place is interpreted, and marketing is changing. In response to Black Lives Matter, local authorities and civic institutions across the country conducted statue reviews to ensure that controversial figures were removed or isolated to prevent vandalism. In the case of York, significant national media coverage was given in regard to the statue of Emperor Constantine. However, due to misinformation, this was later proven to be a false claim insinuating historically he was responsible for slavery. This, however, led to official statements by the Minster suggesting an official inquiry into the matter.⁴³⁸ However, these reports were later dismissed as rumourmongering and there was no risk to the statue being removed. As of 2022 the statue remains in situ with no formal review having been published at the time of writing.

Whilst not the focus of this section, this consideration of cultural changes and public perceptions is important when considering the basis upon which bodies like MIY have informed their strategies. More than just drawing on the history and heritage of York, the institutional bodies are required to deliver a contemporary city of investment opportunities that unifies with the more historically derived tourist perspective.

According to MIY, the city benefits from features that include a well-educated workforce, 'excellent transport links to both national and international markets, pronounced strengths in a range of high value sectors, a pioneering digital infrastructure, [and] outstanding business support networks ...'⁴³⁹ The efforts of MIY are evident in their material aimed at businesses and investors. This carries similar elements of marketing as the visitor

⁴³⁸ For example, Dan Sales, 'York Minster's statue of Roman emperor could be torn down after complaints he supported slavery', *Daily Mail Online*, 30th June 2020, <<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8473885/York-Minster-statue-Roman-emperor-torn-complaints-supported-slavery>> [Accessed July 14th 2020]; Ruchira Sharma, 'The fake racist statue outrages popping up around the UK after York Minster denies anyone wanted Roman Emperor Constantine removed', *inews*, July 2nd 2020 <www.inews.co.uk/news/uk/racist-statues-uk-outrage-york-minster-roman-emperor-constantine-removed-462107> [Accessed 14th July 2020].

⁴³⁹ Make It York 'A Place To Do Business', <<https://www.makeityork.com/business-support-advice/a-place-to-do-business/>> [Accessed 2 March 2021]

guide but with its language geared towards hard selling the benefits of York over other cities: 'Looking for a new business location? Make It York'.⁴⁴⁰ This approach has an immediacy owing to the opening quotation from the Chief-Operating Officer for Hiscox, a global insurance company: 'We looked throughout the UK for a new location but were swayed by York's unique combination of excellent infrastructure, well educated workforce and quality of life.'⁴⁴¹ The guide then lists six key factors of the city: Science City York, two world class universities, proximity to London, the UK's first gigabit city, its vibrant economy and the UK's first UNESCO city of Media Arts. Each of these are dedicated to showcasing the vibrancy, skilled workforce, and proximity of amenities within the city. The specific terminologies or titles are symbolic here of the effort to invoke a particular speciality or attractive quality for investment. As such, Science City York, an organisation (incorporated into MIY in 2019) refers to the vast infrastructure and specialism since 1998 as a bid to develop the economy by creating opportunities for jobs and greater affluence. This has resulted in large investments by Make It York totalling £168,000 to support businesses in science, IT, and digital and creative technologies.⁴⁴²

Similarly, in 2014 York was designated a city of Media Arts by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to act as a catalyst to encourage the cultural and creative sectors of the city. In response to this, MIY has established key criteria to pursue this aim. This includes the following: strengthening the creation, production, distribution and dissemination of cultural activities, goods and services; developing hubs of creativity and innovation and broadening opportunities for creators and professionals in the cultural sector; improving access to and participation in cultural life, in particular for marginalized or vulnerable groups and individuals and to fully integrate culture and creativity into sustainable development plans.⁴⁴³ The Guild of Media Arts was formed in

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Visit York, 'York Inward Investment', <https://issuu.com/visityork/docs/york_inward_investment> [Last Accessed 2nd February 2022]

⁴⁴² Make It York 'A Place To Do Business'

⁴⁴³ Make It York, 'York: UNESCO Creative City of Media Arts' <<https://www.makeityork.com/culture/unesco/>> [Accessed 12 June 2022]

2015 to draw on the authority of pre-existing guilds in the city who carry traditions and long-standing authorship in the city. David Fraser of the Civic Trust notes, 'we have the medieval guilds, merchant, adventures, merchant tailors, and the freemen of York'.⁴⁴⁴ As such, continuing this tradition with modern connotations for Builder and Media Arts emulated the authority granted by similar medieval charters.⁴⁴⁵

In combination, these titles and status highlight several core characteristics of the city that elevate York within the context of British urban spaces and provide a particular marketable attribute that MIY utilises to attract investment. As a more in-depth example:

The City of York Council had become dissatisfied with the level of connectivity being supplied to its schools and council offices. Via its IT outsourcing provider Pinacl Solutions, York procured a 95km dark fibre network from CityFibre delivering gigabit speeds to locations that had previously struggled with 10Mbps connectivity. The network is now over 125km and connects more than 300 customer premises including council sites and businesses. York was the obvious choice for the UK's first city-wide demonstration of Fibre to the Home deployment. In a joint venture with Sky and TalkTalk, over thousands of homes are being connected to a full-fibre network and residents are now able to access speeds up to 100x faster than the UK average.⁴⁴⁶

This investment ensures that York can compete on a global scale and offers a saleable asset for MIY. The marketing has made an impact with figures suggesting that the city attracts 608 million visitors annually, £608 million total visitor spend, supporting 20,300 jobs and £148.9m spent locally.⁴⁴⁷ The decision-making process to pursue such a significant infrastructure investment in York reflects the competitive edge necessary to ensure the contemporary development of the city beyond its historical assets. The investment in the network was beyond mere aspects of governance to improve the city but to enhance the commercial attractiveness of the city as reflected by Hiscox investing in the city.

⁴⁴⁴ David Fraser, 'Interview with Author', 14th December 2016

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ City Fibre 'York – Gigabit Cities', <<https://www.cityfibre.com/gigabit-cities/york/>> [Accessed 2nd February 2022]

⁴⁴⁷ Make It York, 'Our City' <<http://www.makeityork.com/about-us/our-city/>> [Accessed 2nd February 2022]

What this approach to marketing provides is a clear strategic approach by the city's institutions, primarily MIY, to define York in the twenty-first century as a recognisable and enticing global location for both tourism and commercial investment. The utilisation of status and titles is one of the unifying characteristics of York's marketing material as Make It York operates several tag lines in its marketing campaign. Its 2017 campaign, 'York: The original city adventure', refers to the fact that there is much to investigate while at the same time associating with ideas of the city's past.⁴⁴⁸ This combined with imagery of the Minster as seen in Figure 4.11 established a strong and unified message. Whilst this initially can be seen to corroborate the themes discussed earlier of Kotler and Hall by associating with attractions of the city, interviews with Steve Brown suggest a more acute juxtaposition through this public engagement.

Throughout the initial interview (conducted on 2 June 2017), Brown continually expressed the view that MIY was not just a tourist body but an active leader and participant in the operations of the city via its public engagement activities. This is reflected in its operational strategies imposed to supersede the lack of a unified city plan regarding public engagement: examples include the Shambles market and a number of city spaces designated for festivals and public events. However, both Brown and Paula Clark, Outreach Manager from York Theatre Royal, share concerns about how this is achieved. Clark notes: 'I wonder if it's a bit of saturation of festivals, as well. We do have a festival every day of the week nearly, there is a lot of them. But how many of them are actually celebrating the city and its citizens? They're not are they!'⁴⁴⁹ Brown expressed similar concerns that while once a tool for attracting visitors and expressing cultural diversity, the abundance of events and festivals have made the overall content become soulless.⁴⁵⁰ This is an important point as it reflects the loss of value in these events, rather than being something sought after and enriching to the city and the work of MIY. While history dominates the city, Brown

⁴⁴⁸ Make It York, *York: The original city adventure, Visitor guide*. 2017

⁴⁴⁹ Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017

⁴⁵⁰ Steve Brown, 'Interview with Author', 2nd June 2017

acknowledges that there is a desire by the city council and other bodies to show that York is a contemporary city which is reflective of the future strategies and the six core characteristics of the city discussed above. However, this pursuit has led to what Brown refers to as a 'city of titles'.⁴⁵¹ The focus on developing a multinarrative and brand therefore has the potential to dilute and devalue what was originally a bolder and simplified brand identity. The history of York has driven the city's recognition for centuries based on its significance as the seat of the archbishopric, its preservation of historic buildings, its industry and so forth. In attempting to balance this with more relatable narratives from the part of MIY is likely to damage this outlook. However, with the publication of the most recent cultural strategy, a more cohesive and streamlined programme relies on longstanding iconic aspects of the city, notably its religious and Viking history.⁴⁵²

For the brand to ultimately succeed it is necessary for the public to engage and consume the content that supports the narrative. Traditionally the council and MIY has been supportive of city-wide festivals to attract visitors and engage with aspects of the city's past. This has varied from the Mystery Plays, which use small scale performances to depict biblical stories, to larger multisensory events such as the Ice Trail and Illuminating York, which require visitors to navigate the city to take in a variety of purpose made attractions. As a flagship festival of the city council, Illuminating York is just one of plethora of annual events that receive third-party funding from Arts Council England. Cultural engagement through festivals is part of a larger strategy of aiding urban reinvention that supports the implementation of heritage trails, museums, festivals, pedestrian zones, restaurant quarters, open-air markets, elaborate place marketing campaigns, and so on.⁴⁵³ Festivals such as this are significant as they represent 'the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from

⁴⁵¹ Steve Brown, 'Interview with Author', 2nd June 2017

⁴⁵² The larger push to grow the Jorvik Viking Festival in particular along with events such as the Ice Trail (an exhibition of various ice sculpture across the city) draws on more established attractions of the city that helps immerse visitors into the core of the city.

⁴⁵³ Ash Amin and Nigel J. Thrift, *Seeing Like a City* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), p.152.

their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs'.⁴⁵⁴

For a few nights every year the most prominent buildings of the city (including the Minster) are transformed by vibrant colours and vivid images, and throngs of residents and visitors alike watch on in amazement. This spectacle is Illuminating York, an annual festival which sees magnificent light and sound installations spring up around the city, highlighting the architecture in a unique way. The whole event is a sensory adventure, as people engage with the displays as well as actively chatting while absorbing scenes. The experience is simultaneously shared by everyone in attendance. These festivals actively draw the audience to certain sites across the city and portray a particular narrative, whether historical in the form of projections or more cultural in reflections of the city drawing on the confectionary background. As seen in Figures 4.19-22 the types of artistic installation vary from projections on existing sites and monuments as well as purpose made installations for the event. The significance of this event has been the incorporation of the built environment as part of the canvas finding a mutual balance between the known city, and this alternative artistic vision.

⁴⁵⁴ Greg Richards, *Cultural Tourism in Europe* (CAB Wallingford 1996), p.24.



Photograph of David Ogle's Lumen installation (David Ogle 2016).⁴⁵⁵

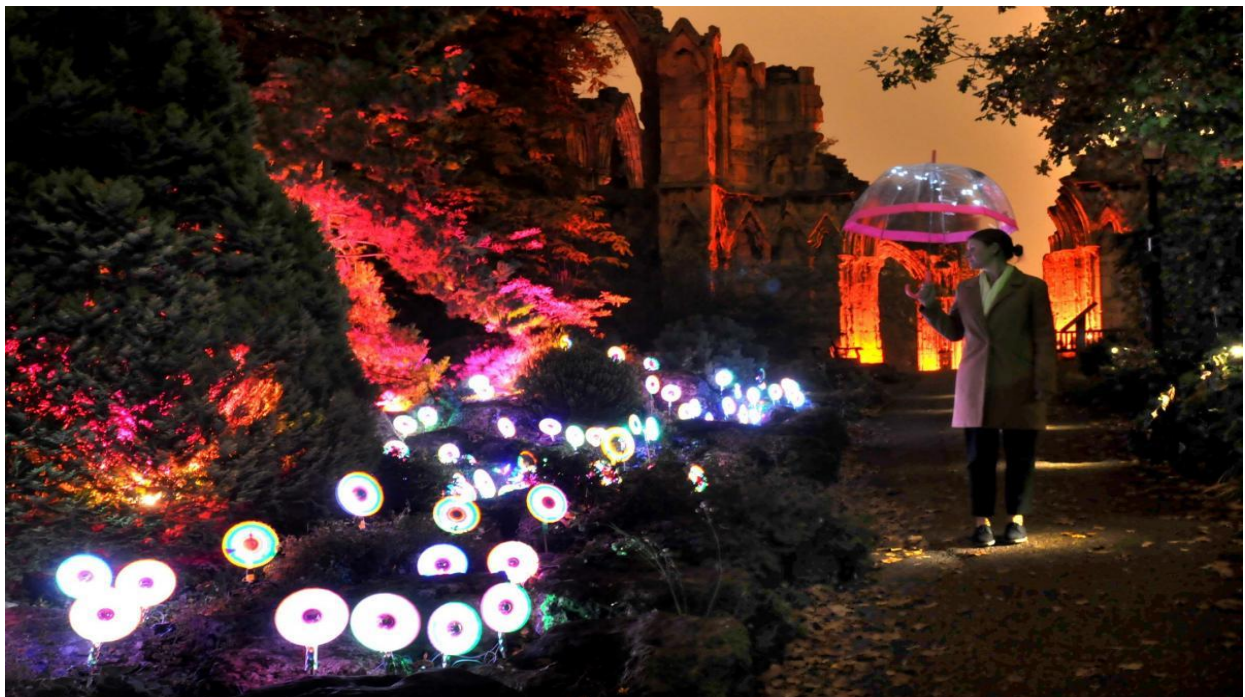


Figure 4.20 Photograph of Illuminati Botanica by Jony Easterby, Ulf Perderon and Mark Anderson (York Press 2015).⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ David Ogle, 'Lumen' 2016 <<https://www.davidogle.co.uk/work/lumen>> [Accessed 9th August 2018]

⁴⁵⁶ York Press 'Illuminating York 2015: Spectacular Photos from Preview Night', 25th October 2015, <http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/13899920.Illuminating_York_2015__Spectacular_photos_from_preview_night/> [Accessed 9th August 2018]



Figure 4.21 Photograph of Triquetra projected onto Clifford's Tower during Illuminating York 2013 (QED Productions)

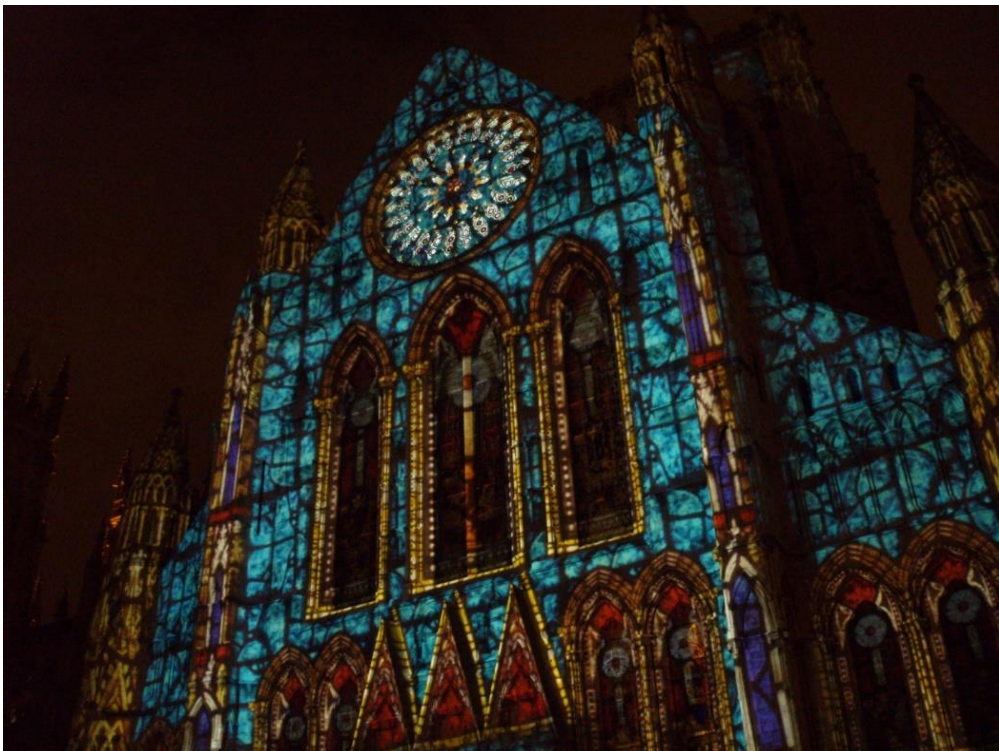


Figure 4.22 Photograph of Sensational Spectacle over York Minster (Sensory Stories 2010).⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁷ Sensory Stories, 'Sensational Spectacle', November 11, 2010, <<https://sensorystories.wordpress.com/tag/illuminating-york/>> [Accessed 9th August 2018]

Though subliminal, the festival encourages the audience to engage in a particular way with the city, to walk certain paths and look at certain structures. By isolating specific sections of the city to showcase, this event reaffirms the earlier prioritisation strategies of MIY to favour certain sites for public engagement, but also avoids sections of the city that have faced more problematic responses to these strategies. This presents an additional consideration with chapter 7 to factor in the intentions and equally the response to such activities. Rather than include the fringes and communities of the city, the artistic subject often remains associated with the strong historical connotations of the city. For example, the depiction 'Triquetra' by Ross Ashton (Figure 4.21), told the story of three Danish kings with influence over York's history: Sweyn Forkbeard, Cnut the Great and Eric Bloodaxe.⁴⁵⁸ In 2013, the festival attracted over 27,000 visitors across the four-day event. Similarly in 2010, the Minster had a stained-glass overlay projected over it, in keeping with its large stained-glass windows. These examples were designed to attract visitors to these sites, under the guise of partaking in an artistic event rather than visiting just for the historical atmosphere. However, this strategy is able to attract large crowds, nonetheless. Therefore, this suggests that certain strategies with a clear focus can deliver the brand to an audience without creating saturation and confusion. To this point, much of the discussion has been on the large city-wide strategies to modernise the city based on agendas of the City Council and MIY to increase investment and interest. However, at the civic level there was a strategy of historical awareness and preservation.

Delivering a Brand through Civic Works

Grand schemes of investment, event branding and placemaking have ensured that the world is aware of the significance of York's historical structures as an emblem of the city. However, it must be remembered that York as a city is more than just the result of its parts. While it

⁴⁵⁸ QED Productions, 'Illuminating York' <<http://www.qed-productions.com/news/illuminating-york-2013>> [Accessed 9th August 2018]

has an undeniable history and rich architectural diversity, it is still a modern city and subject to modern urban requirements for residents. As such, it is important to consider how the public at large is factored into these place making strategies.

As Paul Chatterton notes, branding has become an international phenomenon in which commercial space, in particular, is designed.⁴⁵⁹ Traditionally, urban society was subject to a work/life cycle, with an influx of people for work during the week and leisure on the weekends. However, with the broader transition towards a twenty-four-hour lifestyle during the present century, cities globally have had to adapt to accommodate the potential for engagement around the clock. For Chatterton, this has led to notable work into the mechanism of nightlife in cities, a characteristic otherwise perceived as a shadowy 'Other' that contradicts the typical working day and the dominant image of York held in the daylight. Chatterton's work considers how the night-time economy foregrounds minatory groups, addressing groups of women, LGBTQ+ groups and cultural minorities who operated at night to escape public view. However, Chatterton notes that most of these groups were absorbed into urban planning policies for gentrification or were segregated and provided with designated spaces or 'entertainment ghettos' such as the gay village and women-only nights.⁴⁶⁰ This approach at providing in some form for these groups is not the conventional norm, as both Matt Houlbrook and Chatterton comment that previously areas were systematically censored from society to halt marginal groups. Houlbrook comments on the issue of gated parks being shut to stop solicitation of homosexuals, an act that resulted in the transition to other centres of the city such as public bathrooms.⁴⁶¹

The reason that such topics are being mentioned here on the topic of place making is because the existence of alternative cultures and narratives that differ from the mainstream (and in this case, marketed) image have the potential to contradict and damage that vision.

⁴⁵⁹ Paul Chatterton, *Urban Nightscapes: Youth Cultures, Pleasure Spaces and Corporate Power*, (London, 2003), p.25.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, p.28.

⁴⁶¹ Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–57* (University of Chicago Press, 2005).

However, in an era of consideration and open-ness how such narratives are managed is as much part of the broader branded narrative of the city, with renewed effort to support such groups. In conjunction with strategies to drive forward York's attractiveness and potential for investment there are subsequent realities to decisions already made, something that Johan Andersson suggests is akin to an active process of sanitising space, to prevent select groups from existing or acting within their norm.⁴⁶² The perspective draws heavily on ideas of sexualisation of self and place; although focused primarily in London the commentary on the engagement between authorities and the public show the often haphazardness to act in personal interest.⁴⁶³ The connotations of this can be expanded to include other marginal groups that exist outside of local government control. Andersson mentions that local authorities can use the idea of historic restoration as justification to structurally alter sites as a deterrence to remove undesirable aspects of society.⁴⁶⁴ More broadly within the literature on urban redevelopment the removal of such sites is paramount to negating such narratives and legacy. However, these lost narratives are also a source of commemoration, as whilst at times they have not been considered desirable they are a fundamental part of the narrative of a city like York.

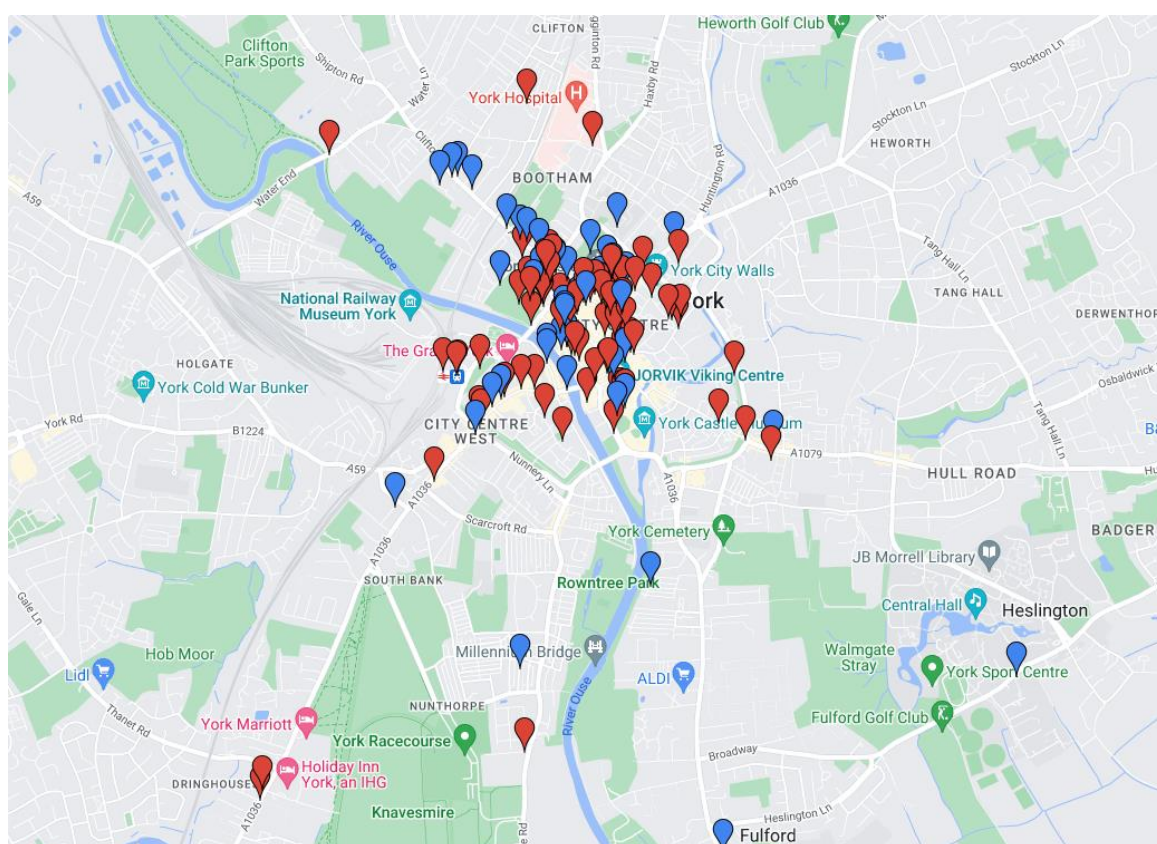
Therefore, it is important to consider how civic strategies are utilised to legitimise and commemorate such narratives on a ground level. Programmes such as blue plaque schemes can be utilised in analysis to identify the perceived interests and awareness of the civic institutions. Initially launched in the nineteenth century and utilised in Greater London, the scheme consisted of blue plaque markers being installed in public places to commemorate a particular location to a specific, person, event, or previous structure of historical significance. Whilst English Heritage is responsible for the scheme across London, several cities including York have established their own schemes. In York, the scheme has

⁴⁶² Johan Andersson, 'Heritage Discourse and the Desexualisation of Public Space: The "Historical Restorations" of Bloomsbury's Squares' In: *Antipode: a radical journal of geography*. 44(4), (2012), pp. 1081-1098.

⁴⁶³ See Houlbrook, *Queer London* and Chris Otter *Victorian eye*.

⁴⁶⁴ Johan Andersson, 'Heritage Discourse and the Desexualisation of Public Space'

been operated since the 1940s by the Civic Trust.⁴⁶⁵ To denote the provenance of these plaques being specific to York, they all bear the emblem of the trust which is based on the assay mark of 1423.⁴⁶⁶ As Map 6 shows, the trust has mapped (as of November 2022) 129 plaques across the city. As a key, red denotes places and blue denotes people. These plaques cover a variety of topics from women's rights and the suffragette movement to challenges of sexuality and art as well as more historic individuals such as Guy Fawkes and Dick Turpin.⁴⁶⁷



Map 6. Map of the current (Nov 2022) Blue Plaques (York Civic Trust).

The significance of these plaques is that they preserve the narrative of York's past beyond the iconic structures of its core. As the map shows the plaques spread beyond the core of the city wall reflecting the much larger narratives of the area. For example, famous twentieth-

⁴⁶⁵ York Civic Trust, 'Civic Trust Plaques', < <https://yorkcivictrust.co.uk/heritage/civic-trust-plaques/> > [Accessed 2nd July 2017]

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid

century individuals such as composer John Barry and comedian Frankie Howard are commemorated with plaques located towards the bottom of the map. The significance of these is the diversification that this recognition brings to the city's heritage.

Analysis of the Civic Trust's annual reports provides documented evidence of the erection of plaques over time. Whilst the process of erecting a blue plaque is open to public input, the trust is ultimately responsible for the selection, installation, and maintenance of these plaques. Traditionally, these plaques overwhelmingly focused upon commemorating notable figures, often steering away from characters and sites with the potential to cause controversy. To rectify this, the Trust unveiled a significant plaque honouring Anne Lister in 2018, whose eponymous diaries have become synonymous with her status as one of the first modern lesbians.⁴⁶⁸ Given Lister's significance to broader histories of sexuality, the Trust made the effort to commemorate this influential LGBTQ+ figure with a suitable rainbow embossed plaque. However, as Figure 4.24 shows, the initial choice of wording downplayed and marginalised her queer identity and because of an online petition, the Trust was requested to change the wording from 'gender nonconforming' due to petitioners stating the description had 'nothing to do with sexuality'.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁸ Calderdale Museums, 'Anne Lister Diary Entries' < <https://museums.calderdale.gov.uk/famous-figures/anne-lister/birthday-diary-entries> > [Accessed 16th December 2018] and Elizabeth Baigent, 'Anne Lister', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 2004)

⁴⁶⁹ York Civic Trust, 'Annual Report and Heritage Review 2018-19' p46 and BBC NEWS, 'Anne Lister, Plaque wording to change after 'lesbian' row', < <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-york-north-yorkshire-45397536> > [Accessed 16th December 2018]



Figure 4.23: Photograph of the Rainbow Blue Plaque for Anne Lister, before and after rectifying action (York Civic Trust, 2018/9).

What this unveiling showed was the nature of those developing the strategies and of the public at large. Whilst the effort to include a broader narrative of the city was commendable, the delivery and the response to it showed that there was still a large detachment between the public and the governing institutions. As such, many local groups have sought to commemorate the alternative histories of York that the Civic Trust and MIY have failed to address.

Of note is a former public urinal situated on Church Lane, near Spurriergate. During the 1950s, during a period of homosexual persecution and illegality, it was common for men to congregate in public bathrooms.⁴⁷⁰ The significance of this site in York's and indeed national history is the meeting of Stuart Feather and John Chesterman, who later became founding members of the Gay Liberation Front, edited *Gay International Times* and organised York's First Gay Pride march.⁴⁷¹ However, despite this significance, it has not been formally recognised by the city's governing institutions. As such, a public history group called 'York's Alternative History' lead by Paul Furness, took it upon themselves in 2014 to dedicate a plaque to this site in the style of the Civic Trust (Figure 4.25). Replicating the

⁴⁷⁰ Houlbrook, *Queer London*

⁴⁷¹ Paul Furness, "Magical, foul-mouthed, raucous' – York's *real* history', <<https://yorkmix.com/magical-foul-mouthed-raucous-yorks-real-history/>>

Trust's iconic blue and white aesthetic, a plaque was produced and mounted though without the 'official' markings.

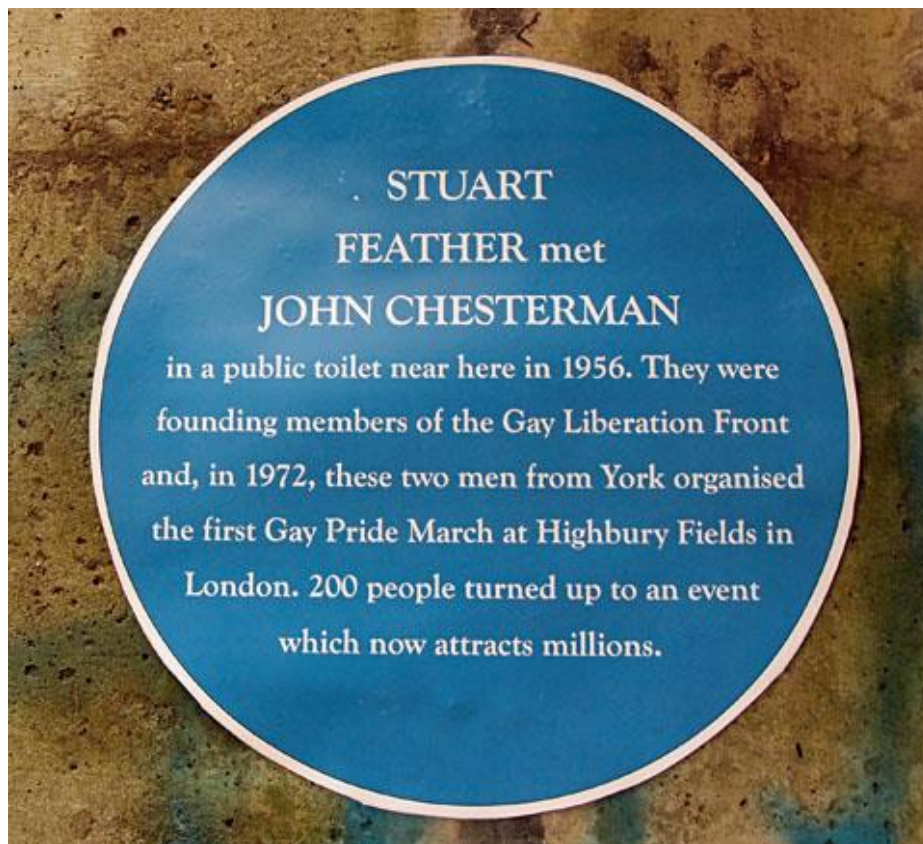


Figure 4.24: Photograph of Blue Plaque commemorating the urinals of Church Lane and the significance of Stuart Feather and John Chesterman in meeting there (York Alternative History Group 2014).

Although the Trust has since made efforts to incorporate LGBTQ+ identities into its blue plaques, the case of Anne Lister shows that there is still scope for alternative perspectives in York. Marketing strategies may be developed to promote the preservation and future of the city's queer heritage, but these are from the perspective of the governing institutions not the public.

The annual reports of the Civic Trust are particularly telling of where the agenda and strategies are directed. Whilst positioned as the public voice for preservation in the city the 2022 annual report largely depicts the Trust's work in numbers: three blue plaques unveiled, five museum collection pieces restored, 200 planning applications critically appraised, 3,808

items sold in the shop and 152,800 views on TikTok in July 2022.⁴⁷² In previous years, the work mentioned in these reports focused on examples of urban development or conservation and the work with building a strategy to preserve and develop York. However, the quantification of public outreach in items sold and viewed on social media is telling of the focus on engagement with the public rather than the broader work. Understandably, the Trust must operate as a business and maintain a source of income, but as an early billing in the annual report, the focus on public engagement presented a very different narrative to the examples of their civic work mentioned above.

Despite the efforts to deliver long-term strategies for the city, the lack of a city plan that is unified and accepted by across the city has led to a disparity and discourse as to how best to develop the city. Following the Esher report and the programmes of pedestrianisation across the city centre, the focus has shifted towards entertaining and keeping visitors within York for commercial gain. The dynamic of traversing the space on foot provides opportunities to shop, eat, socialise, and live private lives. Although no city plan is in place from a governance perspective, the policy making decisions by the council to support such commercialisation has counterpointed the examples discussed in chapter 2 to focus on aspects of nature and greenery and the city beautiful by enhancing aspects of profit. Indeed, the lack of cohesive focus that is inclusive of the public's views has led to a discourse in perspective and the growth of alternative narratives within the city, pursued through various practices by the public to satisfy what the governing bodies have been unable to deliver thus far.

Conclusion

At the start of this chapter there was a heavy focus on the conventional implications and necessity for place-marketing. Reference was given to Loftman and Nevin's comment on the

⁴⁷² York Civic Trust, 'Annual Report and Heritage Review 2021-22', p.6.

rise of civic pride that derives from urban policies due to the need for cultural and financial value.⁴⁷³ Though the discussion in reference to York has been less about the redevelopment of space, the focus on prioritising particular venues and sites across the city has aligned with the balancing of cultural and financial value. The attraction of visitors generally offers a boost to the service economy. The various hospitality venues, eateries, shops, and cultural activities all benefit from the influx of footfall. As such, the publication of figures relating to investment, income or the awarding of titles is representative of the civic pride discussed by Loftman and Nevin.

The reinvention of these spaces to fit these strategies requires a particular balance and long-term commitment of local government, civic institutions, and urban policy to support the delicate interweaving of heritage, practical redevelopment, conservation, and place marketing. Within York there is a clear prioritisation of space to establish a strong iconic brand that utilises landmarks such as York Minster and visually historic sites such as the Shambles. This manipulation of urban narratives shows how the historical narrative is streamlined for the city with an artificial significance applied to sites to ensure they are the 'go to' attractions.⁴⁷⁴ Therefore, it has been necessary to examine the methodological approaches used by Make It York to reinforce this narrative.

The practice of place marketing had been widely used to advertise York through use of guidebooks and paraphernalia adorned with iconic York landmarks such as the Minster, the Shambles, or the archaeological remains of the Roman and Viking periods. Rather than allusions of the seaside as heavily covered in academic literature, the vision of York is that of a bustling city and an iconic skyline bathed in the sun (despite contradistinctions to the notion of Yorkshire weather as rainy). In conjunction with this imagery is a strong selection of slogans or titles that emulate those discussed previously such as 'I ♥ New York' or

⁴⁷³ Loftman & Nevin. 'Prestige projects and urban regeneration in the 1980s and 1990s', pp299-316.

⁴⁷⁴ Rodger and Madgin, 'Inspiring Capital? pp.507-529.

'Skegness is So Bracing'.⁴⁷⁵ Instead 'York: The original city adventure' draws on the connotation of both the history of the city alluding to its position as the original and of a city of possible adventures as an alluring option to onlookers.

The absence of a unified city plan by the local council has led to a unique infrastructure of place-marketing strategies. As the public outreach arm of the Council, Make It York has established a long-term cultural engagement strategy that prioritises specific sites that are iconic to York. The repetition of imagery of the Minster and the Shambles in particular are recognisable on a global scale and reinforce the fundamentals of Kotler's SIM concept. How the visual components have been utilised is consistent with the established literary of Urry to generate a 'tourist gaze' to which the public is encouraged to consume.

What is key in examining this work is that whilst positioned as a historic city, much of its marketing strategy is focused on developing a more contemporary iteration of the city for the residents rather than the tourists. Therefore, in considering the democratisation of heritage, it is important to factor in that the heritage narratives generated thus far have been in conjunction with contemporary future-led strategies. The heavy focus on defining the city through titles as signifiers of status is a complex aspect of York's strategy. Whilst positions such as UNESCO city of Media Arts are poignant on a global level and have clearly influenced more long-term cultural strategies for the city, the volume and variety of these has started to create an overly complex narrative of the city. Through interviews and questionnaires with the public it has been possible to encapsulate a contesting narrative to this top-down approach, one that is reflective of the consequences to these schemes. These are schemes that have developed soulless and valueless content whilst fundamentally altering the internal cultural dynamics of the urban spaces by increasing the influx of outside visitors.

⁴⁷⁵ Holcomb, 'Purveying places: past and present', p31 and Shackleton, The Golden Age of the Railway Poster, pp.44-6.

These schemes have led to confusion and a conflict in the perspective of York. Whilst, on the one hand, they have guided the narrative and the public's relationship to it, on the other hand, they have artificially dictated the York vision without due consultation with residents. This chapter only begins to cover the topics of tourism mechanisms which feature more prominently in the discussion of the historical narrative of York through institutional input. Ideas of governance, however, are synonymous with organisations across the city forming a system of control for people to accept or contest. Whether this is through their actions to seek alternative input or to embrace and expand upon that mechanism, governance is central to York's voice. Without a city plan, Make It York has been the guiding force in portraying the official narrative of York to the tourist and resident public level. Therefore, in considering the democratisation of this narrative it is important to consider the creation of narratives that operate outside of this marketed material. Therefore, the next chapter will consider broader themes of grassroots engagement that contest the strategies discussed here.

Chapter 5: Experience and Consumption of Performance-based Heritage in York

A core theme of this thesis is the consideration of 'place attachment', to define an individual's emotional and affective bonds with historic places. Conventionally, this has then been applied as a theoretical grounding of the ways that people have formed emotional relationships with historical places.⁴⁷⁶ However, interpretations of this have remained vague or utilised alternative lexicon to suggest a more complex construct. Previous chapters have focused on heritage interpretation through the lens of urban governance, archaeological finds, and city marketing. At its core, this has been heavily focused on the materiality of York, through the conservation and celebration and prioritisation of the more historic features of the built city. This is not the only form of interpretation and even within this examination, there have been case studies that allow for a more experiential and emotional form of attachment.⁴⁷⁷ Therefore, this chapter builds upon the different methodological approaches utilised to interrogate emotional attachments between people and historic places in order to consider more bottom-up and collaborative approaches, particularly those involving York's residents. As a starting point, the focus here is on the role of performance-based heritage both as an experience and consumable practice.

Performance is a powerful resource in cultural heritage that is often applied in museum settings, as part of festivals and other theatrical contexts. As an activity, it carries an intangible quality that allows audience members to temporarily inhabit an alternative time or place as well as those partaking to personify a recreation of the past. For this reason, scholarship has developed regarding the activity of historical re-enactment, more specifically within the broader scholarship, and this has involved the discussion of medieval pageantry as an inspiration for engagement with the past. The inclusion of historical and legendary stories including Alfred the Great, King John and Robin Hood have inspired historical

⁴⁷⁶ Setha Low & Irwin Altman, 'Place attachment: A conceptual inquiry', *Human Behaviour & Environment: Advances in Theory & Research*, 12, (1992). pp.1–12.

⁴⁷⁷ See Chapter 3 – Hungate Case Study Haver Lane, p.99.

narratives through mainstream media as well as public events.⁴⁷⁸ For this reason, local authorities across the world have embraced aspects of performance as an integral asset in delivering programmes of interpretation and engagement. Within the confines of York this has occurred in part through the creation of a tourist economy in which heritage is consumed as a service through investment and curation. In this case, it is one in which residents are able to be brought into the fold in order to contribute to the heritage interpretation and dissemination.

Therefore, as a juxtaposition, this chapter addresses the impact and role of performance in York as an active process of audience engagement with the city and its past as both an experience and consumable product. As such, the current literature on performance within heritage studies will be addressed within a broader discussion of the experiential and emotional attachments involved in engaging with the past. To ground this chapter, three case studies will focus on the direct re-interpretations of historical performance in addition to the role of co-production between the public and theatres in creating and delivering programmes of performances, utilising a mixed methods approach. The first is a collaborative programme of performances through TakeOver Festival and BeSpectACTive, European Union (EU) and Arts Council funded projects arranged through York Theatre Royal, held to engage youth communities and provide opportunities to directly perform rather than remain as members of a passive audience. In conjunction with this, the chapter explores the work of The Theatre Royal in utilising iconic historic sites across the city as a stage upon which to deliver particular stories of York's past. The utilisation of Clifford's Tower and the surrounding streets have been used to portray the narrative of York's suffragettes and its confectionary history, which provides a unique level of immersion to audience members reinforcing the narrative being told. It is useful to examine their use of these iconic sites to share more recent social and economic stories of class and gender etc from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries against the backdrop of a much older

⁴⁷⁸ Bartie, Fleming, et al, 'Historical Pageants and the Medieval Past', pp. 866–902.

environment for a modern audience. Lastly, this chapter examines the modern interpretation of historical performances through reinterpretations of the York Corpus Christi plays, more popularly known as the York Mystery plays. This utilises interviews and observational work with Dr Mike Tyler, organiser, performer, and researcher of the plays, to understand the reasoning and impact of their re-enactment since their revival at the turn of the present century. Given the broader context of these case studies it has been imperative to utilise a mixture of resources and approaches to gather information. Therefore, a mixture of archival material on previous performances, news articles, and recordings have been utilised to provide a sense of the actual performances. These have been supported with interviews from staff who have been involved in helping in the development of these projects and their subsequent analysis. In addition, there are also further observational notes based on witnessing such performances first-hand. For the first case study, there is also the inclusion of reports and official documentation regarding the organisation, funding and negotiation of the project and its expansion outside of the theatre setting.

As a principle the definition of heritage by scholars like Laurajane Smith has perceived heritage as an active and performative process.⁴⁷⁹ While museums are seen as the bastions of traditional heritage, theatrical performance, by contrast, is perceived as a more nuanced practice within broader museum offerings or more specifically as a form of re-enactment. As Gaynor Bagnall notes, this is due to a frequent assumption that visitors to sites are assumed to be passive, uncritical consumers of heritage.⁴⁸⁰ The discourse of its utilisation in literature stems from the 'inauthenticity' that surrounds heritage performance which is 'entered into as a means to maintain the authority and gravity of expert knowledge'.⁴⁸¹ The suggestion is that these are designed as performed narratives to support the official institutional story that is sought to be told. Therefore, museum performances have

⁴⁷⁹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*

⁴⁸⁰ Gaynor Bagnall, G. 'Performance and performativity at heritage Sites', *Museum and Society*, 1(2). (2003), p.87.

⁴⁸¹ Smith, *The Uses of Heritage*, p.69.

at times been criticised for glamourising certain aspects of history for storytelling's sake rather than being more representative of living history.⁴⁸² This has led to a much more in-depth analysis of performance as an aspect of heritage studies; for Jenny Kidd, performance within a heritage perspective constitutes a form of staged authenticity as the audience consumes it passively and uncritically accepts its truth due to its formation and presentation within an institutionalised format.⁴⁸³ The existing literature largely portrays heritage performance as an extension of museum narratives, and with it the institutional authority. However, performance is not solely tied to museums and has both a more artistic and community-based focus. Furthermore, these interpretations do not consider the role of the performers and interpreters but focus solely on the audience consumers. This chapter will therefore argue that performance is a more complex aspect of heritage with an ability to mediate knowledge and understanding in a far more structured context as an educator and as an experiential activity.⁴⁸⁴ Moreover, for the purposes of this thesis, performance will be considered as a broader resource with subjective interpretation at its core. As an artistic discipline, performances are more widely influenced by the actors and audience. As with the discussion of heritage, individualised interpretations are informed by personal experiences which are replicated within the consideration of performance.

Raphael Samuel's work has influenced the approach taken here towards analysing performance. Samuel believed that there is an unspoken assumption that knowledge filters downwards. At the apex, there are the chosen few who pilot new techniques; their findings are rehearsed in academic papers, published in learned journals and amplified in scholarly monographs.⁴⁸⁵ The hierarchical view supports Samuel's Marxist beliefs of an official and in turn unofficial interpretation of the society and history based on the authoritativeness of

⁴⁸² Bartie, Fleming, et al, 'Historical Pageants and the Medieval Past', pp. 866–902.

⁴⁸³ Anthony Jackson and Jenny Kidd, (eds). *Performing Heritage: Research, practice and innovation in museum theatre and live interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p.27.

⁴⁸⁴ Anthony. Jackson, p. Johnson, H. Rees Leahy, V. Walker, *Seeing it for Real: An Investigation into the effectiveness of theatre and theatre techniques in museums* (University of Manchester. CATR September 2002), p.304.

⁴⁸⁵ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: 1: Past & Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994), p.4.

hierarchical society. Samuel's real importance stems from his more famous quote: 'history is not the prerogative of the historian, nor even as postmodernism contends, a historical 'invention'. It is rather a social form of knowledge; the work in any given instance of a thousand different hands.'⁴⁸⁶ The collective understanding establishes an unofficial knowledge that contradicts the hierarchical view. This draws similarities with other themes such as *gestalt* whilst applying a more social aspect of understanding.

Samuel's ideas continue to have relevance in contemporary museum studies.⁴⁸⁷ Museums were long viewed as sources of authenticity, with the knowledge filtering down from those with greater levels of understanding. Performance and, in turn, performative heritage are far more socio-centric in that they are a collective effort by performers, producers, and audience members. While collections can be examined for their marketing properties or criticised for heritage baiting, performances can fall victim to the same issues while at the same time transcend the discourse of museum legitimacy. As such within this chapter, efforts have been made to investigate a spectrum of performance heritage.

Performance theory in practice

While museums and heritage organisations have endeavoured to redesign interpretative material to become more visitor-centred, they still lag behind that of conventional theatre performance in this way. In 1971, Duncan Cameron diagnosed museums as being in 'desperate need of psychotherapy'.⁴⁸⁸ This was based on the idea that there was a struggle to reconcile the idea of the traditional museum as a curated treasure house to one of open

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, p.8.

⁴⁸⁷ See the work of the Hilda Kean, 'People, Historians, and Public History: Demystifying the process of History Making', *The Public Historian*, 32(3), (2010), pp. 25-38; Kynan Gentry, 'The Pathos of Conversation: Raphael Samuel and the politics of heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21(6), (2014), pp. 1-16; additional see the work of the History Workshop, Barbara Taylor, 'History of the History Workshop', 22nd November 2012, <<https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/museums-archives-heritage/the-history-of-history-workshop/>> [Accessed 19th June 2016]

⁴⁸⁸ Duncan Cameron, 'The Museum, a Temple or the Forum' (University of Colorado Museum Lecture, 1971), pp. 61-73.

discussion. Since then, there has been something of a more reflexive adjustment with museums orientated more toward visitors and the co-production of knowledge. The discourse within museums stems from the inherent value of the past that is placed upon collections and interpretation material. This, however, has attracted discussion about the authenticity of performance, as it is not just something that is inherent or ascribed; while performance has value it is still created under the influence of humans.⁴⁸⁹ Evaluating authenticity can be difficult in the context of performance as there is a reliance on interpretation; however, through the audience, it is possible to look for signs of attachment to an authentic truth.⁴⁹⁰

In a discussion of museum theatre in general, Chris Ford argues that '[i]dentification with characters, events, situations, thoughts and feelings by the audience is the very essence of theatre and storytelling, and I suggest that no matter how factually correct a theatre presentation might be, there is likely to be an element of personal engagement and interpretation present as well.'⁴⁹¹ The subjective sense of the past is heightened by a performance by connecting with people's memories and emotional experiences of the event.⁴⁹² Intangible heritage (which has been recognised since 2003) incorporates the signifying of cultural practice under the same measures of preservation and conservation as more traditional heritage forms. In this analysis, audience members are involved in a process of co-creation and co-production alongside directors, actors and others involved in the staging of theatrical performances. The notions of emotion and attachment that the audience members and producers/directors experience allow performers to build their notion of a sense of place based on their interpretation of the information/script at their disposal.

⁴⁸⁹ Sarah Rubridge, 'Does Authenticity matter? The case for and against authenticity in the performing arts', in Patrick Campbell, (ed). *Analysing Performance: interpretations, issues, ideologies*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1995) and George Hein. *Learning in the Museum*. (London: Routledge, 1998), p.151.

⁴⁹⁰ John Urry, *Consuming Places*. (Routledge: London and New York, 1995)

⁴⁹¹ C. Ford, 'Theatre as a learning medium in museums' in Blais, Jean-Marc, ed. *The language of live interpretation: animation in museums*. (Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization: 1997) p.45.

⁴⁹² Bagnall, 'Performance and performativity at heritage sites', p.91.

Heritage performance is interpreted in this chapter as a creative output in relation to the past. It does not have to conform to fixed structures, format, or scale; therefore, it can be applied to all range of performances from small-scale community productions to national festivals and global events. The constant is the emotional attachment to the performance by both direct participants and audience consumers. These performances offer a window of opportunity, a temporality of engagement of something that binds together the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage.

Richards describes cultural tourism as 'the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs'.⁴⁹³ This has resulted in a rise in experience economies that provide niche events beyond the everyday. Stebbins argues that 'Cultural tourism is a genre of special interest tourism based on the search for and participation in new and deep cultural experiences, whether aesthetic, intellectual, emotional, or psychological'.⁴⁹⁴ This shares many qualities with themes in chapter 4 on the festivalisation of urban space with place marketing. Arts festivals, framed within an array of neo-liberal, culture-led urban regeneration strategies, are now a mainstay of urban tourism and policymaking. However, in considering the democratisation of control within these performance pursuits, it is necessary to consider the attributed sense of ownership within these communities in which the creation of 'spaces of intersubjectivity...where the interaction of patrons, artists and organisations is encouraged'.⁴⁹⁵ This in turn draws comparisons with Tim Edensor's distinction between 'enclavic' and 'heterogeneous' tourist spaces.⁴⁹⁶ As specific groupings and engagements, in which only those participating were able to identify as part of a particular collective narrative, in practice performance has a much broader and

⁴⁹³ Greg Richards, *Cultural Tourism in Europe* (1996), p.24.

⁴⁹⁴ Robert Stebbins, 'Cultural tourism as serious leisure'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(4), (1996) p.948.

⁴⁹⁵ Bruce Willems-Braun 'Situating Cultural Politics: Fringe Festivals and the production of spaces of intersubjectivity', *Environment & Planning D: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 12. (1994), p.75.

⁴⁹⁶ Tim Edensor, 'Performing tourism, staging tourism: (Re)producing tourist space and practice'. *Tourist Studies*. 1 (2001), p.63.

more nuanced application. Rather than just forming part of cultural policy, on a lower-level performance is utilised as a unique resource to engage with the past as both a form of participation and consumption. For the context of this thesis, this includes the involvement of local residents as part of the performance rather than relying on performers that are detached from the location. These performances share similarities with the temporality discussed in the broader literature, not least because performances are finite creations that are of the moment and not replicable. As such, the instant emotional association formed is bespoke but directly tied to both the content and location. The example of 4 Haver Lane is in this sense a precedent for the use of performance in York to represent an emotionally charged and community-driven connection to the city's past.⁴⁹⁷ The characters, narratives and performance were emblematic of York's past, and, through this performance, two fundamental engagements were able to take place. On the one hand was that of the performers themselves who embodied the real lives of the residents of this street, forming deep-rooted connections with the people that archaeological remains first alerted them to. On the other hand, there was the encouragement of the audience to form a connection to the past more indirectly through this performance. Performance in this instance is a conduit, providing a means to engage through participatory experience. As such, in contextualising performance in York it is necessary to consider the role of both the audience and producers, and it is to the Theatre Royal that the chapter now turns.

Understanding Theatre in York

Originating in 1774, York Theatre Royal (YTR) is the oldest continuously operating theatre company in the English-speaking world. It is a cultural hub for York, North Yorkshire and beyond, and is recognised nationally and internationally for the scale of its integration with

⁴⁹⁷ See Chapter 3 – Hungate Case Study Haver Lane, pp 102-4.

the people of the city and the wider region.⁴⁹⁸ However, as with the broader cultural sector, funding has been increasingly influential on the capabilities of the theatre to operate in recent decades. More generally, the broader cultural sector has suffered persistent budget cuts since 2009. The theatre operates as a charity with a board of trustees and sponsors and contributions from Arts Council England and City of York Council.⁴⁹⁹ This situation is due to a general lack of government funding due to austerity stemming from the 2007/8 financial crisis and the Coalition and Conservative governments since. To ensure continued operational success, the theatre has widened its programme to offer innovative, far-reaching, and pro-active productions to encourage creative participation from members of the local community.

Through interviews with a prominent staff member, Paula Clark (YTR's Outreach Manager) in 2018, it was apparent that in the period prior to the Covid-19 pandemic there was an uneasy balance in how the theatre operated over the long term due to the lack of investment and austerity within the area. As Clark noted:

you can't get in the job in your local theatre and there is no such thing as a permanent job now. People who got contracts in the golden days are sat in their jobs and won't leave because they won't get a permanent one ever again, and it's people like me who are just constantly going, 'will I have a job in November? I don't know we're trying'; it's like that constantly. So, you know, you look at the jobs, the only jobs that come up are down south so arts, unless you are pretty sorted financially, you're not going to be able to work in York if you work in the arts and that's that. There's that divide again.⁵⁰⁰

This presents a contrasting view of the cultural sector as discussed in the preceding chapters in which funding is more readily available to invest. This lack of investment has had

⁴⁹⁸ Linda Fitzsimmons, 'The Theatre Royal, York, in the 1840's', *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 31(1), (2004), pp.18-25; Anselm Heinrich, 'The Forgotten Century: York's Theatre Royal between 1803-1911', *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 34(1) (2007), pp.35-47.

⁴⁹⁹ For more information on the history and structure of the theatre please see York Theatre Royal, 'Mission and Vision' <<https://www.yorktheatreroyal.co.uk/the-theatre/mission-and-vision/>> and 'Our Story' <<https://www.yorktheatreroyal.co.uk/the-theatre/our-story/>> [Accessed 17th January 2020]

⁵⁰⁰ Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017

a far-reaching impact on youth services and the ability to support diversity within the performing arts. Clark further notes, 'We basically don't have a youth service anymore, a lot of this is political obviously. Austerity. There is no youth service any longer. So young people literally fend for themselves. There is no one checking in on the young people who haven't got anything to do and feel that no one gives a shit about them. We're about to see an increase in crime. There needs to be some care taken with them, or you know...' ⁵⁰¹ These stark comments by Clark suggest that the impact is far beyond the cultural sector and correlates the diminished opportunities for cultural engagement with a growing lack of purpose or organised leisure facilities for young people. By considering the broader themes of emotional association, this lack of creative outlet reinforces the understanding of experience as a cornerstone of cultural understanding. Without that, identities and narrative are not enabled, and this can lead to individuals seeking out alternative methods of fulfilment to provide meaning and understanding. As such, the study of the Theatre Royal in this thesis has focussed on efforts to engage with these communities. The initial focus was on investigating the impact of EU funding to support youth programmes; however, based on interviews with staff, particularly that of Clark, it was evident that the empathy and emotional understanding of individuals within the theatre were as influential on the productions as the funding.

Heritage and cultural government policies within Britain have constantly shaped the public's perception and accessibility to consume. Public expenditure restrictions introduced by the Conservative government of the 1980s and early 1990s reduced funding of the cultural and arts sector. With the election of a New Labour government in 1997, policies were far more pro-cultural heritage and regeneration and raised the profile of these sectors, but divided critics. Chris Frayling, former Chairman of Arts Council England, believed that New Labour brought about a 'golden age for the arts in Britain'. As a result, between 1997 and 2010,

⁵⁰¹ Ibid

some £3 billion of Lottery funds were distributed to the arts and heritage.⁵⁰² It should be emphasised that these resources were *in addition* to increases to the Arts Council, local arts and culture, and broadcasting budgets.⁵⁰³ However, there are some significant downsides to lottery funding, not least that it tends to be regressive in social distribution.⁵⁰⁴ Clotfelter and Cook suggest that the class divisions are a major part of the criticism with higher proportions of income being spent on the Lottery by lower income groups, yet it is those of a higher socio-economic group that predominantly benefit from the culture that is funded from these proceeds.⁵⁰⁵ However, austerity as a result of the 2007/8 financial crash led to significant freezing and cuts to arts and culture funding, with government funding in 2008 frozen to the 2005 level of £413 million with consistent shrinking into the Coalition and succeeding Conservative governments.⁵⁰⁶ Subsequently, the reduction in government funding has forced institutions to seek outside funding and to redevelop programmes to accommodate for these fundamental changes. As such, the initial involvement in EU-funded projects allowed the theatre to expand its current restrictions and provide additional opportunities.

As the lead co-ordinator of TakeOver and BeSpectactive in York, it is important to contextualise Clark's background to further examine her impact on heritage performance within the broader community. As of 2018, Clark had over a decade of experience in theatre public outreach, having initially started as a freelance practitioner before taking temporary contracts focused on engaging with 12-16-year-olds for participation roles. For this reason, she commented repeatedly that she saw her role as that of a 'creative engagement officer' working collaboratively with communities as part of outreach programmes rather than more traditional work placements.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰² However, be aware that the National Lottery was implemented under the previous conservative government under PM John Major.

⁵⁰³ 'The Big Lottery Fund (Prescribed Expenditure), *UK Statutory Instruments*, No.3203 (2006)

⁵⁰⁴ Charles Clotfelter and Philip J. Cook, 'The Demand for Lottery Products, Working Paper No. 2928,' *National Bureau of Economic Research (April 1989)*., pp221-230.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid p.229

⁵⁰⁶ Charlotte Higgins, 'The Arts and the 2009 Budget', *The Guardian*, 22nd April 2009

⁵⁰⁷ Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017

During the interview with Clark, it was discussed how her initial upbringing established her empathy for these communities:

I came from North Wales via London and had an interesting route through, so when we arrived in York it was kind of like...erm...I'll just tell you as it was, we experienced homelessness in London, it was a quite traumatic, difficult, challenging time with my mother so we arrived in York with literally our lives in our suitcase and someone who said we could be a lodger in their house and that was my first beginning in York... [York] was kind of a very welcoming kind, generous, it felt like a safe house, a safe place, after quite a sort of challenging time in the big wide world.⁵⁰⁸

Clark's disadvantaged upbringing has instilled in her a personal mission to ensure that young people and under-represented groups have opportunities to find themselves in a similar safe environment. Through various youth engagement programmes, staff utilised their own emotional connections and understanding with young people to challenge their perception of the world. 'All of their politics and liberal ideas were coming from me and indoctrinating them with all my theatre and art and actually they weren't able to see any diversity or experience any kind of it, or have their eyes opened to hardship and different kinds of life experiences that York just seemed to sweep under the carpet.'⁵⁰⁹

This is significant here as, although not directly discussing the role of performance specifically, within the bubble of the theatre the creative outlet of expression and emotional openness found by staff enabled them to engage and showcase some of the variety of the broader community. An underlying theme of this correlated to the demographic of York with only limited representation of non-Caucasian groups. This is supported by other interviewees such as Fraser at the Civic Trust and Oxley at the council.⁵¹⁰ Again, Clark notes that the external perception of York reflects the lack of demographic diversity as well as the need for greater investment and support within disadvantaged communities:

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid

⁵¹⁰ David Fraser, 'Interview with Author', 14th December 2016, John Oxley, 'Interview with Author' 2nd November 2016, Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017

I work a lot with refugees, a lot of work in Bradford, we're obviously a very different demographic, but there are some things that are really horrifying, we have one of the highest rates of child poverty in the country. Some of the conditions in which people are living in on the outskirts, in deprived areas are shocking, not just bad for York, bad for the country, so we can't very well be 'oh well there's no', what do we mean by it, we just don't see it because it's outside of our pretty walls.⁵¹¹

In contrast to the governance and portrayal of York through marketing materials, York is a city balancing its agendas and much of this work has focused on the inner-city narratives of York. The inner city conventionally has been seen as the main site of urban change and economic deprivation in the 1970s and 1980s. However, within this sphere and within the broader area of York there is the consideration of different groups who have not received the same representation. Therefore, as Kidd notes, performance can act as a method of 'enabling a dialogue'.⁵¹² Given traditional efforts of interpretation have been criticised for rendering marginalised or disadvantaged communities voiceless, performance is a means to readdress the imbalance by allowing participation of these communities to not only perform but produce their own productions within the local community.⁵¹³ This is often tokenistic and, as Smith notes, 'most attempts at public or community inclusion into heritage programmes are inevitably expressed in assimilatory terms, in that excluded groups become 'invited' to 'learn', 'share' or become 'educated' about authorized heritage values and meanings'.⁵¹⁴ There is, however, an increasing move towards co-production in which marginalised communities are part of the creation and production of the performance. This approach to co-production and performance is, in general, novel within the heritage sector and counters the earlier interpretations of Smith and Kidd that performances in the sector are delivered in a top-down manner to inform the audience based on the expertise of staff. However, co-production shifts the dynamic and places participants and audiences on a more balanced

⁵¹¹ Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017

⁵¹² Jenny Kidd, 'Performing the knowing archive: Heritage performance and authenticity'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17 (1) (2011), p.32.

⁵¹³ John Urry, 'How societies remember the past', in Susan Macdonald, G. Fyfe, (eds), *Theorizing Museums*, (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell. 1996.), pp. 45-65.

⁵¹⁴ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.44.

level allowing greater expression and opportunity to emotionally associate with the context and location.⁵¹⁵

Co-producing performances of the city

The following examples examine the work that Paula Clark has been involved in, notably TakeOver Festival and BeSpectACTive. Both projects stem from much larger projects of national and European Union funding.⁵¹⁶ This section will introduce the projects, their aims and organisation before examining their impact and value for audience members, participants and staff based on interviews, reviews and commentary.

BeSpectACTive was a European Union programme delivered from 2014-18 within seven EU-member countries to produce a programme of work in theatre spaces commissioned by community groups.⁵¹⁷ Due to global changes such as Brexit and Covid, at the time of writing the 2018 programme was the last scheduled event. This culminated five years of new theatre and dance shows with a conference held in York to discuss the findings of the scheme.⁵¹⁸ At a fundamental level, the local community was given access to programme work in the theatre space. Works were commissioned from across the seven member countries, including Romania and Hungary, who have been hosted at York, and these incorporate different languages and use subtitles on stage. Due to the scope and substantial impact this scheme has had on encouraging community involvement on a European scale, TakeOver was devised as the York contingent of the programme, which helped to ensure York's part in a wider European community programme.

⁵¹⁵ Helen Graham and Jo Vergunst, (eds.) *Heritage as Community Research: Legacies of Co-Production*. 1st ed. (Bristol University Press, 2019); J. Minkiewicz, J. Evans, & K. Bridson, 'How do consumers co-create their experiences? An exploration in the heritage sector', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30(1-2), (2014), pp.30–59; Laurent Bourdeau, Maria Gravari-Barbas and Mike Robinson, (Eds.) *World Heritage, Tourism and Identity: Inscription and Coproduction*. (Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015)

⁵¹⁶ York Theatre Royal, 'Take Over Festival'

<https://www.yorktheatreroyal.co.uk/page/Take_Over_Festival.php> [19th November 2018]

⁵¹⁷ For further information on the scheme and the impact on York please read Damian Cruden, Juliet Forster, John Tomlinson, 'TakeOver Festival' in *Be SpectACTive! Challenging Participation in Performing Arts*, (Editoria Spettacolo, Spoleto 2018), pp.94-105.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid

TakeOver, whilst created as part of the larger Be SpectACTive scheme, was its own entity. Paula comments that it was originally formed as an offshoot of a broader Arts Council funded opportunity called Night Less Ordinary, which aimed to give free theatre tickets to young people aged between 14 and 25 between 2009-11.⁵¹⁹ However, as Marshall and Clark note, to make this venture worthwhile, it had to engage with youth communities rather than treat them as passive audiences. Staff thus established an opportunity for young people to gain vital experience within the theatre. As Clark notes 'most people who requested to work at the theatre for experience, already knew what they were doing, so they just weren't really taking anything from their time here, it was just something for the CV. They could have done it anywhere. And with 200 people trying to apply for each position, it was sheer luck to be given a chance, especially to one that wanted to actually gain something'.⁵²⁰ As such the programme was designed to give people within the local communities a real experience and opportunity to work within the theatre. It was a non-for-profit scheme that allowed participants to take on real roles, to negotiate contracts, manage budgets and programmes productions as they saw fit.

This more democratic approach to participation means that aspects of skill level are not a factor, and that there is always a space for people to get involved. To support this, the programme included a team of board members with theatre staff to oversee operations, whilst allowing freedom to the new creative team each year. Each programme included an element of outdoor performance. When the theatre closed for refurbishment in 2015 until April 2016 this posed the question of where the performances would take place. The National Railway Museum (NRM) was persuaded to allow their space to be taken over. Clark notes that 'They didn't really understand it, they didn't really want to go for it, but they did, for the TakeOver team it was one of the most challenging and demanding, it was above and

⁵¹⁹ Arts Council, *A Night Less Ordinary: The free ticket scheme for under 26's (2009-2011) Evaluation*, (2012); York Theatre Royal, 'Take Over Festival', < <https://www.yorktheatreroyal.co.uk/be-part-of-it/children-and-young-people/takeover/#:~:text=TakeOver%20exists%20to%20give%20young,a%20large%2Dscale%20arts%20festival.>> [Accessed 23rd February 2019]

⁵²⁰ Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017

beyond hours wise but it was it one of the most exciting TakeOver festivals ever.⁵²¹ When given the brief for the festival in 2015 the NRM stated that it had to allow the audience to engage with the museum collection in different ways. Branching out across the city allowed the programme to build upon ideas of place and position performance in a site-specific medium. The co-production of the festival thus expanded to include the needs and interests of partners to ensure a mutual output. 2017 saw efforts to further diversify across the city's public spaces with performances on the wall and the streets of the city to highlight the persistence of physical boundaries. This opportunity to deliver thoughtful and relatable productions is fundamental to the consideration of performance in York. This project, while under the theatre's guidance, was led by the youth communities. This was key as the correlation between participant and audience at this level had the potential to generate associations and a legacy through dynamic pieces of art that impact not only the individuals, but also the broader community. The context and environmental aspects of the performance allowed it to imbue and integrate with the broader historical narratives at play. For instance, the example hosted at the NRM had to be adapted to fit the environment. This was not an imposition or control by the museum but a request to broaden the potential narrative integration and association of the performance due to the setting, which was approved.

TakeOver placed the community at the heart of the production. It allowed them to engage within the complete production process, with audience participation being a secondary process of engagement. This supports Robert Hollands' argument that festivals of all kinds offer greater inclusivity to the city without being tied to its dominant institutional narrative.⁵²² Festivals allow for greater levels of diversity and reflection from local residents rooted in a collective experience.⁵²³ That very experience is necessary to understand how performance is used in this content where the focus was on the production not consumption.

⁵²¹ Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017 and Cruden, Forster, Tomlinson, 'TakeOver Festival', pp.94-105.

⁵²² Robert G. Hollands 'Engaging and Alternative Cultural Tourism?', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 3(3), (2010), pp.379-394.

⁵²³ Chris Newbold, *Focus on Festival: Contemporary European Case Studies and Perspectives*, (Goodfellow, 2015)

This expands on the ideas posed by contemporaries who have otherwise focused first on consumption and only later, ideas of production, specifically through co-production. The active participation of those involved gives value and assets through education and skills as well as cultural association and engagement.

An example taken from the partnership with the NRM represents the value that was placed on the performance by the audience as well as the producing partners. 'A Journey with Maude' was part of the 2015 programme taking place inside a train carriage with multisensory elements to draw the audience in further and let them inhabit the place and the narrative.



Figure 5.1 Photograph of Sally Ann Staunton as Maude from the production of *Harold and Maude* (Callum McLeod 2015).

The performance took inspiration from the well-known film *Harold and Maude* and transported Maude from Vienna to San Francisco across the 30-minute performance. Artistic Director Steve Byrne wanted to ensure that the performance was something special for the audience and in an interview with York Press he stated that the trains are a means of 'glimpsing other people's stories'.⁵²⁴ This made the setting a valuable asset to the

⁵²⁴ Charles Hutchinson, 'Interplay Theatre takes a train journey with Maude on board National Railway Museum Carriages at TakeOver Festival', *York Press*, 29th October 2015

performance: having the audience witness the move through carriages, they catch snippets of Maude's life as she travels both around the world and through time. 'The train she would travel on as a child in Vienna and the train she had to travel at the beginning of the war are featured, as is the train she travels today on the eve of her 80th birthday, carrying a small tree that she is rescuing.'⁵²⁵ The noises, smells, and sights that are added to the performance generate a means of participation for the audience, which helps ground them in the setting. The performance attempted to immerse the audience, who assembled with a conductor prior to the performance. This was inclusive theatre as Maude interacted with the other 'passengers' with whom she discussed her life and the journey she was on. While the performances were intimate, they allowed the select few each time to take that journey with her and build their own association with the train and the city as well as Maude and her past. Hauntingly philosophical at times, Maude reminds us of the fragility of life and to appreciate that which is around us. A brief snapshot of the performance posted online by Interplay Theatre, one of the co-producers, allows audiences to still see the immersive performance that TakeOver produced and the way in which the audience was part of it.⁵²⁶ These temporary engagements provide an attachment for the audience members that is equally fleeting and unique. Each performance was different, just as every audience member was an influence upon it, which meant that the experiential nature of the performance cannot be replicated.

Theatre in the City

Beyond the festivals discussed above, the theatre has engaged directly with narratives of the city. Productions such as *Blood + Chocolate* (2013) and *Everything is Possible: The York Suffragettes* (2017) dealt with specifically York narratives. *Blood + Chocolate* focuses on

<http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/13921654.Interplay_Theatre_take_a_train_journey_with_Maude_on_board_National_Railway_Museum_carriage_at_TakeOver_Festival/> [Accessed 17th October 2018]

⁵²⁵ Ibid

⁵²⁶ See Interplay Theatre, 'A Journey with Maude – Take Over Festival 2015' <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tS7q0ltz8vM>> [[Accessed 17th October 2018]

events of 1914 in which the Lord Mayor of York sent out Rowntree Chocolate tins to every soldier from the city who fought during the First World War.⁵²⁷ The large-scale performance encompassed landmarks across the city centre, including Clifford's Tower (Figure 5.2) and the Minster, to which the audience gathered to watch the performance with headsets feeding the audio directly. To complement the performance, the production was streamed online on October 17th, 2013, and is still viewable.⁵²⁸ The large cast of local actors gave weight to the performance as accents reflect the local dialect and reinforce that this was a performance of the people. The insightful use of the landscape at the base of Clifford's Tower becomes battlements for the trenches (Figure 5.2-4). This is important here to see the utilisation of the urban landscape and more importantly an iconic historical site as an integral part of the performance backdrop. The heavy and emotional story of the First World War is grounded by reminders of York's history in chocolate, and actors eat chocolate at poignant points as the performance shifts.

⁵²⁷ Pilot Theatre 'Blood + Chocolate', <<https://www.pilot-theatre.com/archive/blood-chocolate-2013#>> [Accessed 19th October 2018]

⁵²⁸ Pilot Theatre 'Blood + Chocolate Livestream' <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-DgqP6TqHSo>> [Accessed 19th October 2018]

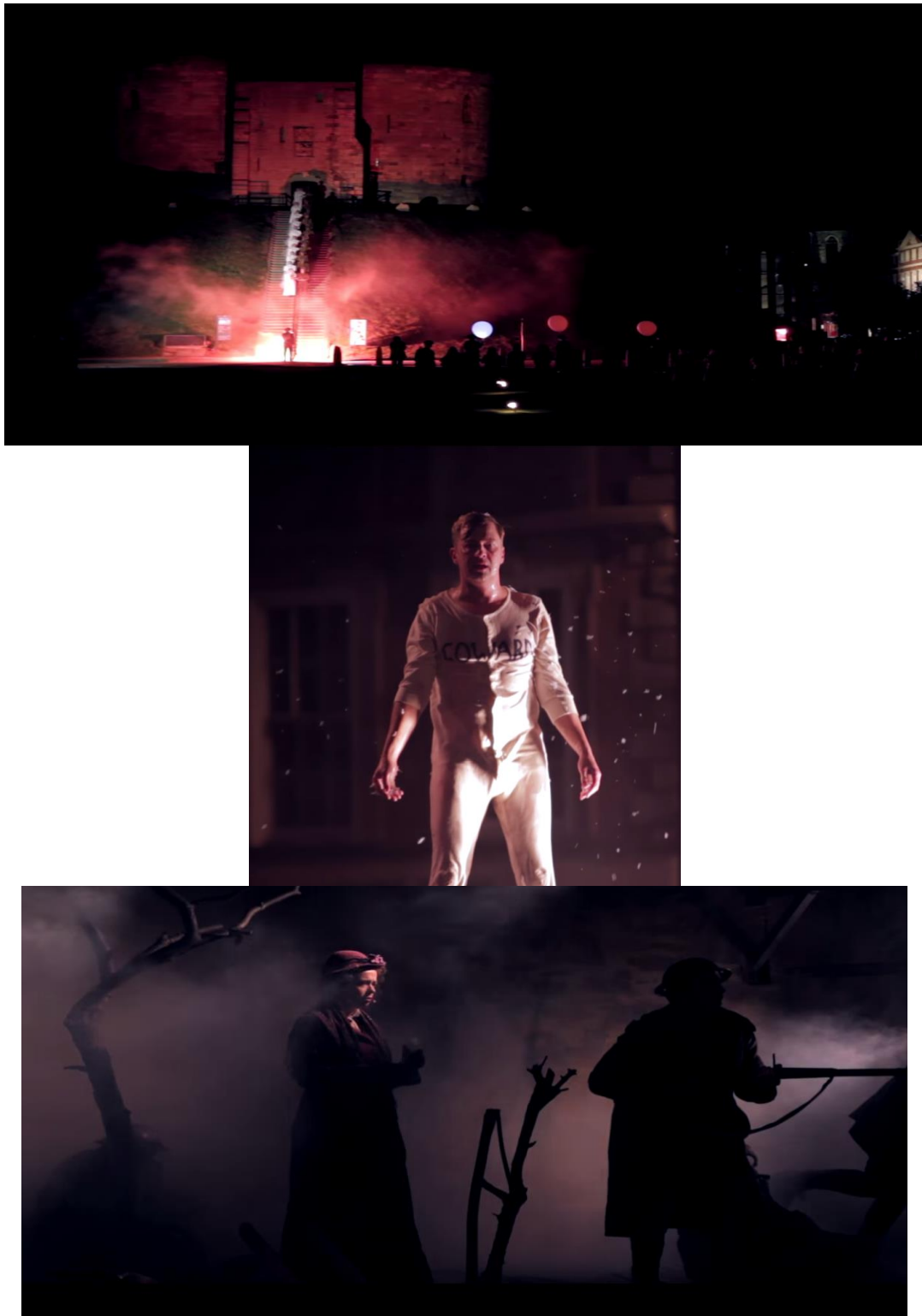


Figure 5.2-4 Photographs from *Blood and Chocolate* (Pilot Theatre 2018).⁵²⁹

⁵²⁹ Ibid

York Theatre Royal and Pilot Theatre came together again in 2017 to co-produce a community production based on the city's suffragette movement, with links to ongoing struggles for female empowerment. Based on historical research and contextualised within national suffragette campaigns and contemporary struggles, the production looked to give a voice to York's women.⁵³⁰ 'Performed on a spectacular scale by a cast of around 150 volunteers, the action was performed in the streets of York before moving onto the stage at York Theatre Royal. From Heworth housewives to railway workers and from teenage arsonists to the Prime Minister, there will be parts for women and men of all ages to take part in presenting this astonishing moment in York's history.'⁵³¹ Given the topic of women's rights, the project was co-produced with York-based women's charity Kyra Women's Project. Founded in 2013, the Kyra Women's Project provides a safe space and support centre for women that is run by women, offering encouragement, companionship, information, training, and a sense of belonging for women from all backgrounds.⁵³² Annie Stirk, a Trustee of Kyra, said: 'We are extremely pleased to be working in partnership with York Theatre Royal and Pilot Theatre on this piece of theatre. One of our objectives at Kyra is to promote equality and inclusion for women, a struggle which has been ongoing since the suffragette movement began at the beginning of the last century and which continues to this day.'⁵³³ This is a good example of the merits of working with disadvantaged and vulnerable groups with which Clark has collaborated to improve participation:

I've been working with three outreach groups over a year to eventually involve them in this production, one is a group of vulnerable teenagers, (they aren't vulnerable, but we have to give them labels to get funding) I hate giving them labels. Those with difficult circumstances at home, low self-esteem etc. A Woman's project called KYRA, and a group of adults with learning difficulties from York and the idea being that run projects through the year that they can come together as a group feel comfortable, confident with the people, staff, environment, build up their skills and their enjoyment for it so by the time they pick a big community production they

⁵³⁰ York Theatre Royal 'Everything is Possible', <https://www.yorktheatreroyal.co.uk/list/2017_community_production_announced.php#.W3XO2thKhBw> [Accessed 19th October 2018]

⁵³¹ Ibid

⁵³² Kyra Womens Project 'Home' < <http://www.kyra.org.uk/>> [Accessed 19th October 2018]

⁵³³ York Theatre Royal 'Everything is Possible',

are feeling quite confident. I'm in the cast as well so I can support from within.⁵³⁴

Paula's work and that of the theatre was helpful in establishing the potential of performance as a method of providing a voice for disadvantaged or underrepresented groups.



Figure 5.5 Photograph of the performance *Everything is Possible: The York Suffragettes*, (Anthony Robling, 2017).

While focused on an historic event, the performance of *Everything is Possible* drew parallels with modern day issues. Promotional material compared the modern-day similarities between suffragettes and contemporary women looking for a voice.⁵³⁵ Within the performance itself is an acknowledgement of the continued disparity between men and women. Towards the close of the play projection of media coverage showing voting in recent elections plays just as conversations around pay gaps continue. The general message by the end of the performance is that equality is still worth fighting for. The women of KYRA continue to fight for a voice which this performance embodies indirectly. This same theme is mentioned in a podcast interview between Mark Smith of the British Theatre Guide and Juliet Forster, Associate Director of York Theatre Royal. In this there is discussion of the need to

⁵³⁴ Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017

⁵³⁵ See promotional video Pilot Theatre 'Everything is Possible: The York Suffragettes' <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jNbu3SndroY>> {Accessed 19th October 2018}

address the 'strength of the female voice'.⁵³⁶ This performance, far more than just granting voice to these women, made sure that it was presented in a way that, like *Blood and Chocolate*, was not just a conventional spectator performance. The performance started on the steps of the Minster at the setting of a march for women's rights before transforming to a more energetic rally with placed actors shouting from the audience as the 'police' attempt to quieten down the situation before picking up in the theatre. The focus on immersive theatre again ensured that the audience remained part of the production and associated themselves with the performance. Observing the audience during the start of a performance it was evident that they were taken in by the mechanisms of the performance, and many began to partake in the cheering during the rally scenes.⁵³⁷ These audience members, whether acutely aware of the fact or not, were part of the performance from this point of view and as such were given more value within the work of the theatre.

Reapplying history: The York Mystery Plays

Other historic projects across the city were driven by communities and have since been taken under the guidance of the theatre. For example, the York Mystery Plays carry a long tradition of performance dating back to the fourteenth century and have formed an important element of the city's cultural heritage since their revival in 1951. These consist of a Middle English cycle of 48 plays covering sacred history from the Creation to Last Judgement. Traditionally, these were performed on the feast day of Corpus Christi and the York Mystery Plays are one of four virtually complete cycles alongside Chester, Wakefield, and N-Town.⁵³⁸ The current iteration is derived from a surviving manuscript of the plays dated between 1463 and 1477.⁵³⁹ Following the Reformation, the plays were ceased before a reinstatement to

⁵³⁶ British Theatre Guide, 'Suffragettes in York from York Theatre Royal and Pilot Theatre' June 12th, 2017, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zqaCspDI58E>> {Accessed 19th October 2018}

⁵³⁷ Observational Notes, 21st June 2017

⁵³⁸ In this instance N-Town refers to nomen or name as this was a set or touring plays, thus the name was changed to fit the location they were delivered. As such, these have sometimes been referred to as the Hegge Cycle instead.

⁵³⁹ Richard Beadle; Pamela M. King, *York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling*. (Oxford University Press, 2009)

coincide with the Festival of Britain in 1951. Over fifty years the plays were slowly revived and included notable actors such as Dame Judi Dench and Robson Green. The city's guilds have guided the production, which has seen steady growth and reception of their performance including their 2000 production held in York Minster. More traditionally these performances are seen around the city on wagons pulled through the streets or staged renditions held in the Abbey Gardens.⁵⁴⁰ Their inclusion within this chapter is due to the modern reinvention and reinterpretation of these historical narratives within a modern setting and delivery method.

Dr Mike Tyler has taken an active role in the production, participation, and analysis of the Mystery Plays, in 2006 becoming Pageant Master as well as completing academic work on the subject.⁵⁴¹ As such, his insights into the mechanisms of coproducing the plays, the involvement of guilds and the impact on the modern audiences provided a vital resource to this work. Tyler has stated repeatedly in conversations that the way to make the most of street productions is to get away from technology.⁵⁴² This is something which is reflected in the production mentioned previously; though technology has been utilised through audio systems and for recording it has for the most part remained a physical production. In a similar way to the theatre productions mentioned, the Mystery Plays were a community driven operation. The guilds of the city took production ownership of the mystery plays following their revival, while collaborations with the Merchant Adventurers and York Settlement Players established a long working example of how these plays can be produced and managed under the guilds. The revival of the mystery plays is an important acknowledgment of the shared heritage of the city. This is noted by Sarah Beckwith, who argues that the plays 'stage for the city a spectacle of itself'.⁵⁴³ As Tyler comments, the

⁵⁴⁰ York Mystery Plays 'What are the York Mystery Plays', <<http://www.yorkmysteryplays.org/default.asp?idno=4>> [Accessed 19th October 2018]

⁵⁴¹ Mike Tyler, 'Revived, remixed, retold, upgraded? The heritage of the York Cycle of Mystery Plays'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 16, (2010).

⁵⁴² Mike Tyler, 'Conversation with Author' (Please note these were not conducted under interview conditions)

⁵⁴³ Sarah Beckwith, *Signifying God: social relation and symbolic act in the York Corpus Christi plays*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p.13.

participants are therefore acting as both actors and audience as their participation acknowledges the community wrapped around the content, thus reinforcing ideas made around the Theatre Royal's productions.⁵⁴⁴ Rather than the minority and marginalised communities discussed previously, this form of engagement is more associated with the middle-class, which is significant in suggesting that performance is not discriminatory.



Figure 5.6 Photograph from York Mystery Plays depicting the crucifixion (York Butchers Guild, 2010).

⁵⁴⁴ Tyler, 'Revived, remixed, retold, upgraded?'

While the medieval associations are interesting, it is the modern connotation that is important here. The Festival of Britain in 1951 was a rebirth for the nation, in what Roy Strong views as a concerted effort to construct 'a new secular mythology' that drew from the past while looking forward to celebrating that which made the nation (and indeed, York) great.⁵⁴⁵ Rather than perform something safe or having something newly commissioned, the festival committee for York made the bold decision to try for the Mystery Plays. As Tyler notes, 'the rule of censor still held sway, and there was a general ban on the portrayal of the Divinity on stage'.⁵⁴⁶ Forgoing the title of 'Corpus Christi Plays' removed the Catholic connotations, while the inclusion of 'Mystery' added a popular hook for audiences. The continuation of the plays through the second half of the century ensured their place in the heritage of York. From the wagon performances, intended to reflect the medieval street tradition, to the now dominant performance in the ruins of St Mary's Abbey, it ensures that each production is a part of the iconic material of York. Though the plays have changed they continue to share similarities both with their medieval counterparts and early revivals.

⁵⁴⁵ Roy Strong, *A tonic to the nation: the festival of Britain 1951*. (London: Thames and Hudson 1976), p.6,

⁵⁴⁶ Tyler, 'Revived, remixed, retold, upgraded?', p.328.



Figure 5.7 Photograph of the York Mystery Plays being performed in the grounds of St Mary's Abbey (York Mystery Plays, 2012).

2008 saw a radical change to the programme: with the strap line 'Revived, Reworked, Retold, the York Youth Mysteries', these plays were independent of medieval text and instead allowed for reinterpretation by several youth groups to develop their own performances. This self-conscious desire to establish a link to an identifiable audience through the vehicle of a single cultural event was perhaps the most overt expression of intention to strengthen a concept of community in the long history of the Mystery Plays. Much like TakeOver, this effort drew upon a variety of backgrounds, from those interested in performances to youth offenders, gospel choir and even a team of parkour athletes.⁵⁴⁷

The Youth Mysteries 2008 seek to take the existing form and content of these medieval Mystery Plays and re-imagine them through contemporary presentational forms, from live art to physical theatre, from audio-visual installation to choral circus spectacular ... The works created for York Youth Mysteries 2008 will be performed both inside buildings and also outside, in public settings. The work set inside will share an artistic ambition to examine intimate moments within the Mysteries. The works set

⁵⁴⁷ Tyler, 'Revived, remixed, retold, upgraded?', p.331.

outside are concerned with the public narratives and how crowds frame each work.⁵⁴⁸

The reinterpretation of space was apparent as pink VW campers became the modern iteration of wagons, while the crucifixion depiction included high visibility jackets and hard hats. Perhaps it was the interpretation of the Last Supper that reflected the most significant change to make the performance inclusive. As Tyler notes, the performance was staged to a limited number sat around a table in Barley Hall, a reconstructed medieval town house. Audience participants were ‘...admitted in groups of 13 to share a bowl of soup with an iconic group of 13 performers seated opposite them.’⁵⁴⁹ The characters were unnamed, dressed in modern garb and addressed only the member of the audience seated opposite them. During the meal, each guest listened to a whispered, barely audible monologue dealing with narratives of love, trust, and betrayal – an entirely personal performance.⁵⁵⁰ Though at first it appears that the heritage has been removed from this production, given that it is detached from its earlier guises or costume, the reinterpretation shows how much the performances are a part of the city and the people involved. The removal of the tropes of the past allowed those involved to participate in a new form of relationship between each other, as well as between location and the past through performance. Wedgwood makes the point that museums ‘about’ place imply a past and a narrative that is complete, whilst museums ‘of’ place or community imply a living past.⁵⁵¹ Mystery plays allow the performers and the audience to build that narrative; the youth version perhaps takes that further and strips the plays of the safety net that has operated for over half a century.

Whilst Tyler operated as Artistic Director in 2002 and 2006 and consultant director in 2010, the mystery plays were taken under the control of the theatre in 2012. Following

⁵⁴⁸ S. Burke, and C. Jackson, *York youth mysteries: project report and evaluation*. (Unpublished internal report, City of York Council, 2009)

⁵⁴⁹ Tyler, ‘Revived, remixed, retold, upgraded?’, p.333.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵⁵¹ Tamasin Wedgwood, ‘History in two dimensions or three? Working class responses to history’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 15 (4), (2009), pp. 277–297.

performances in the Minster and building on their iconic status there was an assumption that they had to maintain the support and presence of the plays. The theatre's work on the mystery plays established a relationship with pilot theatre and led to the productions of *Blood + Chocolate* and others as mentioned above:

This was one year where the theatre was going to produce them, they made a huge purpose-built theatre in museum gardens, the biggest one, the most people in it ever so they got 300 community members to come build the set, be in the cast, do the wardrobe, absolutely everything and they had a couple of professionals come and play Jesus, and Lucifer. It was the serial killer off Coronation Street and Ben Kingsley's son, and it was amazing this really incredible experience that they have always been about but on such a wide scale. What was so special about it was, the intergenerational nature of it. The coming together of people from all walks of life. So, there was an inter-social, economic spin to it. And different levels of experience come together, some just wanted to come and paint, because they might like doing a bit, semi-professionals... After that they just demanded another one...⁵⁵²

The theatre has continued to embrace the community aspect of the mystery plays that make them iconic to York and has made their inclusivity a consistent theme throughout its productions. While the productions mentioned so far have addressed their statements of community engagement and their value to audiences, some scholars have been critical of performative history.⁵⁵³ As discussed previously, much of the literature has viewed performance as a novelty to show adherence of efforts to appear representative of a wider demographic or has viewed performance as part of broader cultural policy for tourism. However, for those involved in the preparation, research, and participation of performance activities, authenticity has become a principal concern and aspiration for their work, defending its use and championing further application and understanding.⁵⁵⁴ This has also become a far more significant factor for audiences which, as has been noted, seek more

⁵⁵² Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017

⁵⁵³ York Theatre Royal, 'Take Over Festival'

⁵⁵⁴ Stephen Hunt, 'Acting the Part: 'living history' as a serious leisure pursuit', *Leisure Studies*, 23(4), (2004), pp. 387-403. And J. Tivers, 'Performing heritage: the use of live 'actors' in heritage presentations' *Leisure Studies*, 21 (2002), pp.187-200.

from their engagement with the past. In the twenty-first century it is easier to observe and critique something that is perceived to be staged than it is to apply the same scrutiny to other forms of consuming heritage. Objects are taken-for-granted as a means of connecting with the past; they are taken as authentic, stable, and objective items that embody the past. Their inclusion in performance brings them into contact with more interpretative pursuits where an applied value is demonstrated. Rather than being organised solely within conceptual frames as in the exhibition, their framing is now demonstrably performative.⁵⁵⁵ This opens up new and exciting avenues for the exploration of their multiple significations.

Conclusion

Performance is more than just a process of liberation from authorised narratives; it allows for social formation and cultural production from the audience as much as the performers. The idea of performance, in particular through festival events, can produce temporary showcases of the city. Hollands discusses how performances can be employed as an alternative narrative to the city mechanism.⁵⁵⁶ He goes on to discuss specific types of events such as fringe festivals, which are run to showcase wider cultural forms and practices rather than just high culture. As part of urban regeneration and place marketing, festivals have become part of the everyday lexicon. The aim of this chapter was to understand the extent to which performance can be used to represent underrepresented narratives and offer inclusivity of the communities they portray.

Performance is a means of active engagement with the past, whether on an individual or group level. The methods of performance addressed each allow those participants involved to experience elements of the past in a variety of ways. Performance is

⁵⁵⁵ Brabara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: tourism, museums & heritage*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)

⁵⁵⁶ Robert Hollands, 'Engaging and alternative tourism?', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 3(3), pp. 379-394.

not just a mono-sensory medium; the sounds, smells, and visuals mixed with the immersive inclusion ensure a strong emotional and sensory attachment to each individual experience. The work of the Theatre Royal, in particular, has shaped the city and shown that there are means of inclusion beyond the more traditional notions of re-enactment and living history seen in sites like Jorvik. While organisations like the Yorkshire Farming Museum have tried to allow the audience to lead the narrative, it is still led by the members of staff personifying the roles. Whilst there is obvious guidance in the theatrical productions, without the input from the communities there would be little to show for the work. The continued success of programmes like TakeOver and the York Mystery Plays shows that there is a clear demand for this sort of community engagement with the past. Unlike more traditional approaches to heritage, as seen through more tangible artefact-based interpretation, performance is inherently more creative in its approach to engagement. Therefore, this form of heritage has the potential to engage with a wider and more diverse section of the public. The principles set out by Takeover have the potential to be replicated within cities across the globe as a template for broader inclusion with heritage sites and communities. The work of Pilot Theatre also shows the potential to improve narrative immersion through integration with urban space. While museums endeavour to engage they are aware that a visitor can take or leave information. Thus, in many ways a performance already has the attention of the audience as participants; it is therefore a matter of how it utilises the opportunity. The success of productions will continue to see greater investment by communities to have their voices heard and take ownership of the performance and therefore, of the narrative presented to the city and audience. Several of the groups covered in this thesis operate on a very individualistic basis. The examples examined in this chapter are at least group based and ensure a social element to any notion of production. Given the new-found acceptance of intangible heritage aspects of performance along with digital documentation including the YouTube footage mentioned previously are reminders of the public impact that this can have. Heritage is a changing concept and with it so is its interpretation, yet this chapter has shown this not to be a negative thing. The Youth Mystery Plays provided additional

resources for audiences, including helping to connect more people with the city and the official narratives. As York continues to change and embrace greater festivalisation of its cultural heritage, the role of performance will continue to grow. The efforts of bodies like the Theatre Royal and the city's guilds will ensure that there is a voice for the people.

In positioning this within the broader context of this thesis, not only does this approach provide a public-based methodology for engaging with historical narratives, but it equally presents an immersive opportunity to reinforce and build an emotional attachment to place. In approaching this through a mixed methods approach, the inclusion of a practice-based approach, in combination with more theoretical and tangible approaches, allowed for a more comprehensive interpretation of place. By ensuring a tangible correlation with the built environment, heritage as performance has the potential to reinforce narrative bonds. This has similarities with the ideas discussed within place marketing by utilising events that rely on venues or key narratives as a unifying factor of engagement. Therefore, to establish this as a more versatile approach within future research, it is necessary to factor in both the approach to encourage communities to participate as well as audience feedback from these performances (which was not included within this study). This would then provide validation and further data for analysis for this approach in the future.

Chapter 6: Exploring the use of Digital Heritage within Urban Engagement

In 2014 the British Council declared the World Wide Web as the number one moment that shaped the world. This was based on the fact it is 'the fastest growing communications medium of all time; the internet has changed the shape of modern life forever. We can connect with each other instantly all over the world.'⁵⁵⁷ The innovation of the internet has fundamentally altered every aspect of modern life as it bridges the tangible and intangible worlds. This is the first century that is truly digital, and the advent of the internet allows images and ideas to traverse the globe almost instantly. The emergence of digital technology and, in particular, the advent of the internet and social media sites such as Myspace and Facebook have transformed conventional methods of communication and provided new methods of engaging with the urban environment.⁵⁵⁸ This transition to a digital age has introduced fundamental changes to academic research with the need to adapt and assimilate the potential of digital resources. In particular, the growth of social media has generated new opportunities to examine public social behaviour in an artificial setting. This is a significant development within disciplines such as urban studies that have predominantly deployed ethnographic models or relied on archival materials for analysis. For example, social media has transformed the way that heritage providers publicise their work and interact with their audiences, therefore the inclusion of such aspects is an essential consideration of this thesis to address the academic utilisation of such platforms. As such, this chapter explores several examples of ways in which digital technology has provided new resources to academics as well as examining the potential insights that are achievable within urban heritage studies.

⁵⁵⁷ British Council '80 moments that shaped the world' 2014 <
<https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/80-moments-report.pdf>> [Accessed 9 September 2016]

⁵⁵⁸ Eszter Hargittai, 'Whose Space? Differences among Users and Non-Users of Social Network Sites', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), (2007), pp. 276–297 and Eszter Hargittai, 'A Framework for Studying Differences in People's Digital Media Uses.' in Nadia Kutscher and Hans-Uwe Otto (eds). *Cyberworld Unlimited* (VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften/GWV Fachverlage GmbH, 2007), pp.121-137.

Many of the established paradigms of thought are still adjusting to the enhanced role of digital engagement. Previous studies have treated the internet with caution, having raised concerns over the legitimacy of information, and issues of consent. However, Jenny Gregory argues that the use of social media is no different to opinion pieces and letters to the editors which do not carry the same ethical concerns.⁵⁵⁹ In response, new paradigms focused on digital inclusivity have begun to emerge which counteract some of the concerns raised previously by focusing on the idea of accessibility and value of social media sources. Unlike traditional methodologies, the use of digital sources enables analysis of data in a natural form devoid of direct intervention from a researcher or authority.⁵⁶⁰ These digital platforms, in particular social media, are now a very natural setting for discussion amongst users now removed from the novelty of their earlier methodological inclusions.⁵⁶¹ For this reason, throughout this thesis there has been a heavy incorporation of Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Google search engine and within other chapters forums such as 28dayslater.co.uk to analyse social interactions.⁵⁶² Facebook has been utilised to explore the community engagement within dedicated groups discussing the York's past. Instagram as a primarily image-based platform has been utilised to identify trends in posts and tags to suggest common intent and interests. For this chapter there is also the investigation of smartphone applications such as PokemonGo! which operate on a strong social foundation to consider the impact of such application on community behaviour within York.

The idea of digital heritage has been addressed as part of the growing acknowledgement of wider ideas of intangible heritage. The 2003 UNESCO Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage defines it as embracing 'cultural, educational, scientific and administrative resources, as well as technical, legal, medical and other kinds of information

⁵⁵⁹ Jenny Gregory 'Connecting with the past through social media: the 'Beautiful buildings and cool places Perth has lost' Facebook group' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21(1) (2015), p.23.

⁵⁶⁰ A. Fontana, & J. Frey, 'The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text', in: N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (London: Sage, 2000), pp. 645 –672.

⁵⁶¹ Nancy Baym, & Danah Boyd, 'Socially mediated publicness: An introduction', *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 56(3), (2012), pp. 320 –329.

⁵⁶² Please be aware that other social media platforms such as TikTok were not included due to their availability at the outset of this research.

created digitally, or converted into digital form from existing analogue resources.⁵⁶³ Although official acknowledgement has been made of the cultural value that digital sources can provide, there has been debate over their use in academic research. The major criticisms fall into two categories; one based on the concerns over practical data collection and the other on the impact on concepts of heritage.⁵⁶⁴

As discussed in Chapter 4, York has achieved several accolades including its status as a UNESCO City of Media Arts in December 2014 as well becoming a 'Digital Super Town' in 2019 with the implementation of a gigabit network ensuring the role of digital technology within York's future development.⁵⁶⁵ As Counsellor David Carr, Leader of City of York Council, notes, 'our digital landscape is providing significant new opportunities and support for thousands of businesses based here and a better quality of life and value for our residents.'⁵⁶⁶ The heavy investment in a digital economy has ensured an infrastructure accommodating of future developments while simultaneously increasing access to information. Whilst supportive of earlier discussions of place-marketing as postulated by Kotler, this digital infrastructure requires negotiation of part of a broader balancing of narratives, with the historic and digital York combining across multiple platforms. Therefore, in approaching this topic, the chapter investigates several case studies that address the development of reminiscent social media groups on platforms such as Facebook to broaden aspects of engagement and the building of historic narratives within a shared space. Beyond this, studies investigate the development of digital conservation methods to model and create 3D digital models of historical sites. Furthermore, this study explores the potential of passive engagement of the urban landscape through participation in digital mobile games

⁵⁶³ UNESCO, *Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage*, (2003)

⁵⁶⁴ Social Media Research Group, *Using Social Media for Social Research: An Introduction*, (Government Social Research, 2016)

⁵⁶⁵ Vodafone UK 'Digital Super Towns: Unlocking the UK's Digital Potential' WPI Strategy (2017)

⁵⁶⁶ David Carr quoted in 'Historic York is helping support UK as global digital leader' *Yorkshire Post*, 27th September 2017 <<https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/historic-york-is-helping-support-uk-as-a-global-digital-leader-1-8750068>> [Accessed 9 November 2017]

such as Pokémon Go! Therefore, as noted by Gregory, these studies support the developing practices of digital inclusion and further academic insights.⁵⁶⁷

Impact of the internet and social media on public engagement

Quantitatively the internet is a difficult source to ignore. Data captured on April 12th, 2018, stated that there were 1,868,354,300 unique websites; however, this number perpetually changes.⁵⁶⁸ For reference, as of August 13th, 2022, this number has increased to 1,975,042,307.⁵⁶⁹ It is important to note that this number signifies unique websites and does not account for subdomains. From a cultural and sociological view, the acceptance of the internet has increased the need to establish a digital footprint. From institutional websites to blogs, video hosting sites and social media platforms like Facebook, there is a plethora of links and pages that connect us globally. Henderson, Johnson and Auld raise questions over the ethical nature of digital information particularly in regards to consent, loss of confidentiality and overall traceability.⁵⁷⁰ In what they refer to as ‘an increasingly networked pervasive and ultimately searchable dataverse’ these matters at first appear valid as discovering provenance of information can be difficult online.⁵⁷¹ Whether this be website forums, videos, or social media comments, these are methods of commentary not unlike those found in print media.⁵⁷² In part, this scrutiny stems from the general reluctance to acknowledge the wider cultural changes being experienced, as aspects like social media are becoming a staple of everyday life and a primary source of communication. In this current age, the digital world blurs the lines between public and private as personal information and data is shared. As a society, individuals are willing to divulge information in the hope that it

⁵⁶⁷ Gregory, ‘Connecting with the past through social media’, p.23.

⁵⁶⁸ Internet live stats ‘12th April 2018’ < <https://www.internetlivestats.com/>> [Accessed 12th April 2018] Please note that this a perpetually updating site and therefore it is difficult to capture data beyond a particular snapshot.

⁵⁶⁹ Internet live stats ‘13th August 2022’ < <https://www.internetlivestats.com/>> [Accessed 13th August 2022] This data is algorithmically generated based on information gathered from NetCraft Web Server Survey - Netcraft Ltd.

⁵⁷⁰ Michael Henderson, Nicola Johnson, & Glenn Auld, ‘Silences of Ethical Practice: Dilemmas for Researchers Using Social Media’, *Educational Research and Evaluation*. 19. (2013), pp. 556-7.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid

⁵⁷² Gregory ‘Connecting with the past through social media’, p.23.

will 'create greater intimacy when building relationships.'⁵⁷³ This social forming is expanded further in the digital context as the plethora of applications (apps for short), games and websites request more data which perpetuates a system of growing self-disclosure. This shift towards openness has raised further criticism for opening up inherent dangers to traditional interpretations of heritage.⁵⁷⁴

This chapter takes issue with Lowenthal's criticisms of the value of digital media on heritage. Lowenthal suggests that its inclusion in such considerations is damaging to the ability to generate a shared heritage. However, rather than being damaging, digital media should be approached as an extension and a vital resource in such studies. Though far from the more traditionalist and perhaps more materialist interpretations of artefacts and tangible heritage, the modern world has developed greatly in the last several decades and with it the use of digital technology and media. Lowenthal's early standpoint addressed the shift in status quo perceived to occur when technology is given privilege over tangible evidence suggesting it as a rejection of the material culture and knowledge of the past.⁵⁷⁵ This criticism was further developed in later works in which he acknowledged the increased presence and authority of the heritage industry as well as growth in the acceptance of technology in modern life.⁵⁷⁶ This perception at first appears outdated, as the technology of the period has since been surpassed by a more complex and far-reaching mechanism of digital technology. In response, Lowenthal has continued to voice concern over the impact of this medium. In addressing the role of social media and the internet he argues there has been a consequential impact on heritage, stating that the 'immense repertoire' of individual commentary online has put the collective feelings of the community 'at risk'.⁵⁷⁷ His concerns

⁵⁷³ P. Bateman, Jacqueline Pike, and B. Butler, 'To Disclose or Not: Publicness in Social Networking Sites', *Information Technology & People*, 24(1), (2011), p.90.

⁵⁷⁴ K. Karimi and S. Krit, 'Smart home-Smartphone Systems: Threats, Security Requirements and Open Research Challenges', *International Conference of Computer Science and Renewable Energies (ICCSRE)*, Agadir, Morocco, (2019), pp. 1-5.

⁵⁷⁵ Lowenthal, *The Past is Foreign Country*. pp363 & 379.

⁵⁷⁶ David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade*, (Free Press, 1996), pp.7&10.

⁵⁷⁷ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country: Revisited* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), p.25

are understandable in that change inevitably means moving away from what is known. However, as this transition is so deeply engrained into modern culture, the acceptance and adoption of the impact has only been slow in academic research, not the everyday practicalities of modern life. Lowenthal is bound by paradigms of thought that have guided his career.⁵⁷⁸ He does not outrightly say that technology is detrimental for heritage; however, there is grave concern for the compromise it carries. Rather than a loss of connection to the tangible world or a disconnection with the communities and collectives, the digital world has instead brought about a re-evaluation of how to assimilate information and engage with the past. The growth in online communities centered around preservation and nostalgia has seen a development of heritage studies rather than its destruction. In the three decades since the publication of Lowenthal's monograph *The Past is a Foreign Country*, society has seen the emergence of the internet, the growing staple of smartphones and technological advancements in Virtual Reality (VR) and social media. The communities he once spoke of have adapted and become vocal on new platforms where the past still exists in a new form suited to the twenty-first century. This is evidenced more clearly in the abundance of communities online using social media and forums to communicate.

This cultural shift has instigated a paradigmatic shift in some scholars to address the role of digital technology in everyday lives. In *Digimodernism*, Alan Kirby outlines a revolutionary view that postmodernism is no longer compatible with the modern world and that as a society there is a need to consider a new age of thinking.⁵⁷⁹ His insights suggest that western society and wider culture have reached a new plateau of development and because of this many traditional viewpoints struggle to consider the digitally integrated world. Although he advocates a move beyond postmodernism, in reality much of what is theorised has yet to materialise. Rather than a complete paradigmatic shift there is a period of

⁵⁷⁸ Lowenthal, *Our Past Before Us*; Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*; Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*,

⁵⁷⁹ Alan Kirby *Digimodernism: How New Technologies Dismantle the Postmodern and Reconfigure Our Culture* (2nd ed), (Continuum, 2014)

adaptation, as older ideologies and methodologies integrate modern viewpoints and cultural acceptance. For this reason, a complete paradigmatic shift is unlikely; however, the impact of the digital world to stimulate such a revolution in thought does raise the prospect of further consideration. The digital world, particularly through the use of the internet and social media, is now engrained into daily lives from everyday actions to the way research methodologies are conducted to examine public opinions and behaviours. This chapter exists for the very reason that it is now almost impossible to consider western cultural perspectives without acknowledging the role that the digital world has played in shaping these. The intangibility of the internet and the virtual connections formed through social media are highly valued and are resource-rich for interpreting urban spaces.

Value and Social Capital in the Digital World

Website platforms have become a staple of the internet. Their acceptance as a first line of engagement with the public has legitimised the integration of the internet into institutional mechanisms. In particular the prevalence of search engines, especially Google, has been so significant that its use dominates popular culture and has changed the lexicon, becoming synonymous with searching for information online. The efficiency to deliver organised and filtered results to queries has fundamentally altered the way the internet is utilised as well as the transference of information with Google replacing earlier search engine platforms. Of the first twenty search results for *York* on Google, fifteen relate directly to institutions within the city and the remaining five cover topics on tourism and the history of the city.⁵⁸⁰ These websites list basic information of value to the public such as opening times, available facilities, and upcoming event information. They act as a singular resource of engagement with the public to encourage their further interaction.

It is the growth of social media that has garnered a corresponding increase in scholarly attention. Platforms like Facebook and Twitter have become accepted public

⁵⁸⁰ For context this search was carried out on 17 June 2017

forums to share ideas and engage in conversation. Facebook is a social media platform in which users generate profiles and can contact and network with friends, family and like-minded public members to share posts and messages in groups, publicly or in private messages.⁵⁸¹ Twitter similarly is a social media platform focused more specifically on posts and replies in the form of 'tweets'. These were initially characterised as short messages limited to 140 characters until this cap was raised to 280 in 2017.⁵⁸² In addition, Twitter utilised hashtags to associate tweets of a shared topic to allow users to view multiple posts on a similar topic. Social media sites have faced growing criticism over their influence over political campaigns, issues of privacy and control of data. These have resulted in litigation and global commentary on the actions of what is now part of an international mechanism.⁵⁸³ Like websites, the scale of sites like Facebook is indicative of its importance in culture as well as its potential for research.⁵⁸⁴ The user base of Facebook is currently 3.2 billion.⁵⁸⁵ Although not all of these accounts are active or human, this is a user base that generates increased quantities of data. Therefore, statistically with over a quarter of the world's population active on platforms such as Facebook, it is reflective of the degree to which social media is a fixture of modern life. For this reason alone, it is important to consider Facebook's impact on digital social interaction.

Flinn and Stevens demonstrate how these online sources can be utilized within social groups to form collectives and communities that combine their documentation and ideas together as a source of communal empowerment.⁵⁸⁶ This has been reflected in levels of social mobility with Gaines and Mondak, as well as Pasek, More and Romer, concluding that

⁵⁸¹ Meta Platforms, 'Facebook', <www.facebook.com>

⁵⁸² Aliza Rosen and Ikuhiro Ihara, 'Giving you more characters to express yourself', *Twitter Blog*, 26th September 2017 < https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/product/2017/Giving-you-more-characters-to-express-yourself > [Accessed 15th February 2018]

⁵⁸³ Thomas Fujiwara et al, 'The Effect of Social Media on Elections: Evidence from the United States', Working Paper No. w28849, NBER, (May 2021).

⁵⁸⁴ Brian Gaines & Jeffery Mondak, 'Typing Together? Clustering of Ideological Types in Online Social Networks'. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*. 6. (2009), pp.217-220.

⁵⁸⁵ Internet live stats 'August 13, 2022' < <https://www.internetlivestats.com/> > [Accessed August 13, 2022]

⁵⁸⁶ Andrew Flinn and Mary Stevens, *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, (London: Facet, 2009), p.20.

users, particularly of Facebook, demonstrate greater civic engagement because of the accessibility of the site.⁵⁸⁷ The level of accessibility and mobility of ideas brings together individuals on a global platform to amplify and extend the reach of civic engagement and discussion, which significantly increases users' social capital. Social media is a more accessible means of engagement with community groups able to operate freely and share comments on general interests without conforming to specific institutional forums or specialised sites. The level of engagement is variable as the social media page for a group like Jorvik can offer information about the site and prices, opening times and event. More public groups like Memories of York (which will be investigated here) are more subjective, offering a personal and direct public engagement; both disseminate information but the interaction on a social level is considerably different. Memories of York (MoY) is a dedicated group for sharing images and stories of York, this consists of a large number of archive images and a mixture of discussion of living memory or investigation and query regarding York.

Leon Tan acknowledges the crucial role of the internet in the emergence, stabilisation and transformation of information.⁵⁸⁸ Networked life brings with it both opportunities and risk in what James Gibson calls affordance: 'The affordance of the environment are what it offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes either for good or ill.'⁵⁸⁹ In the case of York it is important to understand the motivation of these social media groups as well as assess the level of engagement between participants. Therefore, an initial sampling process was undertaken in which the search term 'York' was used in Facebook, filtering results by group presented a list of potential groups for investigation. Each of these in turn were examined to determine the purpose of the group, if this was not clearly evident

⁵⁸⁷ Gaines & Mondak, 'Typing Together?', pp.217-220 and Josh Pasek, Eian More & Daniel Romer, 'Realizing the Social Internet? Online Social Networking Meets Offline Civic Engagement', *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 6(3-4), (2009), pp.197-215.

⁵⁸⁸ Leon Tan, 'Museums and cultural memory in an age of networks', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 16(4) (2013), p.383.

⁵⁸⁹ James. J Gibson, 'The Theory of Affordances', *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), p.127.

from the group name. Two were initially identified for further investigation, 'York: Past and Present' and 'Memories of York' Both operated as community groups discussing and exploring the history of York and the significance of York to the users. For this research, both of these groups provided a platform to investigate the interaction and content of the community groups as well as a selection of potential participants for further conversation and discussion on this topic.

Approaching Digital Research

How we address this through the topic of websites and social media will establish how communities and collective concepts have developed around the past in this online medium. Tan approaches virtualisation at a theoretical level, proposing the falsity of commonly held terms like 'past' and 'present' as being illusions and arguing that neither truly exists.⁵⁹⁰ These are ideas reliant on each other existing at the same time. You cannot have a *now* without having a *then*. His reasoning is that memory is a constant presence in the present moment, it is the past existing beyond its time.⁵⁹¹ What virtualisation offers is a double present, two moments that overlap through interpretation. Connecting different points of history to the present through digital engagement allows a different form of engagement to traditional, curated interpretations. Digital technology has developed further though to directly integrate with research and dissemination of data. Magnenat-Thalmann and Papagiannakis comment on earlier initiatives to adhere to this notion of a digital era by investigating the use of mixed reality productions at Pompeii.⁵⁹² Augmented Reality (AR) is a contextualiser of sorts; it provides additional context to the visual component through additional information and overlays to help the user more clearly understand the object of their view. AR has the potential to enrich the heritage community by allowing users to simultaneously provide

⁵⁹⁰ Tan, 'Museums and cultural memory in an age of networks', pp.383-399.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² George Papagiannakis and Nadia Magnenat-Thalmann. "Mobile Augmented Heritage: Enabling Human Life in Ancient Pompeii." *International Journal of Architectural Computing*, 5(2) (June 2007), pp.395–415.

additional information while in situ of the site enhancing the visual input.⁵⁹³ The digital world is a complementary notion that is integrating more with every generation, and in its current state is already being legitimised by its acceptance amongst institutions and the wider populace. Though concerns are raised about its application, it has a place in the present day that cannot be ignored and the value that this has to understanding the city of York cannot be overlooked.

To analyse the role of digital technology in the city there are four case studies which address prominent themes that have impacted the understanding of users. This chapter contends that social media research, particularly that involving Facebook, carries distinct methodological advantages. These sites store basic quantifiable information that is used to assess trends and usage. Facebook is structured to separate personal profiles from those designed for businesses. These pages are able to summarise engagement with the site via the number of liked posts, followers, and comments. This generates a metric for calculating 'viral reach' by showing how often the page has appeared on other users' timelines. Furthermore, Facebook provides demographic information on users that can be used to establish gender, age, and location of users. Peter Matthews believes that this source of information is highly reliable as it is auto corrected by friends on the platform.⁵⁹⁴ However, basic biographical information is repeatedly falsified on the site. Matthews overlooks that the age rating for the site can be circumvented by users by falsifying details. Matthew's premise is valid and warrants consideration when approaching such research. For the reason any anomalous results must be accounted for. For researching York, a case study on the Memories of York Facebook group will analyse the level of engagement as well as applying ideas of critical discourse analysis to assess the impact of the site on the user's understanding. The data was gathered through a selection of posts using Krippendorff's

⁵⁹³ Andrea Brogni, Carlo Avizzano, M. Bergamasco, 'Technological approach for Cultural Heritage: Augmented Reality. Conference: Robot and Human Interaction, 8th IEEE International Workshop (1999), pp. 206 - 212.

⁵⁹⁴ Peter Matthews, 'Neighbourhood Belonging, Social Class and Social Media—Providing Ladders to the Cloud', *Housing Studies*. 30(1) (2015), p.29.

method of data collection, this is based upon addressing the inter-rater reliability of data. More specifically, data is collected based on understanding and reflecting different viewpoints to gain a consensus or reliable agreement of users.⁵⁹⁵ As part of this process it is important to code data to establish trends and commonality of information.⁵⁹⁶ More generally, this statistical approach has been applied to content analysis where textual units are categorised across shared thematic notions.

The analysis of this group addresses ideas of nostalgia and the value of social media in creating accessibility and discourse of ideas freely. The Facebook site is evidently public with open access. However, social media provides a new level of publicness to previous social engagements. There are more layers of publicness available to those using networked media than ever before. People are aware of the publicness of Facebook and mediate their activities accordingly.⁵⁹⁷ However, given the awareness of accessibility of this platform and how posts can link back to an individual's page, names will not be included unless consent has otherwise been given. This discussion leads onto the consideration of digital technology in the conservation and redevelopment of interpretative materials using 3D scanning and methods of AR and VR to enrich narratives. This will focus on three case studies that each address approaches within the city: the first addresses work to scan York Minster for further investigation and dissemination of information to visitors. This will be followed by an examination of passive engagement through smartphone applications focussing on the use of the Pokémon Go app in 2016/17 in the city. In 2016 this became part of a wider cultural trend that had secondary features of passive exploration which are analysed through personal observations and primary auto-ethnographic data collection through use of the app. The final section addresses the growth in smartphone apps and their direct relationship to users in learning about the urban landscape of York, such as the history of the city's

⁵⁹⁵ K. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (2nd ed.) (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. 2004).

⁵⁹⁶ Klaus Krippendorff, 'Computing Krippendorff's Alpha-Reliability', *University of Pennsylvania Paper* (2011)

⁵⁹⁷ Jacquelyn Burkell, Alexandre Fortier, Lorraine Wong, Jennifer Simpson, 'Facebook: Public space, or private space?'. *Information, Communication & Society*. 17. (2014), pp.974-985.

churches or the Minster fire. The investigation will analyse AR as an enrichment to understanding, and further examine the influence of official apps in the city in comparison to more community derived digital sources. The central argument of this chapter is that social media and digital integration can enhance awareness and understanding of the collective attachment to the past, which in turn facilitates expression and emotional responses to the past. This draws upon earlier themes of emotional attachment and reaffirms the growing work of building associations with place based on these connections.

Digital Engagement of the Past

Studies of social media groups have approached data analysis using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Gregory's research focused on the Facebook group 'Beautiful Old Perth' and included content analysis and a methodology attributed to Krippendorff.⁵⁹⁸ For this research, a comparative exercise to Gregory's was carried out to assess the scale and potential influence of social media on York. A preliminary search on Facebook suggested over 2000 different groups, pages and people related to York. A further investigation removed results relating to York located elsewhere in the world and eventually 25 groups were selected based on their user follower numbers. Table 6.1 shows the comparative data of each Facebook page along with the combined follower figures of Twitter and Instagram pages associated with them. These have been included as they operate as social media but present information differently. Facebook is inclusive in its use of photographic and audio data in posts with almost unlimited space to discuss ideas. Twitter is a predominantly text-based platform which was traditionally (until 2017) capped to the use of 140 characters, thus limiting posts to only the most succinct. Instagram, on the other hand, is a predominantly image-based platform owned by Facebook. These latter two rely heavily on the use of hashtags (#) to filter information and follow related posts, unlike Facebook which has the option to generate specific groups and pages.

⁵⁹⁸ Gregory 'Connecting with the past through social media'.

Institution/Site	Website	Facebook	Twitter	Instagram
Visit York	<input type="checkbox"/>	21,733	45,400	9,780
University of York	<input type="checkbox"/>	49,845	63,752	13,100
York Press	<input type="checkbox"/>	33,660	61,700	n/a
York City Football Club	<input type="checkbox"/>	59,610	48,300	5,288
City of York Council	<input type="checkbox"/>	7,172	40,800	n/a
York Art Gallery	<input type="checkbox"/>	3,628	10,535	1,758
York Racecourse	<input type="checkbox"/>	25,469	57,825	3,148
York's Chocolate Story	<input type="checkbox"/>	9,154	4906	619
York LGBT Pride	<input type="checkbox"/>	6,618	n/a	n/a
National Railway Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	110,552	37,469	12,018
Jorvik	<input type="checkbox"/>	18,686	13,223	2,632
York St John University	<input type="checkbox"/>	20,540	18,808	3,845
York Archaeological Trust	<input type="checkbox"/>	933	n/a	n/a
York Civic Trust	<input type="checkbox"/>	*599	1,043	n/a
Yorkshire Museum Trust	<input type="checkbox"/>	n/a	7,860	n/a
One Planet York	<input type="checkbox"/>	158	544	6
Make It York	<input type="checkbox"/>	n/a	4,303	n/a
Edible York	<input type="checkbox"/>	1,303	1,099	45
Memories of York		16,542	n/a	n/a
York Past and Present	<input type="checkbox"/>	22,144	n/a	n/a
York Mix	<input type="checkbox"/>	13,992	10,651	2010
York Minster	<input type="checkbox"/>	27,499	18,200	5133
York Castle Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	3,535	9,250	n/a
Yorkshire Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	3,414	12,010	n/a

⁵⁹⁹ York Civic Trust has a Facebook page; however, it has been set up as a personal page and as such insight and trend data cannot be collected as the page cannot be followed in the same way as others.

York Museum of Farming – Murton	□	2,024	1,189	629
		458211	468867	

Table 6.1 Comparative list of number of followers on social media platforms, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram. Data collected 17 February 2018.⁶⁰⁰

The difference in social media platforms has a clear effect on the way that people engage with these sites. The more image-based Instagram has a more limited representation than that of Twitter and Facebook. While the context of these sites varies with some representing different civic and leisure institutions, it is the Memories of York Facebook group that was chosen for this case study. Although it is not the largest of the Facebook groups which were investigated, its content and motivation directly links to the heritage of the city on this platform. To analyse the group further, content analysis was applied to a selection of 200 posts, which correlates to 10 per cent of the total number of posts across the site's lifespan. From this analysis, information has been categorised on topic and the number of interactions from users, documented alongside the use of language to understand the terminology and recurrence of certain terms and phrases within the group when discussing York's history. As well as identifying the broad parameters of the group, this approach allows consideration of the adjectives and words within posts that express emotion from members.

Case Study 1 – Memories of York, Facebook

Memories of York was established on 31 January 2013 and hosted 1921 posts on 17 February 2018. It focuses primarily on reminiscent observations of the city. The posts comprise a mixture of personal recollections, archival documentation and user posts enquiring for assistance in trying to locate information. This group shares many similarities

⁶⁰⁰ Please note Memories of York does not have a dedicated website but is a group on Facebook instead.

with the one discussed by Gregory in Perth, Australia, in that they are both focused on the history of the city and in many cases the reminiscences for the older versions of the city lost due to urban development. However, the main difference is that the intention of Memories of York is not solely to act for the preservation of the city. Rather than perpetuate loss, these groups act as a communal source of commemoration and discussion that imbues the emotional attachments to space and place. The page is made up of posts issued by the group administrator, which consist of images or links with a short statement relating to the provenance of the image or enquiring to users for more information. Within the posts are some which directly address the impact that the site has on the community of followers. One dated 28th February 2013 asks members to vote on how much they enjoy the group. The poll received 222 replies with 208 declaring 'love it love it love it'.⁶⁰¹ Although this post is taken within the first month of activity there is already a clear appreciation for the role that the page has amongst users. The lack of official agenda for the group means that it has been able to develop and evolve organically as a community page.

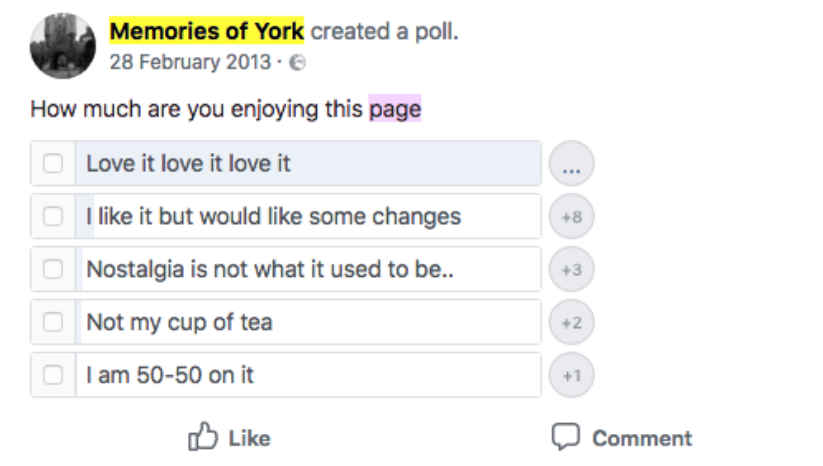


Figure 6.1 Screenshot taken from the Memories of York Facebook group depicting the impact the page has on its users (Author's own).

⁶⁰¹ Memories of York, 'How much are you enjoying this page'. Post on Memories of York Facebook Group 28th February 2013.

To better understand its content, a random sample was taken from across the page using a random number generator to select the posts to remove any bias.⁶⁰² Table 6.2 shows the results of this sampling categorised by themes drawing on consistent topics of the Minster, floods, and the city wall amongst others. The sample suggests a correlating bias towards certain topics within the group, namely the Minster, which is indicative of the significance of this site as noted in Chapter 4. This is unsurprising given the familiarity with the site as a major landmark of the city, a fixture of its skyline and a priority in the official heritage narrative, as discussed in Chapter 4. The other topics raised in the investigation address more general topics such as historic forms of public transport, including buses and trains, as well as particular streets such as Parliament Street and the Shambles. In addition to this, specific locations such as pubs, Clifford's Tower and the River were also included. Specific events from the city's more recent history are also covered such as the Queen's visit in 1971 to mark the 1900th birthday of the city as well as the destructive fire at the Minister in 1984 and the regular flooding of the city.

⁶⁰² One of the selections was a repeat post which had already been included so this was omitted to prevent duplication another selected in its place.

Topic	Number of Appearances	Topic	Number of Appearances
Minster	39	Flooding	7
Streets	20	Parliament Street	6
Gates/City Wall	15	Trains	6
River Ouse/Foss	13	York City FC	4
Pubs	12	Railway station	4
Shops	12	Terry's	4
Clifford's Tower	11	Skyline	4
Buses	9	Celebrities / Queen Visit	3
Churches	9	Rowntree's	3
Minster Fire	8	Aerial Photography	3
Shambles	8		

Table 6.2 Showing the content of selection of posts taken from MoY page, 19 July 2017.

The content posted included a mixture of living memory and archival information, which reflects the demographic of the group and the variety of subject matter important to users. As noted above, while the function of this group was not to act for the preservation of the city, its members are obviously connected to issues of preservation and conservation in regard to York's built heritage. As discussed in previous chapters, sites such as the Minster are paramount in place marketing, which makes the dominance of this site unsurprising. However, other topics such as the Minster Fire, Terry's and Rowntree's and York City Football Club reveal more subjective interests in York's past. As sources of work, leisure and a dramatic event in the city's history, these topics reflect a more complex interpretation based on emotional attachment and association with these sites. Therefore, in further exploration of posts it is necessary to consider the attachment of the users to the subject matter being discussed.



Figure 6.2 Photograph of a wooden archway constructed for the Royal Visit to York of the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1866 (Memories of York, not dated).⁶⁰³

Figure 6.2 predates the living memory of group users, as such the comments to the post relate to the wonder and fascination that such a structure existed that would not be sustainable today. As one user comments:

LR1 - It wouldn't last long these days, someone who doesn't know how long their lorry was would run into it! Looks spectacular though.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰³Memories of York, 'This is the second wooden arch which was built for the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to York on 9th August 1866', February 16th, 2013, <
'<https://www.facebook.com/MemoriesOfYork/photos/a.368712233226324.81688.366992720064942/383286171768930/?type=3&theater>> [Accessed July 19, 2017]

⁶⁰⁴Ibid

Amongst the 22 posted comments is a discussion on what the location of the bridge was, with the consensus being Ouse bridge based on the top of the Minster being visible to the left of the image. The immediate engagement from the group's users to this post reinforced the results from the poll that there is a real enthusiasm for the posts as it allows them access to the past that otherwise is only accessible through archival research. As one user comments:

RM1 - Love this page! Move to Indonesia over two years ago from York. Learning things about city I never knew 😊⁶⁰⁵

The access these posts provide to people across the world is important as these are aspects of heritage that cannot be collected via oral history, video or living memory and have a place to be displayed and directly engaged with. Though an intangible aspect it relates to a tangible structure that the users are aware of and feel a relation to, due to its disappearance and lack of awareness beyond this image. Posts that relate to more recent aspects of the city allow for larger engagement as other resources can be drawn upon in the discussion.



Figure 6.3 Photograph of flood waters set against the prison wall in 1892 (Memories of York, not dated).

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid

Figure 6.3 depicts the flooding of York in 1892. This image provides a unique perspective for users to engage with as it relates to a recurring feature of York but from a different perspective. The location in question is much changed from that depicted with the wall being removed in 1935. The accompanying text states that the street was 3ft deep with flood water at the time and postulates that, 'The horse drawn wagonette seen here may well have been being used to ferry people across the floods.'⁶⁰⁶

This post is particularly useful for what the image provides in the documentation of the city, as it captures a scene uncommon to most people. The view of this street is very different in the twenty-first century with an unobstructed view of the tower and the developments of the Hilton Hotel and Coppergate centre in the vicinity. The view found in Figure 6.4 is the view taken now and while this street still floods it is rarely to the same extent due to the absence of wall preventing its movement. As one user states, 'Not a new problem with flooding then?!?!?!'.⁶⁰⁷ The engagement between users on these posts provides a second value to these posts. In the same posts is a comment from a user stating that her mother was born in 1913 and spoke of the 'dirty grey walls'.⁶⁰⁸ Following on from this is a reply from another user suggesting that her family may know of the mother having gone to the same school.⁶⁰⁹ This personal engagement built on from the posts allows a different sort of social engagement. While some comment openly on the post and its content there is a form of networking between users which helps build new bonds and reinforce ideas of the city's past.

⁶⁰⁶ Memories of York, Post 5th February 2014, <<https://www.facebook.com/MemoriesOfYork/photos/a.368712233226324.81688.366992720064942/548646321899580/?type=3&theater>> [Accessed July 19, 2017]

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid



Figure 6.4 Photograph of Tower Street including Clifford's Tower (Memories of York, not dated).

By examining the language used in the comments on these posts, it is possible to evaluate the value that is placed on these posts and, in turn, the page. Using the same sample of posts, the comments were analysed, and the adjective words were quantified. The use of language is telling amongst these posts, with some expressing emotion generated from nostalgic reminiscence while others express a more generalised sense of nostalgia for the past.

Positive Adjectives	Number of Occurrences	Negative Adjectives	Number of Occurrences
Lovely	21	Sadly	10
Beautiful	16	Losing	8
Wonderful	10	Dirty	8
Old	10	Shame	8
Happy	9	Lost	8
Amazing	8	Ugly	7
Interesting	7	Dark	6
Great	6	Devastating	5
Brilliant	5	Destroy	5
Loved	4	Hated	3
Better	3	Dreadful	2
Quality	1	Stunk	2
Fascinating	1	Infested	1
		Last	1

Table 6.3 Shows the occurrences of positive and negative words used in comments to posts in MoY Facebook group (Author's own).

Although the table suggests that a majority of the comments were positive, these often related to posts that were a revelation to them, with the language suggesting the age difference in the group of those who were unaware. The proportion of negative adjectives is centred around loss and the emotional attachment tied to this. Several of the comments act almost as a direct attack on the actions that have taken place in the city:

KS 1 - Can't believe they demolished it, stupid council.

YWG 1 - how much more of York's heritage got demolished in the last century - hope preservation orders are slapped on everything else.⁶¹⁰

Others meanwhile were disappointed that certain aspects have been removed in the name of progress. In particular, they note the area around Clifford's Tower is now a carpark for the Coppergate Centre and Castle Museum.

AF1 - What a shame most of it was knocked down to make a car park.⁶¹¹

HF1 – The Governor's house was a lovely building, fancy ripping that down just for a car-park!⁶¹²

WW1 - The walls were removed "in the name of progress" for the city. Yay now it's surrounded by traffic and parked cars! Looks so good now. Its original entrance was amazing.⁶¹³

Figures 6.5-6.6 show the Governor's House in situ to Clifford's Tower as well as the site as it stands today. The change to the structure of York is hard to grasp for some who fear that it

⁶¹⁰ Memories of York, Post 23rd June 2013,
<<https://www.facebook.com/MemoriesOfYork/photos/a.368712233226324.81688.366992720064942/437457416351805/?type=3&theater>> [Accessed July 19, 2017]

⁶¹¹ Memories of York, Post 5th February 2014,
<<https://www.facebook.com/MemoriesOfYork/photos/a.368712233226324.81688.366992720064942/548646078566271/?type=3&theater>> [Accessed July 19, 2017]

⁶¹² Memories of York, Post 13th May 2014,
<<https://www.facebook.com/MemoriesOfYork/photos/a.368712233226324.81688.366992720064942/594286890668856/?type=3&theater>> [Accessed July 19, 2017]

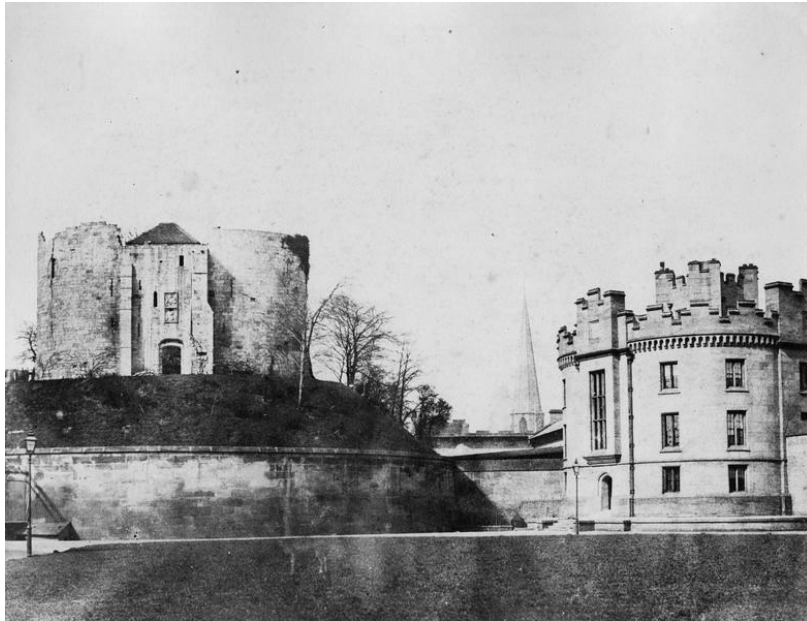
⁶¹³ Memories of York, Post 8th July 2015,
<<https://www.facebook.com/MemoriesOfYork/photos/a.472816126149267.1073741891.366992720064942/803329879764555/?type=3&theater>> [Accessed July 19, 2017]

is fading from living memory. These images are some of the last remaining reminders of this and therefore the ability to disseminate this through social media adds importance to its use. This engagement leads to some users asking further questions about how and why certain events happened in the history of York, which plays on the ideas of nostalgia and how these can be used to frame a sense of the present. Those members who remarked openly of remembering sites across the city did so with a sense of a lost past, complaining at the effect of the loss of institutions like Woolworths and the impact this has had on the high streets.⁶¹⁴ To some these sites changed their lives with AP1 stating that he met his wife for the first time in that store to which she replies that it is because of that shop that they have their whole family.⁶¹⁵ Each post instigates a personal response from the user, whether directly or indirectly affected. York is a relatable city and pages like Memories of York allow for direct interaction with people and information on the city in a more reflective manner which directly correlates to the emotional experience of individuals who have a learned knowledge of the city. As such, these interactions draw on the work of Dolores Hayden in understanding the power of place in the understanding of public history as well as furthering insight into emotional attachment.⁶¹⁶ Therefore, considering the impact of nostalgia is key to exploring this complex understanding.

⁶¹⁴ Memories of York 'Woolworths' 21 January 2013
 <https://www.facebook.com/MemoriesOfYork/photos/ms.c.eJw9zMERxDAIQ9GOdmQJZOi~;sQyb2Mc3XyBvBkAgwMWfxmR5w87rBtRdeS1tadVrL82e3sc5~_~_z~_uwABMtcaa4uUDDKPbDdVX3e0lF1d19PTeVx2i~_L9L7kz4uup9z4espEtOw~-~-bps.a.367239990040215.81467.366992720064942/367240020040212/?type=3&theater>
 [Accessed July 19, 2017]

⁶¹⁵ Ibid

⁶¹⁶ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (MIT Press 1997), pp.44-50.



Figures 6.5-6.6 Clifford's Tower and Governors House & Ariel image of Clifford's Tower (Memories of York, 13 May 2014).

Nostalgia lies at the core of many of the emotions expressed by members. The idea of nostalgia is important to our understanding and positioning of past and present with Lowenthal suggesting that 'nostalgic dreams have become almost habitual, if not epidemic'.⁶¹⁷ The reason that this influence is important here is because it is not a passive

⁶¹⁷ Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, pp.4–13.

engagement; those who engage with these posts are constantly negotiating their place in the past and present, that which continues and has discontinued. As Atia and Davis comment, '[nostalgia] insists on the bond between our present selves and a certain fragment of the past, but also on the force of our separation from what we have lost'.⁶¹⁸ The past frames users' understanding and these posts force reconsiderations and adjustments to knowledge of that past. Rather than simply contemplating change, there is a fundamental engagement with that sense of the past and present. As the comments on the removal of the wall and governor's house make clear, people are adjusting their viewpoint on the current landscape in response to the posts.

The heavy use of photography in this group draws parallels to the work of Raphael Samuel, who saw photographs as a means of creating the past in the imagination based on the visual information presented. He argued that historic photographs act as a commemorative art form: 'The loved one [or thing] no longer exists ... the original bond, or relationship, has been irretrievably shattered', so that keeping an old photo 'is a grasping after shadows'.⁶¹⁹ Though the tangible bonds may not always exist, these images still resonate with the group's members. This is in part because, as Roland Barthes believes, each photograph is evidence of a lived moment, regardless of intention or context.⁶²⁰ Gregory further stated that although the moment can never be repeated, it is that exact aspect which spurns ideas of nostalgia as people feel for the places, people and events depicted.⁶²¹ Placing these images in a social space helps to build a communal sense of attachment and shared sense of the place. Although connections between past and present are clearly subjective, there is a sense of community amongst those who comment on these posts.⁶²² This level of social connectedness and expanded knowledge enriches the personal

⁶¹⁸ Nadia Atia and Jeremy Davies, 'Nostalgia and the shapes of history', *Memory Studies* 3(3) (2010). p.183.

⁶¹⁹ Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*. pp 323, 356, 375.

⁶²⁰ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*. (London: Vintage 1980), pp.67-69.

⁶²¹ Gregory, 'Connecting with the past through social media'.

⁶²² Clay Routledge et al.' Nostalgia as a Resource for Psychological Health and Well-Being', *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 7(11), (2013), p.812.

and academic value of the page. This sense of emotional attachment builds the value associated with place, regardless of the subject matter. Moreover, the connotations and feelings associated reflect the connection held between individuals and space. This builds upon Madgin's ideas of community understanding and expertise but reflects a more complex association. While the responses often reflect the loss and change of the city, it is necessary to consider more than just the immediate response to change in such circumstances. For Madgin, citizen expertise is suggested as necessary within policy decision making processes to factor in and democratize the designs to fit the communities more accurately. With such community work, there is also the consideration that the institutional historical narratives are incomplete and there is still an abundance of information and expertise to access through communal collaboration.

While it covers a variety of topics on the city, Memories of York remains an unofficial site in that it is run by the community of users and is unaligned with any civic institution. Neither are users bound by geography, with some members mentioning living in Australia and Canada. What unites them is their shared interest in the history of the city. While personal interests become clear in the posts, particularly those relating to trains in the city, there is nevertheless a lack of coherent narrative for the group compared to official groups/pages such as that administered by the Yorkshire Museum. The more bottom-up approach to documenting the past and memories avoids much of the discourse held over other sites over the authority and authenticity of posts.⁶²³ As mentioned previously, more posts address the provenance of the piece. Sites like Memories of York form what Hall and Zarro refer to as social curation sites, in that aspects of personal histories are combined with images and narratives.⁶²⁴ While Lowenthal argues that it is this aspect that puts the collective feeling of the community at risk, he overlooks the idea that each individual that

⁶²³ Jenny Kidd, 'Enacting engagement online: framing social media use for the museum', *Information Technology & People*, 24(1), (2011), p. 16.

⁶²⁴ Catherine Hall and Michael Zarro, 'Social Curation on the Website Pinterest.com', *Proceedings of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 49(1), (2012), pp.1-9.

joins such a group adds their own subjective interpretation and value to the group, thereby enriching collective memory of the site. Silberman sees this occurring by creatively 'reassembl[ing] fragments from a shared past into a dynamic, reflective expression of contemporary identity'.⁶²⁵ However, although the internet has nurtured the growth of social connections, it is not the only means in which digital technology has changed the way individuals engage with perceptions of the city, as the next section will discuss.

Back in the City: Digital heritage beyond the internet

The digital world extends beyond the online and plays a pivotal role in the everyday tangible world, as Bertacchini and Morando argue. 'As stewards of cultural materials, museums have always managed access to their collections. The digital changes cultural consumption and production patterns, obliging museums the opportunity to step back and rethink how they relate to the users of their content, ensuring they have relevance in the twenty-first century'.⁶²⁶ Curatorial restrictions place a heavy value on access to artefacts; the ability to view an object is prioritised over other sensory experiences of the visitor for reasons of safety and conservation. Di Franco et al query how it is possible to reproduce the 'sensorial experiences with past material culture'.⁶²⁷ Digital technology is now an enabler. The systematic approach to preserve, catalogue, develop and provide access is redeveloped by digital platforms. This is supported by Bertacchini and Morando who contend that public outreach is the primary benefit of digitisation and state that its success is reliant on appropriate schemes of digitising artefacts and records.⁶²⁸ Given budgetary restrictions, this task is often left to waves of volunteers to digitise collections ready for dissemination.

⁶²⁵ Nigel Silberman, and Margaret Purser. 'Collective Memory as Affirmation: People-centred Cultural Heritage in a Digital Age', in Elisa Giaccardi (ed), *Heritage and Social Media: Understanding Heritage in a Participatory Culture*, (London: Routledge 2012), p.16.

⁶²⁶ Enrico Bertacchini & Federico Morando, 'The Future of Museums in the Digital Age: New Models of Access and Use of Digital Collections.' *International Journal of Arts Management*. 15. (2011), p.2.

⁶²⁷ Di Franco et al, '3D Printing and Immersive Visualisation for Improved perception of Ancient Artifacts', *Presence*, 24(3), (2015), p.244.

⁶²⁸ Bertacchini & Morando, 'The Future of Museums in the Digital Age: New Models of Access and Use of Digital', p.2.

Given the development of technology and the demands of the public, the integration of digital technologies to the city and understanding its past is a natural development of museum practice.⁶²⁹ Critics such as Siân Jones state that 3D visualisation undermines the experience of authenticity by 'disrupting people's access to the materiality, biography and aura of their historic counterparts.'⁶³⁰ Jones's research queries the authenticity of digital works and questions whether they are accurate to the original item. For others, including Cameron and Kenderdine, authenticity is critical as the use of 3D printing detracts from the originals. This reveals anxieties in curators over the reproducibility of objects as they feel the originals are threatened by simulation and mechanical reproduction.⁶³¹ As already discussed, there is an inherent value to digital resources which this practice provides. While concerns of misuse are understandable the concept of access drives programmes of digital engagement.

This new wave of digitalisation taking place means that the internet is no longer the only digital platform, as reflected by the growth of smart applications. As technology develops with inventions like Oculus Rift (Meta Quest) and smart glasses, the increasing number of AR smartphone apps, and the greater integration of social media into the everyday lives, the question of authentic experience comes into question. AR can aid an experience, providing additional knowledge through images, text, and sound, but current technology is unable to fully replicate a physical visit. As a comparison, a lot of effort is put into capturing the city for preservation using digital technology. This includes using re-photography to help track progress of the city. For example, experiments using balloon drones and cameras have provided unprecedented access to the interior of the Minster allowing access to areas inaccessible by other means. This is slowly becoming common practice as Deutsche Welle comments that five of its UNESCO World Heritage sites in the

⁶²⁹ Kotler, 'Principles of Marketing', p.33.

⁶³⁰ Siân Jones, Stuart Jeffrey, Mhairi Maxwell, Alex Hale & Cara Jones, '3D heritage visualisation and the negotiation of authenticity: the ACCORD project', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(4) (2018), pp.333-353.

⁶³¹ Fiona Cameron & Sarah Kenderdine (eds.): *Theorizing Digital Cultural Heritage. A Critical Discourse*. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. 2007), pp.61-66.

region of North Rhine Westphalia are now accessible in 360-degree view with seven gigapixel photography.⁶³² As noted earlier, the application of AR has already been implemented at Pompeii to enrich the visitor experience. As a tool of engagement, AR relates back to the theory of Tan on a double presence as it allows us to visually witness two perspectives of the tangible world and the one overlaid. There have been attempts to apply AR in York to enrich the experience of users. The first example here is of attempts to digitally reconstruct the Minster, followed by the development of apps across the city which related to expanding user's knowledge of their surroundings. These digital efforts support the educational and conservation usages of digitisation across the city.

Case Study 2 - Reconstructing the Minster

Cultural heritage sites and artefacts get significant added value from high-resolution 3D models. These models are increasingly available due to improvements in technology and to higher integration of survey techniques such as laser scanning and photogrammetry. The use of 3D scanning and model creation has been embraced by several civic institutions in recent years. This includes York Archaeological Trust (YAT), which advertises 'an in-house capacity to conduct laser scan surveys and to process this data to produce 3D models.'⁶³³ YAT goes on to explain how the ability to scan artefacts for further visualisation provides documentary commentary on these changing sites as well as forms of digital engagement.⁶³⁴

⁶³² Papagiannakis, Magnenat-Thalmann. 'Mobile Augmented Heritage', pp.395–415.

⁶³³ York Archaeological Trust 'Kedleston House' (2018)

⁶³⁴ Ibid

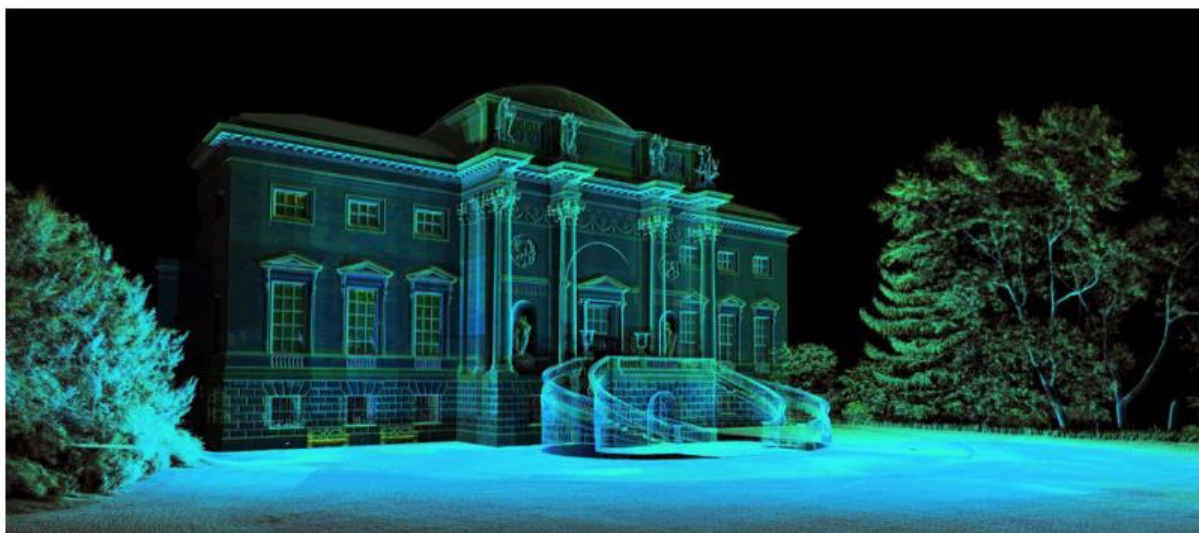


Figure 6.7 Representation of scan data taken from Kedleston House (York Archaeological Trust, 2018).⁶³⁵

This approach creates authentic digital copies that can be developed into 3D models or for use in web-based interpretations. This work straddles both commercial and personal use. From a commercial perspective, digital technology is used for preservation and conservation reasons to document sites and artefacts to manage change. From a personal perspective, this approach offers opportunities to explore and engage with the past in a novel yet accurate method with the potential to allow the audience access to information that would otherwise not be available. In respect to sites of built heritage, this can include areas that are conventionally unsafe or off limits.

Regarding York Minster, 3D modelling of open-source material has been utilised by hobbyists to create exterior models of the building. As Guarnieri et al note, there has been an increased development of web-based applications for users to access and interact with three-dimensional models based on provided geometrical data.⁶³⁶ Commercial sites like Sketchfab provide a platform to publish and find 3D models online, which allow users to

⁶³⁵ Ibid

⁶³⁶ Alberto Guarnieri, Francesco Pirotti, Antonio Vettore, 'Cultural heritage interactive 3D models on the web: An approach using open source and free software'. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 11(3). (2010), pp.350-353.

select models to navigate and utilise.⁶³⁷ In conjunction with this has been the correlated growth in producing semi-immersive 3D environments using open source software such as Blender, alongside computer-aided design (CAD) models to texture low-resolution models.⁶³⁸ This is significant beyond the confines of this thesis as these capabilities provide a level of accessibility which was otherwise preserved for commercial and institutional use due to costing factors. Regarding York, this capability to utilise such software to produce models reflects a new understanding of urban spaces as well as a development of technological insights.

Figure 6.8 depicts a model of the minster by Damo, a hobbyist, which utilises information from Google Earth to texturise and contextualise the model. In addition, Figure 6.9 by Geoffrey H depicts a more geometric model with textures applied. The difference in textures reflects the difference in the source material. Google Earth utilises a form of photogrammetry to capture multiple images in synchronisation to build a complete image. As such, the Damo model has a more accurate texture. However, this is not to diminish the impact of the image in 6.9 that still represents the Minster in a recognisable manner. The significance here is that these models are able to be downloaded and navigated by any user. This level of transparency expands upon the experience of in-person visitors who are unable to see all aspects of the Minster due to elevation and access. Furthermore, this principle of seeing beyond the conventional is a recurring theme within the succeeding chapter to explore urban sites outside of the conventional visitor experience.

⁶³⁷ Sketchfab, < <https://sketchfab.com/> > [Accessed 9th January 2017]

⁶³⁸ Andrés Bustillo, Mario Alaguero, Ines Miguel, Jose Saiz, Lena Iglesias, 'A flexible platform for the creation of 3D semi-immersive environments to teach Cultural Heritage'. *Digital Applications in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage*. 2(4). (2015).



Figure 6.8 Rendered and textured 3D Model of York Minster by Damo (3D Warehouse, 2014).⁶³⁹



Figure 6.9 Rendered and textured 3D Model of York Minster by Geoffrey H (3D Warehouse, 2016).⁶⁴⁰

The models do have some limitations. These include their restriction to the exterior space and their reliance on the capability of the mesh maker and the overlaying of textures to

⁶³⁹ Damo, 'York Minster', 3D Warehouse, (2014)
<<https://3dwarehouse.sketchup.com/model/6fa53b65ae6f1f1fe724fc90297634ab/York-Minster>>
[Accessed 19th August 2017]

⁶⁴⁰ Geoffrey H, 'York Minster', 3D Warehouse, (2016)
<<https://3dwarehouse.sketchup.com/model/7c9a8b403d219f25d35732fb1eaf72d7/York-Minster>>
[Accessed 19th August 2017]

create a complete model. However, the underlying ability to build an experience with this model is highly novel and forms part of a broader precedent for modelling within heritage studies. Not only does this model offer documentation of the site with accurate dimension modelling, but it is also a form of public engagement to users beyond the physical location of York. This is a significant impact as visiting such urban spaces previously required a physical presence in the city.

In conjunction with these public open-source approaches, there have been commercial and academic attempts to document and model specific sections of the minster for conservation purposes. Of note is the work of Vicky Sypsa who utilised various techniques to model the Mason's Loft.⁶⁴¹ The justification for this project was due to archaeological work being undertaken as well as closed public access to the loft following the need for significant repairs to the narrow staircase.⁶⁴² For this reason, Sypsa felt it was a suitable location to test 3D modelling as it would allow the public to engage with the space without physically entering it. As she notes, given the limited lighting of the space, she had to dismiss several alternative approaches before settling on VR simulation.⁶⁴³

The significance here is the underlying reasoning to provide public access to the site through a digital interface. The premise to further public understanding devoid of a physical presence is now far more common within museum sites; however, at the point of this project, it was still a novelty. In addition, the accessibility provided through approaches like this ensures survival of the room whilst also developing public understanding of the space for further investigation and engagement. As a foundation, these models offer the opportunity to be continually updated and modified as information filters in and technology develops.

⁶⁴¹ Vicky Sypsa, *Masons Loft*, (University of York. 2002)

⁶⁴² Vicky Sypsa, 'The Project', *Masons Loft* (2002)

⁶⁴³ Please note that the findings of Sypsa's work were published in 2002, as such many of the approaches and software utilised have been updated or replaced.

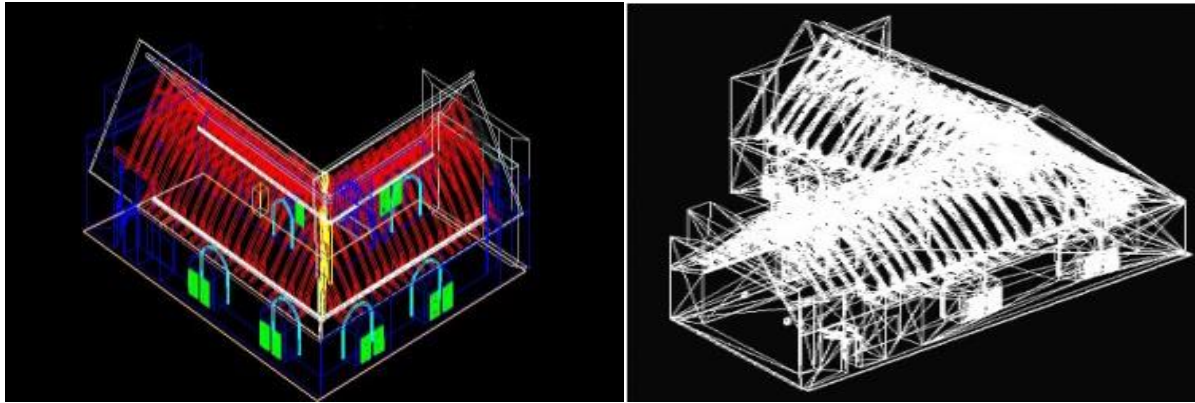


Figure 6.10 3D CAD model of Masons Loft (Vicky Sypsa 2002) Figure 6.11 3D CAD model of Masons Loft being processed from AutoCAD to Blender (Vicky Sypsa, 2002).⁶⁴⁴

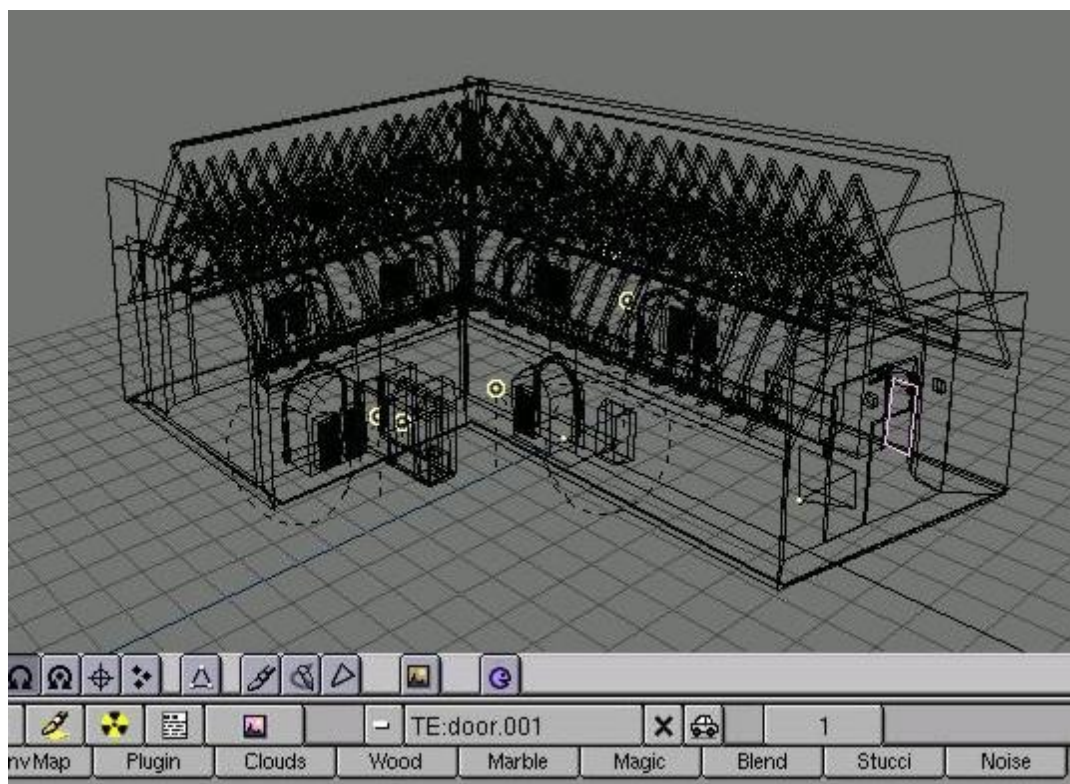


Figure 6.12 Wireframe model of Masons Loft (Vicky Sypsa, 2002).⁶⁴⁵

For this project, 2-dimensional CAD drawings of the roof's trusses and a basic plan of the room were used in conjunction with reflectorless total-station surveying to capture 3D data points. Together this data was used to generate an accurate wireframe model of the room in AutoCAD 2000 and later imported into Blender, a software that allows photographs to be

⁶⁴⁴ Vicky Sypsa, *Masons Loft* (2002)

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid

imported as textural overlays. Figures 6.10-12 show Sypsa's development of the model; however, due to the limitations of the technology of the time, there were several notable shortcomings in rendering for output. As per her research, Sypsa initially utilised Virtual Reality Modelling Language (VRML), a file format widely utilised in representing 3D interactive vector graphics particular for application online. However, in deploying this approach it was noted that the textures were not carried over in the file format, therefore, Sypsa opted to utilise QuickTime VR (QTVR) panorama as the output for public use. QTVR was an image file format developed by Apple Inc. It was utilised primarily in the creation and viewing of VR photography of great panoramas within QuickTime and web browsers. However, this approach was discontinued alongside QuickTime 7 in 2009. As such this presents an interesting query of how to access such resources when the original format is no longer available. Fortunately, in this instance, legacy support enables the use of some QTVR files to be opened. However, more generally for practical reasons it would be necessary to update and re-render the model to support newer technological capabilities. Whilst software such as AutoCAD and blender which were used by Sypsa are still available, the two decades of technological development since means that there are fundamental incompatibilities with certain models due to the lack of legacy support over such a period.



Figure 6.13 (left) Photograph of Masons Loft North Transept Wall (Vicky Sypsa, 2002).
 Figure 6.14 (right) Rendered 3D model of North Transept Wall (Vicky Sypsa, 2002).⁶⁴⁶

In examinations of images taken by Sypsa of the site compared to the render the virtualisation captured the characteristics of the room. By drawing on photographs to produce the textures there is little loss of visual information from this methodology. As a visual documentation of the site, this project makes the space accessible while simultaneously creating a complete documented model of the room for further research and archiving. Despite the technological changes since the conception of this project, the principles of the model were similar to modern panoramic VR in which the user's position within the model is fixed but it is possible to rotate the field of view 360 degrees.

The significance of this project was the need to provide an accurate representation of space. As a resource this is significant as it allows users who engage with these models to still form an association with the space. Whilst the exterior models are useful for allowing users located elsewhere in the world to envisage the Minster, the opportunity to explore closed-off sections of the interior is highly novel and is an experience that is limited to a

⁶⁴⁶ Vicky Sypsa, *Masons Loft* (2002)

select few in person. This approach to expanding the awareness and accessibility of the minster provides audience members with an extra presence in the site. Although visitors can stand and experience the minster by engaging with these models, they are able to place themselves in a different position at the same location. Moving through visual space allows them to disregard limits yet still engage with that same tangible structure. Though not quite the double presence of Tan, this approach to digital integration in interpretation moves closer to allowing the public to consider alternative perspectives to the city location. This capability, therefore, allows users to form similar emotional associations with a site without the physical presence. By operating outside of the official institutional narratives of these sites, such as paid tours of the Minster, this creation of digital content provides a more democratised access that upholds the authenticity of the original site.

The significance that these models provide has been reflected in the response to the use of technology within the Minster. The access of drones has expanded the idea of investigating inaccessible spaces. These devices have become more accessible to members of the public and with the integration of video and photographic devices have become a source for visual documentation and exploration. For this reason, the Minster has a clear stance on the use of this technology on its site. Clearly stated on their website, the Minster references that by law drones are not permitted within 100 yards of a listed building without appropriate licence and insurance; even then express permission is required.⁶⁴⁷

Drones are utilised frequently in surveying as they provide access that is otherwise unachievable. Whilst regulations prevent the public from doing so, the Minster has allowed exclusive use of drones internally where it has been incorporated within official marketing material to provide an official and curated form of exploration and engagement with these often out of reach areas.⁶⁴⁸ Authorised drone footage showcases the many stained-glass

⁶⁴⁷ Chapter of York, 'Commercial Filming and Photography', < <https://yorkminster.org/media-centre/commercial-filming-photography/>> [Accessed 19 November 2018]

⁶⁴⁸ Within the marketing video for the site is unprecedented footage gathered from the use of such a device The video located at <https://www.facebook.com/yorkminster.org/videos/1415863778466690/> features scenes both of the exterior rising up above the towers but also moving up through the interior.

windows from a perspective above that of the usual visitor, providing unprecedented public access and a broader emersion and understanding of the site. This footage can be used to further document the site and maintain more accurate records for future investigation while allowing the audience to continue engaging with the site beyond their tangible experience. However, the control of such technology within such spaces perpetuates the broader discussion of authorised heritage narratives.

Case Study 3 - Virtual Monsters and Heritage Rediscovery

The summer of 2016 was witness to a cultural phenomenon born from the smartphones of millions of users who traversed the globe in search of virtual monsters. Pokémon Go! was a new AR app for smartphones licenced by the popular Pokémon franchise. Pokémon is a Japanese media franchise managed by The Pokémon Company, a company founded by Nintendo, Game Freak, and Creatures in 1996. It relies on geolocation information and was created by Niantic Labs.⁶⁴⁹ The purpose of the game is to collect Pokémon in the virtual world by visiting various locations in the physical world. The release of this game was highly significant in transforming the mobile gaming market, quickly becoming a global phenomenon and showcasing the potential of AR based gaming with subsequent attempts to replicate similar games for the Transformers and Harry Potter franchises.⁶⁵⁰ Upon launch, the game had around 45 million active users. The number has since diminished with a reprieve upon its release in Japan. By July 11th, 2016, the app had more active users than Twitter. It was reported that 10.8 per cent of all US Android users had the game installed and

⁶⁴⁹ Niantic Labs 'Pokémon Go' <<https://nianticlabs.com/en/support/pokemongo/>> [Accessed 7th October 2018]

⁶⁵⁰ Mark Prigg, 'Harry Potter and the goldern gaming firm: Niantic reveals \$200m funding round after it announces Pokemon Go followup will be based on the boy wizard', *Daily Mail*, <<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-5115531/Niantic-reveals-200m-funding-develops-Harry-Potter.html>> [Accessed 22nd December 2017] and Dina Bass, 'Pokemon Go Creator Has a Plan to Be More Than a One-Hit Wonder', *Bloomberg*, (14th June 2021) <<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-06-14/following-pokemon-go-niantic-plans-transformers-game-ar-tech-for-developers?leadSource=verify%20wall>> [Accessed 17th November 2021]

that there was a major differentiation in daily usage compared to apps such as Twitter.⁶⁵¹

This is an interesting figure as the PokemonGo! App implemented an age restriction policy in which users had to be 13 or over or have parental consent to create an account.⁶⁵² As such, this reflects a potential differentiation in demographic with a much lower ages player base compared to Twitter users.

Mention of this game was hard to avoid, and it is only when traversing the streets of York in search of these elusive virtual monsters that it was immediately clear the impact this game has had upon the landscape. Large portions of the population were purposefully setting out to travel and wander the cities and countryside in search of Pokémon.⁶⁵³ This was a fundamental part of the game's mechanic as it drew heavily from real-world information. If geographically near to a body of water, for example, water-type Pokémon were likely to reside. The game was built upon information derived from Google which established basic geographical information as well as prime locations for users to visit for in game features such as Gyms and Pokéstops. Achievement in the game required travelling across the wider landscape to capture different Pokémon characters. The creators were aware of this and even went so far as to region-lock certain Pokémon to prevent players from completing their collection without international travel. What resulted was the by-product of users exploring the urban landscape to participate in the game.

To approach this area of investigation an ethnographical methodology was utilised. Due to the cultural significance of the app on society at the time, it was decided to devise a

⁶⁵¹ Sarah Perez 'Pokémon Go tops Twitter's daily users, sees more engagement than Facebook', *Tech Crunch*, July 13 2016 < https://techcrunch.com/2016/07/13/pokemon-go-tops-twiters-daily-users-sees-more-engagement-than-facebook/?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAED9OuSZaKIXLX4Gb1mJH88zl9tYtg_r5Ti_aMJozesCTWHedAJQ54J0dgUPfB1VjFMFQcd9BRS2e_IKllavAhC5uZL7p1qCvjWsCU2mb2JsrEi58lwHMI8HKEZKLbHIA3WckoWW3LGYkuVZkS3j5LS890fwOkPv_a_Kig4b2lfx> [Accessed 9th February 2017]

⁶⁵² Niantic Labs, 'Niantic Kids Support', *Pokemon Go Help Centre*, < <https://niantic.helpshift.com/hc/en/6-pokemon-go/faq/36-niantic-kids-support/>> [Accessed 9th February 2017]

⁶⁵³ Jack Gevertz, 'Pokémon Go hits York – crazed fans roam the city trying to catch them all', *York Mix*, 13th July 2016, < <https://yorkmix.com/pokemon-go-craze-hits-york/>> [Accessed 9th February 2017]

novel method of data collection to not only capture public behaviour of users, but also to assess social media interaction and partake as an active participant in this process. As such a mixed methods approach was employed, to assess broader published articles on the significance of the application on social lives; in addition to this social media posts on Twitter were utilised to assess the influence on city institutions to embrace this cultural innovation. The use of hashtags and mentions of the app were utilised to trace activity. From an observational perspective a sample assessment was made of public engagement basing evidence on behavioural patterns in a designated area of the city across a particular time frame. Lastly, observation notes were taken from actively playing the game and taking note of the discoveries, locations, and experience. Given that this game has a wide userbase of young and older players, addressing this from an ethical aspect is necessary in relation to the observation data collection.

The fundamental information of Pokémon Go! has an intrinsic link to the built landscape. John Hanke, the Chief Executive Officer of Niantic, worked on the technology behind Google Maps.⁶⁵⁴ From his workings the team associated specific locations to be associated with sites of historical or cultural significance. Additional sites were added based on geotagged images from Google ensuring that they were placed in sites of visitor popularity. This approach to data integration impacted both on how people currently engage with the city, but more importantly as a monument to the changing landscape. The geolocation data contained documented evidence of where people travelled in the past. Locations that existed in the previous game integration are not always present in the Pokémon version. This is particularly of note in America where more rapid redevelopment was visible. The app would indicate locations of water towers deemed as significant landmarks, however, as Sam Prell notes, some of these no longer exist or in some cases the

⁶⁵⁴ Ani Vahradyan, 'John Hanke: Google Maps and Pokémon Go', *Berkeley Engineering*, May 1st, 2017, < <https://scet.berkeley.edu/john-hanke-google-maps-pokemon-go/#:~:text=As%20one%20of%20the%20co,Google%20Earth%20and%20Google%20Maps.>> [Accessed 19th August 2017]

location is inaccessible.⁶⁵⁵ In York the landscape has not changed as significantly as in North American cities; however, not all of the city's georeferenced sites are as accessible as the game indicates.

As part of this analysis, it was important to understand the influence of the game over the public's actions within the city. Therefore, an investigation was undertaken to examine digital engagements that reference PokemonGo directly. A Twitter account @PokemonGoYork was created as a direct response to the game, however, the site has since become inactive. The published posts informed players about locations to collect characters as well as sharing information from other institutions that were encouraging users to visit. For example, July 2016 saw tweets from both the Yorkshire Museum and York Art Gallery referencing their location as a suitable spot for those hunting Pokémon (Figure 6.15).⁶⁵⁶ The structure of York even positioned it as a fruitful global city for those seeking to benefit. A Reddit post dedicated to global cities and the best advice for playing the game features York. (Figure 6.16) The initial post was created November 18th, 2017, implying an active interest in both the game but also for its use in the city since the initial release.⁶⁵⁷ The post relates specifically to landmarks and locations such as the museum gardens and National Rail Museum, which are of particular interest to those wanting to benefit. This bond with landmarks helps to enrich awareness of these places to the city's younger residents and visitors alike. This is significant when considering the impact of the game by focusing on the interaction of institutions that reference this app. Furthermore, it eliminates aspects of prioritisation of place, as the game was not bound to specific locations. As such, institutions outside the city wall were able to embrace this application as sites such as the Minster or Shambles were not significant to the game. This grassroots approach to gamified exploration

⁶⁵⁵ Sam Prell, 'Pokémon Go keeps finding Pokémon in toilets and other weird places' *Games Radar*, 6th July 2016 < <https://www.gamesradar.com/pokemon-go-keeps-finding-pokemon-in-toilets-and-other-weird-places/> > [Accessed 18th February 2017]

⁶⁵⁶ PokemonGO YORK, *Twitter*, 21st July 2016 < <https://twitter.com/pokemongoyork?lang=en?>> [Accessed 19th November 2016]

⁶⁵⁷ ZeldenGM 'York: Give a Pokémon Go tour of your city', in *r/TheSilphRoad*, November 18th, 2017, < https://www.reddit.com/r/TheSilphRoad/comments/7dq7dc/give_a_pokemon_go_tour_of_your_city/ > [Accessed 9th February 2018]

is important as while institutions such as York Art Gallery embraced the novelty of the game, it provided greater insight and opportunity for small scale sites in the city to gain wider public attention. This aspect became prevalent in a 2019 update that allowed users to suggest points of reference in game to be included, thus placing greater control in the hand of users to suggest important sites.⁶⁵⁸

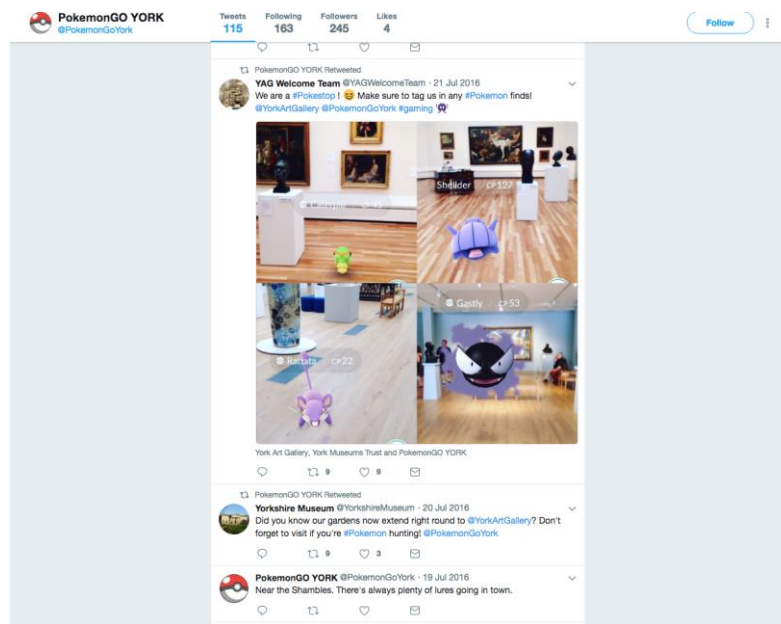


Figure 6.15 Screen capture of Twitter feed from PokemonGo York including tweets from York Art Gallery and Yorkshire Museum (Author's own, 21 July 2016).⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁸ Zeroghan, 'PokeStop Submission Guide', *GOHUB*, November 10th, 2019, <
<https://pokemongohub.net/post/guide/pokestop-submission-guide/>> [Accessed 9th July 2020]

⁶⁵⁹ PokemonGO YORK, *Twitter*, 21st July 2016

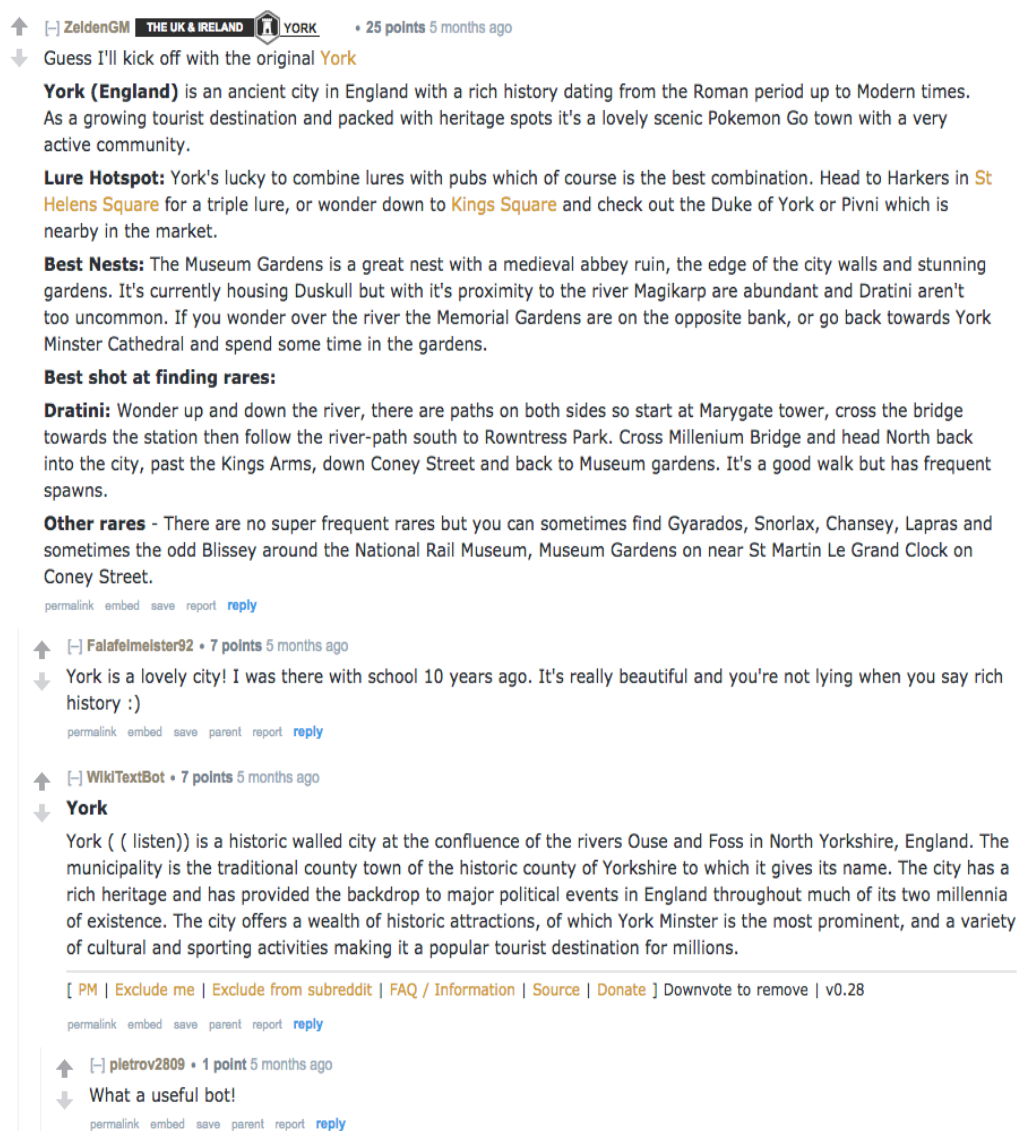


Figure 6.16 Screen capture from Reddit post regarding locations in York to capture Pokémon (Author's own, 2016).⁶⁶⁰

To support this a brief analysis was given of the terminology utilised in tweets referring to Pokémon Go. From a selection of 400 tweets posted to #pokémonGo on 17 July 2016 it is possible to examine the thematic wording of the experience of users. From this selection, words that occurred more than five times and are pertinent to this study are displayed in Table 6.4

⁶⁶⁰ ZeldenGM 'York: Give a Pokémon Go tour of your city', *Reddit*,

Word	#n	Word	#n	Word	#n
Found	132	Raid	9	City	6
Learned	54	Together	26	Water	35
Caught	78	Finding	7	Walked	48
Discovered	26	Amazing	30	Fell	11
Lost	27	Believe	13		
Youth	19	Beautiful	19		
Pokémon	187	History	9		

Table 6.4 Selection of terms gathered from tweets on 17th July 2016.

The variety and use of these words varies amongst the selection. Words like 'found' and 'discovered' have a dual interpretation; several have applied this to the discovery of a particular Pokémon they are mentioning, while others discuss a location or site of interest. Several of the tweets directly related to issues with the servers and frustration at not being able to play, hence have not been included in the table. Some of the words also reflect a sense of emotional connection at playing the game, for example 'amazing' and 'beautiful' featured on multiple occasions. This emotional tone, even if directly related to the game, reflects the attachment that players made with the app. The use of language is difficult to analyse on this scale as it is not reflective of the whole player base which also includes children who are less likely to have access to Twitter due to parental controls over their social media use. What this indicated is that the demographic of the player base included older users. However, the use of certain words can be extrapolated to show that there is an awareness of the association with the physical space walked.

To explore the impact of this game on the public within York, two site investigations were conducted. The first involved documenting how many players could be clearly observed playing along the River Ouse site while I sat stationary in Tower Gardens. The

behaviours I looked for in order to identify such participation included: individuals holding a mobile phone, observing the screen but not making any particular action such as texting, talking, or browsing a web page. Over the course of 30 minutes between 3:52pm and 4:22pm, 174 individuals were noted to exhibit characteristics of intermittent stopping in the park while staring at their phones.⁶⁶¹ Of these 121 people were categorised as sharing the in the activity, with 93 being part of groups of 3 or more and the remaining 28 were identified as pairs. These individuals were also observed stopping around the same area near Skeldergate Bridge. While observing these individuals it was noted that while 94 headed out of the park towards Tower Street the remainder carried on under the bridge. As there is a car park beyond the bridge it cannot be ascertained how many carried on walking and how many returned to vehicles. In addition, it is also important to note that the time of day there it is not possible to determine how many were walking home from work or school etc.

The second investigation, conducted on the same day, involved following the app along the River Ouse towards Millennium Bridge. During this walk, besides collecting various Pokémon such Caterpie and Magikarp the app alerted me to the location of the Pikeing Well. Unfamiliar with this location, the game had inadvertently led to a piece of York heritage. The Well is a Grade II listed well house on the site of 'a remarkably fine spring of clear water'.⁶⁶² Whilst the initial intention of the app was for collecting virtual monsters its consequential aspect was in engaging the user with the built environment in an unplanned way. This passive engagement with urban space is significant as the approach falls outside of more conventionally intentional activities such as visiting a museum or leisure activity; rather, Pokémon Go allows users to subconsciously immerse themselves in the urban environment. By discovering aspects of the city's past, it builds new connections and narratives that operate outside of the more conventional marketed narratives of the past. Given reference to the significance of sites like the Minster and the Shambles, the significance of the Pikeing

⁶⁶¹ This was conducted on 19th November 2016

⁶⁶² T. Kendall, 'Pikeing Well, New Walk, York. Report on an Archaeological Excavation'. *York Archaeological Trust*. (2002).

Well falls far outside the high priority tourist attractions of the city, but all the same was given merit in the game. In part this fulfils the game creator John Hanke's intention to create a style of game that incentivised 'people to look around with fresh perspective on the places they passed by every day, looking for the unusual, the little hidden flourish or nugget of history.'⁶⁶³ Whilst this comment was specifically about Ingress, a game that preceded Pokémon Go, it applies here as both games shared the same geolocational information.

As an app this game has created a cultural phenomenon, but in so doing, it has created a temporary method of rediscovery of the built city through passive engagement. In part this has loose ties to the ideas of nostalgia discussed earlier. Pokémon in general was a cultural pastime for those who grew up playing the games and watching the shows, thus providing an opportunity to draw on childhood emotional associations of the franchise in a new manner. The app has since reduced in activity but there is still a strong digital community that continues to play with an average daily player base of 7,499,735.00 in September 2021.⁶⁶⁴ Although few apps have achieved the phenomenal status of Pokémon Go! there is a growing dynamic of human/digital interaction as apps fulfil key features of daily life and help provide alternative information in both a passive and assertive context.

Case Study 4 - Heritage in Augmented Reality

An augmented reality (AR) app is a software application that integrates digital visual content (and sometimes audio and other types) into the user's real-world environment. Building on the principles applied through Pokémon Go! the idea of overlaid information and image is a powerful digital tool to enhance everyday experiences. *England's Historic Cities* is an app

⁶⁶³ John Hanke, quoted in Tom Hatfield 'Ingress: The Game that reveals Google's secret war to control London', *The Guardian*, June 4th, 2014, <<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/jun/04/ingress-the-game-that-reveals-googles-secret-war-to-control-london>> [Accessed 18 September 2016].

⁶⁶⁴ Statista, 'Number of Active users of Pokemon Go Worldwide from 2016-2020, by region', <<https://www.statista.com/statistics/665640/pokemon-go-global-android-apple-users/>> [Accessed 19 November 2021], ActivePlayer, 'Pokemon Go Live Player Count', <<https://activeplayer.io/pokemon-go/>> [Accessed 19 November 2021],

that caters for twelve cities within the UK. It operates by scanning trigger points across the city which unveils augmented displays on the screen. The content builds upon the discussions above and incorporates 3D reconstructions and panoramas associated with the site. This allows users to be on-site and learn in real-time at their own pace giving freedom to engage at their own level. The app was created in 2018 in partnership between Hex Digital with Visit York and York Minster.⁶⁶⁵ The app promises 'immersive 3D environments, Stylised parallax illustrations of historical scenes, 360-degree panoramas of secret 'zero-access' locations, Augmented reality information boards, Before-and-after sliders showing the power of time'.⁶⁶⁶ This app provides additional information not found by just being present at the site, thereby implying an experience gained through engagement with the application. By using the app, the user can gain an alternative perspective of the minster, one that might not be immediately or obviously present to the visitor.



Figure 6.17 An illustration from the app depicting the York Minster fire of 1829 (Hex Digital, 2018).

⁶⁶⁵ Hex Digital, 'Bringing England's History Back to Life in AR' 2018 < <https://www.hexdigital.com/digital-marketing-case-studies/englands-historic-cities> > [Accessed 19th January 2019]

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid

The content on offer ensures that the user gains something from its use. Depicting aspects of the site's history that cannot be displayed on site enhances accessibility through digital engagement. Though initially only related to use at the Minster, it is a proof of concept that can be applied to a city and integrated elsewhere with further investment. This use of the application can include visual and audio elements which enhance the visit, drawing on multiple senses and reinforcing that idea of experience.

In addition, attempts to address the ecclesiastical heritage of the city through smartphone application was addressed by the University of York through the York City Centre Churches app, which is an ecumenical project to link all the churches both inside and outside the walls on a map.⁶⁶⁷ The driving force behind the project is the Reverend Jane Natrass, Priest-in-Charge of the York City Centre Churches, who said: 'We are pleased that so many churches have come together to make use of the app technology which can be used in church, on the move or in schools. York churches have many treasures which add to the life of the city. The apps will provide opportunities to explore the stories from history and contemporary Christianity. Asking people to switch on their smartphones in church will be a first!'⁶⁶⁸ Louise Hampson said, 'Churches hold much of the nation's history and spiritual and artistic heritage, so it is vital we find new ways to help people of all ages and backgrounds explore and enjoy these wonderful buildings and their stories.'⁶⁶⁹ This is an interactive app that lists twenty-three churches, providing basic information on each site. In addition, the app also utilises GPS technology to guide users to lesser-known sites. This has similarities to the application mentioned above but with a more direct narrative of ecclesiastical sites. The ability to move beyond the more mainstream narratives is important with these applications as there are other means to engage with the city and these need to offer a value that the user cannot find elsewhere. This app has a clear focus on the future as

⁶⁶⁷ Caron Lett, 'High tech guide helps new generations explore Shakespeare's church', University of York News 19th April 2012 < <https://www.york.ac.uk/news-and-events/news/2012/church-app/> > [Accessed 14th July 2017]

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid

well as the past. While many sites across the city are no longer used as places of worship, the developers have opted to not ignore them, and Louise Hampson goes on to explain how there are plans to expand on their stories. The app aims to showcase the impact these sites have had on nearby street names and gravestones as well as remaining evidence found in photographs, particularly for those that no longer stand, such as Christchurch King's Square.⁶⁷⁰ The user is able to engage with a 'lost' history of the city that draws parallels with other platforms such as Memories of York. However, this more narrative-driven application has considered the intention to help users learn rather than guide them on a predetermined adventure. By utilising expertise knowledge from the university this app provides a middle ground form of engagement that is accessible and highly referenced from academic research. Though this lacks the more community-based elements of data integration, this suggests a much larger movement to incorporate digital technologies within future research and public engagement.

The two examples here are clearly institutional in formation with a clear agenda and purpose, however, given the topic of the content, this is already a notable shift to a more storytelling approach to delivering information rather than the more tourist marketing approach of examples of institutional material in Chapter 4. What this form of engagement represents is an example of newer technologies and newer capabilities that will go on and develop offering new opportunities to delve into the hidden histories of these sites. The intention here is to highlight the role of such apps at this point and the need to incorporate them into considerations of heritage depiction and engagement. For example, the work of co-production process for the app on churches helps broaden the narrative of York's ecclesiastical narrative beyond that of just the Minster. Whilst the scope of interest is perhaps niche, the principle is established here on drawing together assets across institutions and communities to produce a more cohesive and accessible narrative.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid

Conclusion

Digital integration has enriched many people's understandings of the city. Technological advancements in 3D scanning and augmented reality have altered the official and unofficial interpretation of the built landscape. 3D Scanning has allowed buildings and monuments to be mapped and recreated in a digital environment. This has become the norm to understand and engage with the past through a virtual platform. Although Lowenthal predicted the demise of shared memories with the growth of the internet, these digital methodologies have developed ways to expand and diversify user integration. Users can connect with the past and gain access to that which has previously been less accessible to many people. Enabling the public to virtually engage with the tangible city both in the past and the present draws heavily on ideas of nostalgia and how perspectives of the past are framed.

These methods of engagement are examples of ways that values already present within the community can be united through apps and social media to unite likeminded people together virtually. As digital technology continues to develop so will the interpersonal connections and values. For this chapter, the use of digital assets provides a plethora of additional forms of engagement beyond those offered by the institutions of the city. The impact and significance of such assets and forms of communication will continue to be explored within chapter 7 which utilised the use of forums and Instagram in understanding engagement of urban spaces.

The consideration of emotional attachment and exploration of unofficial historical narratives are unifying themes throughout this thesis. In this chapter, the ability to build collective narratives or accessible engagement with urban spaces places greater control with the users to lead the narrative making process. Games like Pokémon Go! represent opportunities to explore the city beyond the prioritisation of marketing policies. This is not to say that all digital heritage is independent and supportive of this approach, as the apps developed in line with Visit York are heavily reinforcing of more official narratives.

The analysis of the case studies in this chapter supports the broader academic literature on this topic. Although the need for a new paradigm of thought is not required at present there is a clear adaptation of thought to support implementation of these technological capabilities. As discussed by Flinn and Stevens, the use of social media and communal apps has led to the formation of virtual collective groups and communities who are empowered by their shared knowledge and experiences.⁶⁷¹ Moreover, this goes further than provoking civic action as discussed by Gregory, since these collectives were able to explore both contemporary and historic topics and build new narratives and insights. The significance of social media groups removes any reliance of being physically present in the city. This is a fundamental shift from conventional studies that observe users within the subject area. However, by broadening this onto a global platform, it requires removing any predetermined notions of immediate location-based association. This is particularly important when considering the emotional attachment of users as this transcends location. Nostalgia and reminiscence unite users, while the combination of living memory enhances and diversifies understanding of York's historical narratives. While this is often bound in reference to the changing city, the isolation of the discussion within these groups allows for a discussion at the human level that is devoid of top-down preconceived interpretations. This allows academics to more acutely analyse the content of social media posts and messages to extrapolate thematic content and interrogate their associated emotional connotations.

More specifically, the utilisation of digital technology across the city reinforces the broader initiatives of the city council to become a digital super town. The delivery of bespoke city applications and digital resources to explore historic sites has helped develop the city's digital landscape by providing high value content to users. This echoes the intentions of Councillor David Carr in developing a digital super town.⁶⁷² The heavy investment in a digital economy has ensured an infrastructure that accommodates future developments while

⁶⁷¹ Flinn and Stevens, *Community Archives*

⁶⁷² Carr quoted in 'Historic York is helping support UK as global digital leader'.

simultaneously increasing access to information. Whilst supportive of earlier discussions of place-marketing, this digital infrastructure requires negotiation of part of a broader balancing of narratives, with historic and digital York combining across multiple platforms. Rather than solely approach this from a grassroots or top-down perspective, regarding York it is necessary to consider the balance and interworking of content and methodologies between the two levels. How these resources are utilised within other contexts is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Contesting the past through the experience of Urban Exploration

'The Age of Discovery is not dead: it lives on through urban explorers.'⁶⁷³

Urban Exploration (also known as Urbex or UE) is a methodological concept of engaging with the landscape that operates outside of official curated narratives. It is still something of a controversial topic in academic circles owing to its ethical and quasi-illegal underpinning.⁶⁷⁴ However, it features as the focus of this penultimate chapter due to the relationship it has with cultural geography and heritage as a resource of narrative formation. Secondly, UE can be considered as a response to changes in a city's socio-economic status, notably at times of austerity in which this act provides a freedom to roam and discover beyond the curated narratives.⁶⁷⁵ This chapter discusses the value that UE as a tool for participant research. This includes a critique of current academic approaches, its appearance in mainstream media, as well as its potential in further investigations. This research is underpinned with a discussion of the utilisation of visual imagery and experience as well as individual value and meaning, which is later applied to ideas of city identification.

Despite the increased academic interest in the topic, there is no single unifying definition of UE. In its simplest form, it refers to the act of entering areas of the built environment that are usually restricted to public access such as construction sites, demolished and abandoned sites, as well as underground systems such as sewers, railway tracks and even the catacombs in Paris. UE is also an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates the act and documentation of such practices as well as their wider emotional, sociological connections. UE thus applies to notions of heritage and narrative formation in creating a sense of space and place.⁶⁷⁶ Applying meaning and value transfers these often-

⁶⁷³ L.B. Deyo and David Leibowitz, *Invisible frontier: exploring the tunnels, ruins, and rooftops of hidden New York*, (Three Rivers Press, New York, 2003) p.146.

⁶⁷⁴ For more information on austerity urbanism see Fran Tonkiss, 'Austerity urbanism and the makeshift city'. *City*, 17 (3). (2013), pp. 312-324.

⁶⁷⁵ Deyo and Leibowitz, *Invisible frontier*, p.146.

⁶⁷⁶ Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*.

overlooked aspects into the framework of placemaking. Explorers take subjective ideas and notions and apply them to the wider and institutional narratives.⁶⁷⁷

UE is positioned as an alternative approach to heritage with York acting as a testing ground for the theory. To begin with, this chapter will assess the current field of UE and discuss the difficulties facing its inclusion in research. It will then discuss the methodology of this research, taking an interdisciplinary approach to data capture through analysis of online forums as well as interviews and site visits. This will be followed by four case studies which draw on differing discussions of intention and value to the practice of UE. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the value of UE to research into urban heritage and the wider sense of place gained from these case studies.

Understanding Urban Exploration

Studies of Urban Exploration (UE) have been investigated through various disciplines including sociology, ethnography, and social geography. Urban exploration is an interdisciplinary practice that draws on multiple elements of differing disciplines.⁶⁷⁸ While heritage studies have rarely featured at the forefront of their investigation, there is scope for inclusion through discussion of a sense of place, memory and identity.⁶⁷⁹ Study into this topic can be derived from earlier themes of artistic space practice and forms of expression in the urban landscape.⁶⁸⁰ Bradley Garrett, an urban geographer, was one of the first academics to directly research urban explorers. Garrett defines UE as an activity to 'locate and explore disordered, marginal, interstitial and infrastructural spaces through recreational trespassing'.⁶⁸¹ He further asserts that UE is a form of 'spatial freedom through action in reaction to escalating securitisation and sanitation of everyday life'.⁶⁸² His autoethnographic

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid

⁶⁷⁸ See Joe Moran *Interdisciplinarity*,

⁶⁷⁹ Samantha Stone, 'The Value of heritage: urban exploration and the historic environment', *The Historic Environment: Policy and Practise*, 4, (2016), p.302.

⁶⁸⁰ Jane Rendell, 'Space, Place, Site: Critical Spatial Practice'. In Cameron Cartiere, & Shelly Willis, (eds.), *Re/Placing Public Art*. (Routledge, 2010)

⁶⁸¹ Garrett, 'Undertaking Recreational Trespass', pp.3-4

⁶⁸² Ibid

doctoral research with the London Consolidation Crew (LCC) has been recognised as a benchmark for UE as a form of anti-authoritarian protest.⁶⁸³ Inspired by the restrictions of cities like London, Garrett contends that there is a growing conflict between the sites of a city that have restrictions placed on their accessibility and the desire by explorers to see what has been given restricted access.⁶⁸⁴ His approach can be read as a reaction to a loss of control over the urban environment; this correlates with a much larger view that cities and public spaces have been increasingly privatised and gated.⁶⁸⁵ In this sense 'urban explorers raise awareness on what possibilities are available to urban inhabitants, even as it may serve as a (perhaps under articulated) critique on the illusory nature of control over and security within that system.'⁶⁸⁶ Other commentators including Will Self advocate that the British UE scene is a necessary movement that is 'challenging the official demarcation of public versus private space in our city'.⁶⁸⁷ Under this guise, UE can be seen to be part of the wider anti-establishment and anti-capitalist movements which utilise and occasionally inhabit property and land in similar ways to Occupy London or SQUASH.⁶⁸⁸ Garrett's justification stems from his initial doctoral research in which he interviewed academics in other disciplines to gain an understanding of the practice. One of the key themes from his interviews, drawn from the psycho-geographer Tim Edensor's work, was the concept of exploration as an anti-authoritarian act to challenge ideas about the use of urban space as a form of control.⁶⁸⁹ Garrett's video article goes on to discuss the intangible loss of the built environment's bond with the past as well as people and places through redevelopment and sanitation.⁶⁹⁰ His field work with explorers has expanded on this and developed his ideas

⁶⁸³ Garrett, *Place Hacking: Tales of Urban Exploration*,

⁶⁸⁴ Garrett, 'Undertaking Recreational Trespass', pp.3-4.

⁶⁸⁵ Anne Minton, *Ground Control: Fear and Happiness in the twenty-first-century city*, (Penguin, 2012)

⁶⁸⁶ Bradley Garrett, *Explore Everything: Place Hacking the City*, (Verso Books 2013), p.10.

⁶⁸⁷ Will Self, 'Give the Freedom of the City to Our Urban Explorers' *Evening Standard* April 25, 2014

⁶⁸⁸ Occupy London or SQUASH were protests and campaigns that took place in London, the latter was an effort to repeal legislation criminalising squatting in empty residential properties. For information see Andre Pusey, 'Strike, occupy, transform! Students, subjectivity and struggle', *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education*, (2016)

⁶⁸⁹ Tim Edensor, 'The gloomy city: Rethinking the relationship between light and dark', *Urban Studies*, 52(3), (2015), p.422.

⁶⁹⁰ Garrett, *Place Hacking*

further through explorations in London, notably of The Shard in London during its construction between 2009 – 13. Through his exploration of this site and others similar to it, he advocates the practice as being anti-capitalist.

In *Edge City*, Joel Garreau examines the constant evolution of how the public live and interact with the urban landscape. He traces how previous cities had a central urban core which was surrounded by peripheral sections of housing. Through progressive waves, this has fundamentally changed to the point that the core no longer exists and has assimilated as it moves outwardly towards us. This process has marginalised many, as the city relocates outwards, and the public now find the defining qualities of the core on their doorsteps. As he notes, 'Today, we have moved our means of creating wealth, the essence of urbanism - our jobs - out to where most of us have lived and shopped for two generations.'⁶⁹¹ The effect is that engagement with urban centres has altered, and individuals have come to seek a different relationship with the tangible world and with it a new sense of understanding of the environment around us. For this reason, UE is a methodology to examine the relationship formed from these changes as an interpretative expression to urban restructuring rather than an outright movement against it.

Not all explorers are resisting authority; ignoring signs like “*do not enter*” provides the opportunity to see beyond the fabricated restrictions, opening up perspectives of the environment to be experienced. Alan Rapp argues that explorers are motivated to learn about the world rather than just being a part of it. Explorers, he writes, 'largely don't make claims beyond exercising a right to learn more about their environment' through 'first-hand experience...denied to the rest of us'.⁶⁹² Garrett's marginalisation of interpretations and motivations has made it difficult to include UE in research topics given the heavy theme of protest detracting from the idea of discovery in the urban and cultural landscape. David

⁶⁹¹ Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*, (Anchor Books 1992), p.4.

⁶⁹² A. E. Rapp, 'The esoteric city: Urban exploration and the reclamation of the built environment', *Architecture*, (New York School of Visual Arts 2010), p.3 & p.38.

Pinder suggests that UE is about 'rediscovering the past in a more radical way', the first-hand multisensory experience offered up by the decay and abandonment of these sites is a resource in itself.⁶⁹³ The psychological impact this can have stimulates memories and draws on the intangible heritage of the explorer.

Research into broader trends is difficult as explorers themselves play down the idea that they are connected in a wider community. They tend to operate as individuals and only rarely work within collectives of trusted comrades. This creates an issue for social scientific researchers who look for unifying characteristics amongst participants. Any concept of community is further hampered by the ambiguity of a code of ethics; in general, there is none, no code of unity, just a generalised motto many chose to operate by of 'take only photos, leave only footprints'. Samantha Stone acknowledges that this approach is borrowed from the early America environmental conservation movement.⁶⁹⁴ This has meant that methodological research into UE varies widely and has produced very different outcomes for academics. To respond to this, the research within this chapter has drawn on the methodology of visual imagery inspired by Gillian Rose as well as utilise resources of social media to analyse the relationships and responses garnered from UE.⁶⁹⁵ However, despite the precedent of utilising visual imagery there is an underlying challenge when considering it in regard to UE due to the secretive and individualised nature of UE. Therefore, when considering them from a social media perspective this needs to be factored in, as these may have been doctored or do not represent the full narrative.

Commentary on UE has predominantly focused on the act itself rather than the intangible resources it generates.⁶⁹⁶ The recent growth in social media, as examined in the

⁶⁹³ David Pinder, 'Arts of urban exploration', *Cultural Geographies* 12(4) (2005), pp.383–411 and David Pinder, 'Urban interventions: art, politics and pedagogy', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32 (2008), pp.730–6.

⁶⁹⁴ Stone, *The Value of Heritage*, p.302.

⁶⁹⁵ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the interpretation of Visual Materials* (London, Sage, 2001), pp.4-6.

⁶⁹⁶ Self, 'Give the Freedom of the City to Our Urban Explorers'

previous chapter, has equally seen a correlating increase in posts regarding UE online.⁶⁹⁷

Dedicated website such as *Urbex UK*, online forums such as *28dayslater.co.uk* as well as social media posts on Instagram, Facebook and YouTube represent the scale and variety of output created by explorers. These posts include acts of parkour, base jumping and a trend referred to in the media as roof topping, which glorify UE to a level of social media stunt.⁶⁹⁸

Due to this, there has been sizeable media attention due to fatalities, notably Wu Yongning, China's first roof topper, whose social media pages depict what is supposed to be his last and fatal image before his fall.⁶⁹⁹ Media posts refer to the more criminal aspects of UE rather than the elements of discovery and collective memorialisation which are important to this study.⁷⁰⁰

Structuring research into UE

Structuring the research for this chapter has been heavily swayed by previous research, notably that by Garrett and by Luke Bennett, who takes a more document-based approach. The methodologies of UE research vary with many commentators noting the polar approaches of these two, with Garrett the engaged auto ethnographer and Bennett the distant commentator. To help place the methodology it is worth quoting Peter Høeg:

There is *one* way to understand another culture. *Living* it. Move into it, ask to be tolerated as a guest, learn the language. At some point, understanding may come. It will always be wordless. The moment you

⁶⁹⁷ Peter Matthews, 'Neighbourhood Belonging, Social Class and Social Media – Providing Ladders to the Cloud', *Housing Studies*, 30(1), pp.22-39.

⁶⁹⁸ See #urbanexploration in Instagram <<https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/urbanexploration/?hl=en>>
Hell on Earth 'Abandoned Theme Park – Camelot – Urban Exploring', *YouTube*, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0UDkNw5-BGc>>

⁶⁹⁹ The image has not been included out of respect for the deceased however, the image alongside others from his explorations can be found online. Please see Asia wire <https://www.weibo.com/727398786?refer_flag=1001030001_&nick=%E6%9E%81%E9%99%90-%E5%92%8F%E5%AE%81&is_hot=1> [Accessed 14/04/2017]

⁷⁰⁰ For example, J. Davenport, 'Terror Alert at 7/7 Tube Station Blamed on Four Urban Explorers', *Evening Standard London Limited*, London 3rd May 2011, <<http://www.standard.co.uk/news/terroralert-at-77-tube-station-blamed-on-four-urban-explorers-6397538.html>> [Accessed 23/03/2016]

Stephen Moss, 'Politics, thrills or social media: what drives the new breed of urban explorer?' *The Guardian*, 2016 <<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/nov/10/urbex-politics-thrills-social-media-new-breed-urban-explorer>> [Accessed 14/04/2017]

grasp what is foreign, you will lose the urge to explain it. To explain a phenomenon is to distance yourself from it.⁷⁰¹

Høeg suggests several aspects a researcher must consider when positioning themselves in relation to their research. For Garrett, this meant immersing himself in his work and undertaking four years of field research, which involved developing from videographer to active participant. This brought with it criticism for the ethical underpinning or knowingly trespassing to be able to experience the act. Bennett equally positioned himself in the research as an observer examining the idea of 'Bunkerology' with which he carried out an in-depth and specialised investigation of Royal Observer Corp (ROC) posts.⁷⁰² Bennett describes UE as facilitating an 'otherness', that is, an opportunity to experience something other than normal life.

In comparison to Garrett's auto-ethnographic study, Bennett's more conventional academic method involves approaching the explored environment as an outsider and commenting on what is seen and known rather than what is experienced. Bennett, who terms his approach as "document-based ethnography," describes his methodology as being the opposite of Garrett's.⁷⁰³ This chapter takes a more expanded approach which encompasses elements of both authors' methodologies. In so doing, it utilizes all the available resources, including internet forums and interviews, and acknowledges the emotional and sensory experience found within UE.

The criticism of predominantly document-based research in this area is partly founded on the assumption that there is a structured sense of community, something that is discussed at length by peers. Urban explorers themselves play down the idea that they are connected, instead opting to operate on an individual basis and very seldom working with collectives of trusted colleagues. This approach rarely accounts for that aspect of reality;

⁷⁰¹ Peter Høeg, *Miss Smilla's feeling for snow*, (Vintage Books, London 2005), p.169.

⁷⁰² Luke Bennett, 'Bunkerology – a case study in the theory and practice of urban exploration' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29 (2011), p.425.

⁷⁰³. Ibid

even the forums and documents that imply a quantitative community only present a selective perspective rather than an unanimously held concept.⁷⁰⁴ Elizabeth Straughan suggests that the issue of community is hampered in part by the ambiguity of a code of ethics: in general, there is none, neither is there a code of unity.

Structuring the research is difficult, as 'Gary,' an explorer Garrett encountered, mentions: 'what you do Bradley, it's just words, this doesn't have anything to do with anything'.⁷⁰⁵ Oxygen Thief, an administrator for the web forum *28DaysLater.co.uk*, further claims that 'what happens on the forums has squat to do with exploring, it's not a true reflection of anything'.⁷⁰⁶ Both of these statements imply that there is little of value in research or online postings on forums. Whilst Garrett mentions the topic of online resources, in the years since the publication of his research, interest in social media has exploded and this has resulted in an increase in the number and frequency of postings. Rather than dismiss this as a purely social media development, this research challenges Garrett's precedent by utilising as a form of public and community engagement and as a form of interaction for better understanding the reasons for such explorations. These posts and forms represent a social commentary on UE that goes beyond the physical act, the posting of images and discussion of sites and experiences acts as further documentation and reflection of a broader community. Online forums, as well as posts on social media services including Facebook and Instagram, are included in this research to show the development of online engagement and the assimilation of it as part of wider social events. Though Garrett notes the value of autoethnographic research in gaining insight into being an explorer, no first-hand explorations have been conducted for this thesis. This is partly due to the challenge of gaining ethical clearance as well as the fact that other options presented themselves through site visits, web forums and interviews which offset this as the only

⁷⁰⁴ Elizabeth Straughan, 'Touched by water: the body in scuba diving', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 5(1), (2012), pp. 19-26.

⁷⁰⁵ Garrett, 'Undertaking Recreational Trespass', p.3.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid

source of UE investigation. However, visits were conducted to observe and document sites discussed through in-depth semi-structured interviews that were conducted with volunteers who responded to a call for assistance on several online platforms including *28dayslater.co.uk*.⁷⁰⁷

Ninjalicious has been cited as an important authority on UE for his introductory guide to UE.⁷⁰⁸ Most notably they are associated with the establishment of *Infiltration*, a magazine dedicated to the global practice of UE in the late 1990s.⁷⁰⁹ Instead today there is a rich repository of data freely available on the internet. Much of this takes the form of memoirs to record explorations either through reports or images.⁷¹⁰ Amongst the multiple websites accessed for this chapter are sources of advice, hints, and information for new explorations.

The data set for this research draws on three main sources of information. Firstly, is an investigation of online resources. This started with a general search for terms of Urban Exploration as well as specific sites mentioned in previous work. From this selection, options were broken down to analyse specific sub topics and posts which addressed differing areas of UE in York. Discussion on social media trends and the breakdown of posts follows on from the previous chapter with a broader discussion of trends and social culture. As part of these posts, there is an assessment of the use of visual imagery based on the images posted as part of these posts. As part of this online analysis, there was a call for participants for inclusion via the UE web forum *28dayslater.co.uk*. From this call, nine participants came forward to be interviewed. These participants were contacted for in-depth semi-structured interviews based around their personal experiences and motivations. The last resource is based again upon field research and visual imagery through visiting sites mentioned as part

⁷⁰⁷ Due to ethical questions over the legality of UE and following further research into Garrett who has been arrested for his part in researching UE around the world it was decided to take a position of impartiality that observes the act but partakes in the discussion of paraphernalia and ephemera associated with the acts.

⁷⁰⁸ Ninjalicious, *Access All Areas: A User's Guide to the Art of Urban Exploration* (Infilpress, Toronto 2005)

⁷⁰⁹ *Infiltration*, < <http://www.infiltration.org/>> [Accessed 19th June 2017]

⁷¹⁰ Gates, 'Hidden Cities' in RomanyWG, *Beauty in Decay*, and *Beauty in Decay II*, (Carpet Bombing Culture 2010-12)

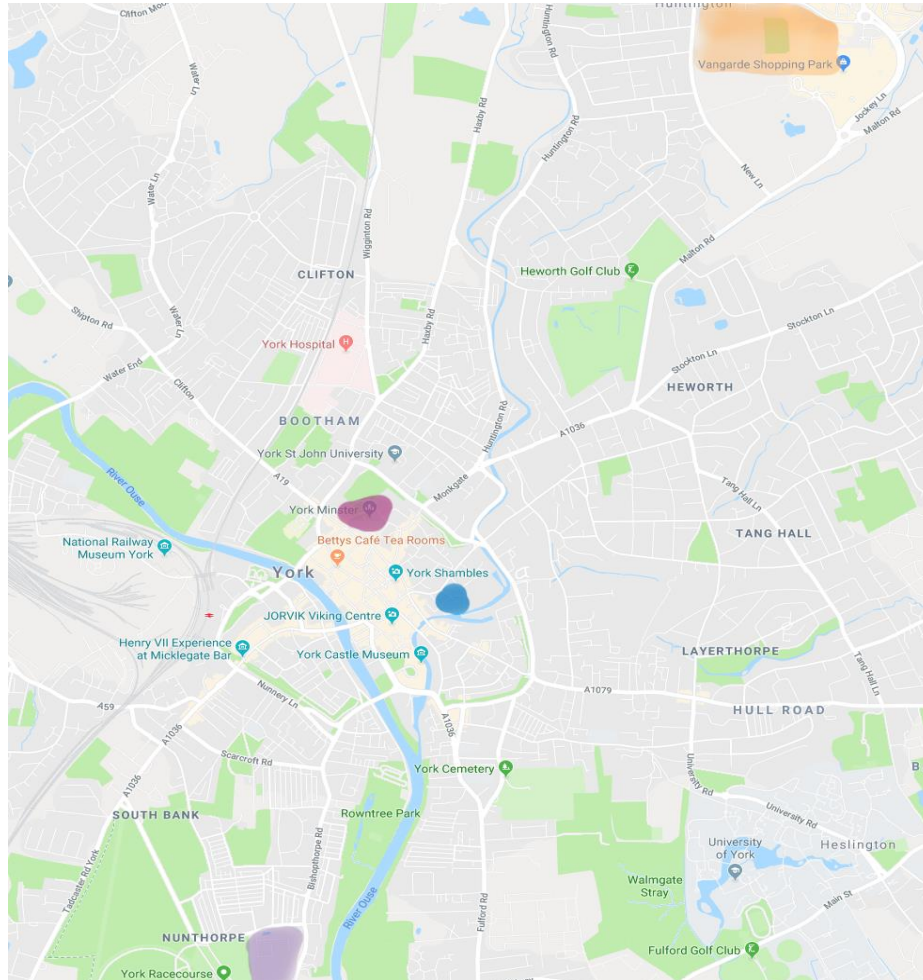
of the posts and interviews. The benefit of this approach is that it provides an interdisciplinary ethnographic approach utilising the resources readily available, that is, not reliant on specialist knowledge or committing questionable acts.

Case Study	Topic	Interview	Site	Resources
1	Online Resources			28dayslater.co.uk Facebook Instagram Google Search Urbex.com
2	Sense of Community	Aidan H	Waterworld Leisure Centre	Interview, Posts on 28dayslater.co.uk
3	UE as a Direct Resource	SAt, Saxofilis	Hungate Construction Site	Interview, Posts on 28dayslater.co.uk
4	Nostalgia	Hamtagger	Terry's Factory	Interview, Posts on 28dayslater.co.uk
5	Alternative Perspectives	Clough	York Minster Rooftop	Interview, Posts on 28dayslater.co.uk

Table 7.1 Breakdown of chapter case studies

Whilst each of the four case studies addresses a different aspect of UE in the city, these are not all-encompassing examples of the practice or representative of those within the city who practice UE. Rather, they are representations of how a heritage value can be applied to the act of UE. The first addresses stages of engagement amongst individuals within UE and how the practice can be used as a subjective resource for those wanting to learn about the site. This moves on to the second study examining how UE can be a form of documentation preserving sites for future reference. These culminate in a third study which addresses the idea of nostalgia as a motive for UE and the resources for research that come from this. The final study examines how UE provides an alternative perspective to the urban

landscape, by offering the opportunity to not only see aspects of the city but to allow the participant to detach from everyday life momentarily. Table 7.1 outlines the case studies, resources, and topics, alongside a map (Figure 7.2) which shows the location of these sites across the city.



Map 7. Map of York depicting the sites of the case studies 2-5.

Key:

Case Study 2 is coloured in orange to the north of the city

Case study 3 is coloured blue and based at Hungate near the river Foss

Case Study 4 is coloured purple and based to the south of the city at the former Terry's Factory

Case Study 5 is coloured pink and based at York Minster in the city centre.

York's Urban Exploration Online

There are seven internet forums dedicated to UE that have been analysed for this chapter.

The largest and most well known in Britain is *28dayslater.co.uk*, while the largest global site

is Urban Explorer Resource (UER.ca). They have been chosen for this research as they feature the greatest volume of traffic beyond social media. Table 7.2 shows the available data that was gathered from the public areas of these sites. Whilst Stone analysed data in a similar way, her selection only included four sites and one of these, UKUrbex.com, is no longer available.⁷¹¹ However, the figures have been included alongside additional data collected to show the change in activity since her initial investigation in 2014. Her work has helped suggest that there is value in these online sources due to the scope of public engagement with them suggesting a larger cultural phenomenon.

⁷¹¹ Stone, *The Value of Heritage*, p.302.

Country of Origin	Website	Members		Threads		Posts	
		2014	2018	2014	2018	2014	2018
UK	28dayslater	23,150	47,708	26,355	34,058	96,670	170,197
UK	Ukurbex.com	1849	No longer working	Not known	No longer working	41,206	No longer working
UK	Talkurbex.com	3401	5255	9955	10,466	89,837	91,737
USA/CA	UER.ca	Not Known	Not disclosed	1250	5165	30,323	81,767
UK	UKurbex.co.uk		Not Known		241		
UK	Derelict-uk.com		62		269		1443
UK	Whateversleft.co.uk		Not disclosed		188		
	Urbex: Urban Exploration Flickr		12,454		370,549		

Table 7.2 Data from internet forums and websites reflecting number of members, threads, and posts.⁷¹²

⁷¹² Data updated and corrected 05 April 2018. Shaded figured include data taken from Stone 's research accessed on 10 August 2014.

The figures reflect a natural development of these sites to expand over time with new posts. The UKurbex site that Stone used is no longer operational, however UKurbex.co.uk is live and has been included in the research. Urbex: Urban Exploration's Flickr page has also been included as it provides another platform for posting reports, images, and comments on explorations. Although this is not the only Flickr page, it is the largest in terms of user activity so has been included for comparative reference.

Within these sites, members post reports which are subjective to the member, but often include a brief statement on the site and how the exploration took place followed by a collection of images. This initial post is often followed by critical responses and discussion from other members. Sites like *28dayslater.co.uk* are often structured to allow threads and sub posts to facilitate categorisation and specialisation. Figure 7.1 is a screenshot of *28dayslater.co.uk* reflecting the structure of the posts while Figure 7.2 shows further categorisation in the topic of High Stuff. This data has been analysed against the data gathered by Stone to analyse the growth of the website, the data is displayed in Table

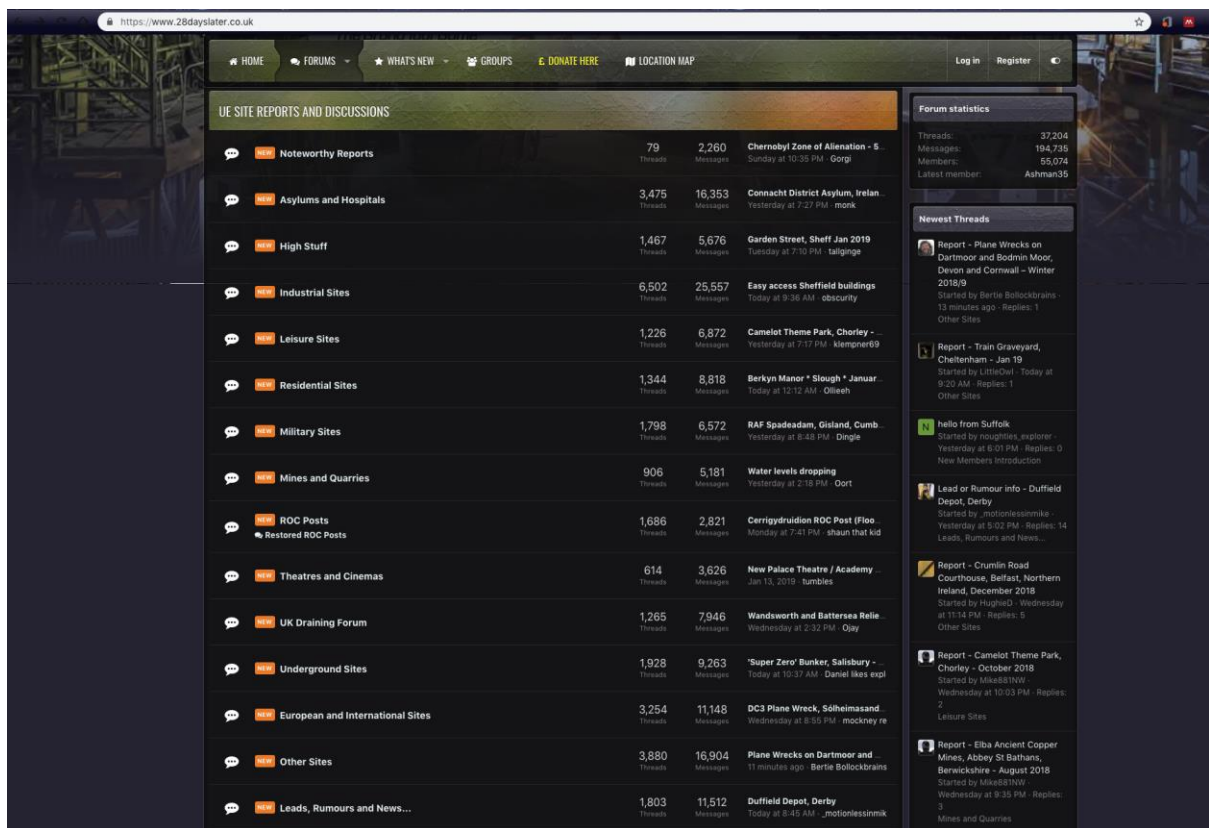


Figure 7.1 Screen capture of the home page of 28dayslater.co.uk depicting the categorisation of exploration types (Author's own).

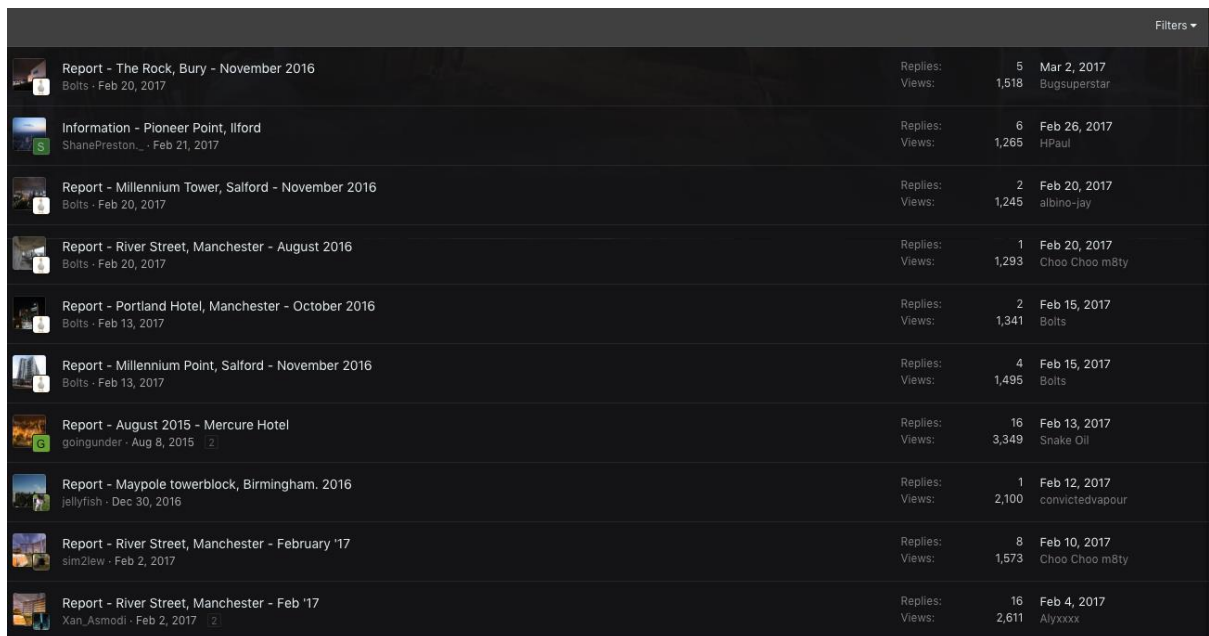


Figure 7.2 Screen capture showing the breakdown of topic threads within the category of High Stuff on 28dayslater.co.uk (Author's own).

Type (as labelled on 28 days later forum)	Threads (2014)	Threads (2018)	Percentage increase	Posts (2014)	Posts (2018)	Percentage Increase
Noteworthy Reports		75			2108	
Asylums and hospitals	2746	3304	20.32%	7640	14300	87.17%
High Stuff	1206	1408	16.75%	3863	5245	35.78%
Industrial Site	5032	6145	22.12%	11330	22436	98.02%
Leisure Sites	692	1079	55.92%	2520	5563	120.75%
Residential Sites	361	1073	197.23%	1453	6480	345.97%
Military Sites	1391	1665	19.7%	3123	5528	77.01%
Mines and Quarries	650	848	30.46%	1785	4554	155.13%
ROC Posts	2109	1652	-21.67%	2563	2672	4.25%
Theatres and cinemas	462	591	27.92%	997	3353	236.31%
UK Draining forum	912	1186	30.04%	3362	6863	104.13%
Underground sites	1419	1815	27.91%	3646	8260	126.55%
Other Sites	2742	3539	29.07%	6736	14173	110.41%
European or International Sites	2648	3070	15.94%	6335	10096	59.37%
Leads Rumours, News	1249	1695	35.71%	8812	10759	22.09%
Gone but not Forgotten		175			801	
Urban Exploring Videos		4			24	
Photo Threads		29			8333	
Total	23601	29353	24.37%	64165	131548	105.02%

Table 7.3 Showing number of threads and posts relating to particular building types on

28dayslater.co.uk from 2014 and 2018.⁷¹³

In Stone's initial analysis of these figures, she highlighted that those shaded in grey were an indicator of popularity. Since her study there has clearly been a shift in both the site's focus and the level of interaction. While the number of ROC post threads has declined this is more reflective of a reorganisation of the posts rather than a drop in the number of threads as new

⁷¹³ Source: <http://www.28dayslater.co.uk> (Accessed 05/04/2018) and Stone 's research accessed on 10 August 2014.

types of post have been added and a retagging of posts has taken place. For industrial sites, Stone identified an increase in the proportion of posts to threads from an average of 2.25 posts per thread to an average of 3.65. While the number of posts almost doubled within four years, the number of threads has only increased by 1113 or 22.12 per cent. This indicates a greater level of discussion within the threads, which reflects a more sustained dialogue between posters rather than an increase in the number of new posts.

In this digital age, users have begun to engage more directly with social media and freely publicise on platforms such as Facebook, YouTube and Instagram. These sites are often more restrictive than the web forums as posts must work within the confines of the host site's policy on posting and formatting style. In most cases, the emphasis is on images rather than text. Table 7.4 includes a selection of sites that have been chosen for their level of traffic to the site. These have been included as they are run as open pages rather than closed groups, meaning that there is wider public access. As with *28dayslater.co.uk* the number of members and posts shows a healthy user base with several groups having over 10,000 members placing them in a similar position as the Flickr page and sites mentioned above.

Country of Origin	Website	Social Media Site	Members/subscribers	Posts
UK	UKUrbEx	Facebook	681	178
UK	Whateversleft	Facebook	721	304
UK	TalkUrbex	Facebook	1793	1440
	Urban Exploration-Abandoned Places	Facebook	16,986	1376
USA	Steel City Urbex	Facebook	14,468	978
HK	HK Urbex	Facebook	18,966	1726
	Urban Exploration – Abandoned Places	YouTube	20,395	139

Table 7.4 Selection of social media sites related to Urban Exploration showing activity through the number of members and posts.⁷¹⁴

Much like Facebook, Instagram is a growing social media platform that has seen a rise in Urban Explorer usage. Its primary purpose is as a source of image sharing that utilises categorisation through hashtags to group images which allow for linked searching of terms and phrases. It is the use of these hashtags that allows for analysis of UE on Instagram by quantifying its usage in posts. The current user base of 800 million makes it a large platform to publish photographs and short clips of explorations.⁷¹⁵ Instagram fulfils many of the characteristics of reporting explorations and whether for the purposes of prosperity, education, or social glory, a brief examination has been given here. Three primary search terms for UE were investigated as a search term in Instagram and the number of results has been listed. Search terms such as UE have not been included as the subjects of the top 100 images contained topics other than urban exploration.

⁷¹⁴ Data Accessed 05/04/2018 from Facebook pages, YouTube and Google analytics.

⁷¹⁵ Statista, *Instagram active users*, < <https://www.statista.com/topics/1882/instagram/>> [Accessed 5th May 2018]

Search Term	Results
#urbanexploration	2,574,492
#urbex	4,451,483
#urbanexplorer	979,569

Table 7.5 Search Terms on Instagram and the resulting number of posts (data accessed 5 April 2018).

These posts are also subject to being organised by popularity as well as most recent. When cross-referenced with #York #urbanexploration the top ten posts included six of York Minster, two of Museum Gardens, one was of a wall that was unidentifiable and the other was of York Railway Station. The ability to utilise these as search results allows wider public access for people to discover images of York and comment and engage with others on the platform. Whilst providing access to the rich repository of commentary it must be approached with care, as it is easy to misinterpret the exploration from a singular image. Unlike the specialised websites, the tagging system can be used by anyone meaning that images tagged as urban exploration are not always specifically from an exploration. For this reason, it is important to not assume that there is an inherent community just from these posts and interactions, rather that there is an interest and awareness of UE as a term and activity that can be found on these platforms. For this reason, an online specific methodology has been established for data collection. This builds on the work of academics such as Christopher Honig and Lachlan MacDowall who have specifically utilised Instagram in their investigation of street art. Their work has suggested a similar use of hashtags to not only identify the most popular images but also to utilise geotagged metadata to understand the most pertinent locations depicted in posts. By examining comments and captions that associate images it is possible to assess the frequency of words and identify patterns in the

audience's relationship to the subject matter.⁷¹⁶ As such, the provision of images alone is not sufficient to quantify or qualify relationships, but there is a wider necessity to consider the broader context and information.⁷¹⁷ Therefore, in exploring how these explorers communicate it is important to consider the amount of information provided and the content of their posts.

For the most part, explorers want to remain anonymous to protect themselves. For this reason, they utilise usernames to interact with a wider audience. Several of those on web forums have contact details available to access, but these often lead to anonymous email addresses or anonymous phone numbers. Some users openly ask for contact to plan events. As part of this research several were contacted to see if they would be interested in talking further about their explorations. To gather further information two pseudonym accounts were set up on *28dayslater.co.uk* to interact with members and gather information from discussions. One account openly declared that I was a researcher looking to gain insight into the topic of UE and was looking for participants to talk to for research purposes. This gained concern from some users who were wary of an 'outsider' looking to garner information for research. One even mentioned Garrett in their response, saying that I was not welcome. Others, however, replied wanting to remain anonymous while others kindly declined. Complementing this was a second account that acted more as an observer not posting for assistance but instead engaging with other users in posts.

From the original attempts to engage with explorers, four were willing to openly discuss the topic of UE, Urblex, Aidan, Bugsuperstar and The Kwan. A general theme across all four respondents is that the reasoning behind the act varies from person to person. Urblex went on to explain their stance on researching the topic: 'I think it's [a] hard one to answer, everyone seems to have their own reasons so no one person could answer

⁷¹⁶ Christopher D.F. Honig, and Lachlan MacDowall. 2017. 'Spatio-Temporal Mapping of Street Art Using Instagram'. *First Monday*, 22(3), (2017)

⁷¹⁷ Abderahman Rejeb, Karim Rejeb, Alireza Abdollahi, Horst Treiblmaier, 'The big picture on Instagram research: Insights from a bibliometric analysis', *Telematics and Informatics*, 73, (2022),

for those who explore the community. Might be on my own here but to be honest that Bradley Garrett is a bit of a pretentious egotistical douche but that's just me, sorry if that offends anyone by the way'.⁷¹⁸ More in-depth discussions were then carried out with those who had undertaken explorations in York as several had explored elsewhere as well. They were given a series of questions about their motivations for carrying out explorations and their selection of certain sites. The responses again varied; some respondents, such as Bugsuperstar, admitted that 'my motivations vary. Historical interest, being nosey, enjoying the thrill, enjoying exploring.'⁷¹⁹

UE Case Study 1 – York Waterworld

An explorer using the name Aidan investigated the former Waterworld site near Monks Cross. The site in question was originally a leisure centre which opened in 1997 and was popular for its swimming pool and activities. The site closed in 2014 and was marked for demolition and redevelopment. Aidan's visit occurred in 2015 following the site closure and was heralded as a chance to see the site for many who were unable to before demolition. For many in the local area, this site was an integral aspect of the community and part of the city in living memory, not just of a detached *then*. Figures 1-5 are photographs taken by Aidan, which showcase the darker reality of the *now* in which the site is filled with rusted metal, overflowed drains, and the visible signs of abandonment. By providing documented material of this site, he allowed re-engagement between forum members and the closed site that had played an integral role in their lives. Given impending demolition, this acts a form of commemoration.

⁷¹⁸ Urblex, 'response to forum post, Why Urbex?', 28dayslater.co.uk, <<https://www.28dayslater.co.uk/threads/why-urbex.104018/#post-1145627>> (3rd July 2016)

⁷¹⁹ Direct conversation on 28dayslater.co.uk with Bugsuperstar 6th April 2018.



Figure 7.3 Photograph of Waterworld when still operational (Waterworld, not dated).



Figure 7.4 Photograph of Waterworld exterior (Aidan, 2016).



Figure 7.5 Photograph of rusty steelwork (Aidan, 2016).

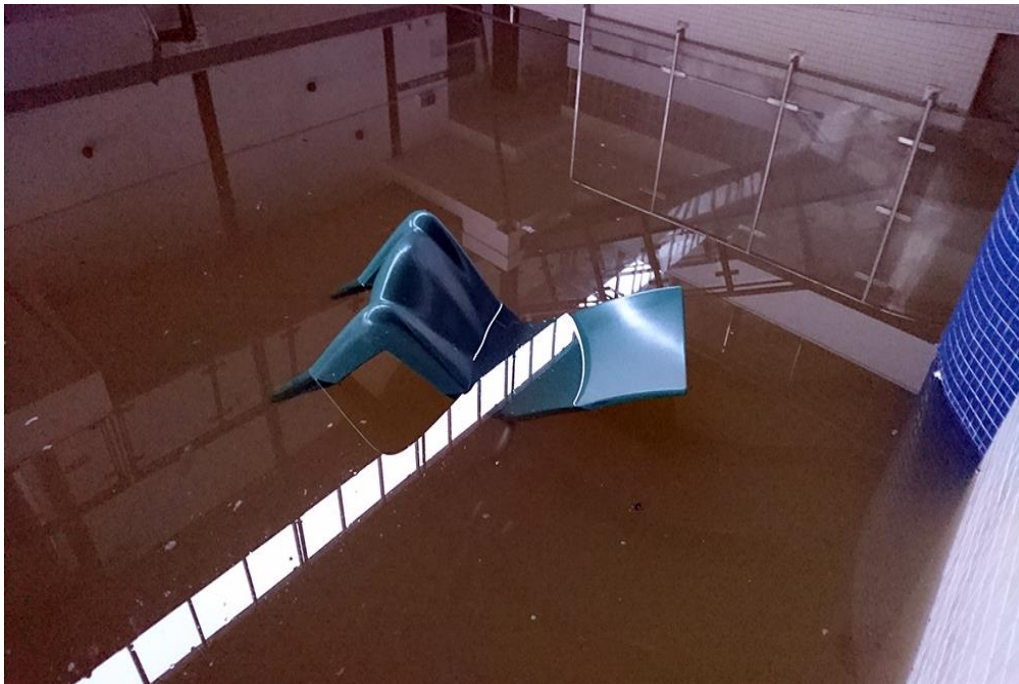


Figure 7.6 Photograph of chair floating water (Aidan, 2016).



Figure 7.7 Photograph of Pool Closed sign (Aidan, 2016).

Aidan's post offers a commentary on his discoveries in the previously inaccessible sections, including his discovery of a paintbrush left behind in the maintenance section and a carving by 'Tom Chescake in 1996'⁷²⁰ This individual's identity is unknown, and their mark buried away and hidden to be forgotten, however, since this visit it has been rediscovered and renewed in the larger narrative of the site.

⁷²⁰ Aidan 'York Waterworld', *28DaysLater*, <<https://www.28dayslater.co.uk/york-waterworld-york-december-2015.t101226>> [Accessed 17th June 2016]



Figure 7.8 Photograph of carving saying Thom Chescake 1996 (Aidan, 2016).

From here, perspectives shut off to the public are clearly captured, from peering through the grates to documenting construction marks, preserving a moment of York that no longer exists. Even though the site has since been demolished, the experience and web posts have continued. Aidan explains that he explored this site because ‘unfortunately there’s barely any photo of it in use. This is what made me want to have a look. It’s almost non-existent on the internet anymore, which is sad.’⁷²¹ Within the comments of the post, there is a similar sense of loss and connection to this site. For example, Nighthawk45 comments ‘Cannot believe that place has closed. Seems only 2 mins since me and our lass were making use of the place. Great report btw 😊’⁷²² Similarly, Madm00se commented that ‘[I’m] Really miss going here, it was a great facility and so busy on a weekend, I never understood why they closed it (from what I understood it didn’t make much money) but you couldn’t move for people!’⁷²³ As with the discussion of social media and reminiscence in the previous chapter such

⁷²¹ Ibid

⁷²² Ibid

⁷²³ Ibid

comments reflect a united nostalgic view of the site making note of personal memories associated with Waterworld. Though not formally identified as a community the users on this post are united temporarily by a common sense of inquiry from this site.

It is this relationship that Aidan had with the site, which is important, as he goes on to explain that 'I think it's pathetic. There is a lot they could have done to make the place seem 'new' and a new lease of life, but instead, it's being knocked down to be replaced with a regular boring pool, with no slides or anything. Bah!'.⁷²⁴



Figure 7.9 Photograph of the flattened Waterworld site after demolition (York Mix, 2016).

In conversation with Aidan in 2018, he was asked to reflect on the visits and any comments he had on UE and Waterworld as he opened up on no longer being an explorer:

I explored Waterworld because it was somewhere I visited every weekend as a child, with my family. I went there for childhood birthdays once or twice too. I loved it - it had a decent wave pool, a lazy river, and some decent slides, all within a reasonably small building ... I had a personal attachment to it, and as I grew older, I stopped visiting, because of college/uni and adult life. Then when I heard it was closing, I planned to visit again one last time. But I didn't find the time, and it closed permanently. I was always sad about this, and one day I was in the area and remembered it was still standing. So, I thought about doing some exploration. I had a drive around the building and noticed it was shut tight.

⁷²⁴ Ibid

I do not ever break into anywhere - I only ever enter buildings that already have some kind of way in.⁷²⁵

In conversation with Aidan, it was explained that having since moved away from York since that exploration, the value of the memories and the opportunity to explore had become more poignant and pronounced. Aidan referred to it as a 'shame' being torn down and asking, 'How could a city destroy something so valuable?'⁷²⁶ This relates to a wider challenge to the authored narrative as Aida feels as though 'York is losing its way' and only on looking back to his time in the city and in particular his experience in the landscape and sites like Waterworld is it possible to see the divergent interpretations of York. For this thesis, such a position draws on many of the underlying themes. The personal memories and associations of this place had populated Aidan's and many others sense of space. The stories associated with this site are visibly clear in the emotional attachment draw from this site, as discussed in comments. However, the decision to remove the site is perceived as an institutional action with limited community involvement. It is that emotional underpinning that is significant to urban exploration, the reasoning for such explorations not only invokes a specific emotional response but provokes further emotional understanding of space and place. Whilst Madgin's work at the Undercroft addresses the lack of community input and understanding in the site, utilising UE in such a manner documents and highlights the impact of urban change on the broader public and the responses to that change, both as a direct action and secondary commentary.

⁷²⁵ Direct conversation on 28dayslater.co.uk with Aidan, 9th-13th April 2018.

⁷²⁶ Ibid



Figure 7.10 Photograph of the former Waterworld site in 2017 (YorkMix)

Rebecca Solnit writes that ‘when you give yourself to places, they give you yourself back; the more one comes to know them, the more one seeds them with the invisible crop of memories and association...’⁷²⁷ Agency is granted to these sites and a tapestry is formed which is derived from ideas of the past that are reformed in site-specific relationships. All these notions of the past are constructed through an assemblage of life; through experience, memory and influences that are presented with perspectives that are valid and have meaning to us. The Waterworld site had a personal connection to Aidan which motivated his exploration. By using this relationship of engagement with buildings, the personal understanding of self and place can be expanded. This is a subjective matter, but if it is examined as an approach to heritage via Raphael Samuel then these add an ever-increasing depth where it is possible to build histories through experiences where ‘memory and myth intermingle, and the imaginary rubs shoulders with the real.’⁷²⁸ Heritage can be many things to many people, but it is the subjective inference that contributes and that gives it meaning. By permitting an unfiltered interaction with space and place, UE offers an insight

⁷²⁷ Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A history of walking*, (London: Verso, 2001), p.13.

⁷²⁸ Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p.6.

into a location's past, present and future. The postmodern origins of the contemporary UE movement are apparent in the rejection of a singular grand narrative, but in its playful participation in history, it is willing to interrogate itself.⁷²⁹ Although the report by Aidan has 33 posts, most of these are to commend him for the exploration. Aidan has gained the most from this exploration as it fulfilled a personal motivation. Although the other respondents have shared in a form of nostalgia with the loss of the site, they do not openly admit to anything more than a basic awareness of the site. Other reports on the site offer far more in terms of content to argue that there could be a unifying bond or community. Having said that, this report is not devoid of communications because Aidan directly interacts with several users in the comments.

UE Case Study 2 – Hungate Dig Site

Urban exploration has multiple sub-categories each specialising in different topics, approaches, and intentions. The concept of climbing tall structures or 'place hacking', as Garrett refers to it, is one such niche of UE. It is that same category that has filtered into those who 'rooftop' and hang off the edges of buildings. In York, this is a prevalent attraction of many of the explorations. Filtering through online posts on web forums such as 28dayslater it is easy to find multiple reports referring to cranes, towers, and chimneys. It is the idea of scaling cranes that is mainly of interest in York. Cranes are not permanent fixtures of the skyline and as such offer a brief temporal window for exploration alongside unprecedented perspectives. Following the Hungate Dig, redevelopment began on what is now housing and the Hiscox building, and large cranes were positioned to aid in the construction. Multiple explorers took the opportunity to scale these sites and two particular explorations carried out by SAt and Saxofilis documented the view from the cranes and offered a commentary on the city below. As SAt comments, there is a wider context to consider than just the scaling and exploration itself:

⁷²⁹ Julie Hell, Andreas Schönle, *Ruins of Modernity* (Duke University Press, 2010), p.7.

I left it fairly late to approach the site as it's right opposite a club and is often buzzing with taxis, all seemed quiet though, so I jumped the hoarding and made my way through the building to the bottom of the crane. I came across a locked hatch a couple of ladders up the column, but it wasn't too hard to negotiate my way around, so I carried on up hoping that the top hatch was unlocked! Both the hatch and cab were open, so I had somewhere to chill for a while before getting some shots and watching the bouncers over the road struggling with right states.⁷³⁰

From his commentary it is possible to extrapolate a perception and understanding of the site at that moment. Firstly, while it is late in the day there is still activity about which could hinder or halt the exploration. The second is that the clear priority is gaining photographic footage. This links back to the notions above of acquiring images for personal publication. Though mentions of social media are not made, it is clear that this exploration is for posterity and self-fulfilled achievement of being able to accomplish this. There is little to no consideration for the risks, instead, it is taken for granted that this is inherent in the practice. It is the images that speak to us, and the majority of the post's content is comprised of images gathered by SAt. They do indeed offer an interesting perspective of the city, high up looking out over the city, unobscured (besides the metalwork of the crane itself). At a glance these images are no different to those gathered by people on social media, but the difference here is authorial motivation. SAt frankly comments that he only posted the images because 'I found these when sorting through my laptop the other day and figured I may as well post them up rather than just leave them sat on my hard drive.'⁷³¹ The images were for personal use rather than public prosperity up until this forum post. The images themselves are a useful resource for understanding urban life as the perspective is usually only seen by workmen. The photos capture snapshots of the city below.

⁷³⁰ Sat, 'Crane, York, October 2012', *28dayslater.co.uk*, 18th October 2013, <
<https://www.28dayslater.co.uk/threads/crane-york-october-2012.84750/>> [Accessed 17th June 2016]

⁷³¹ Ibid

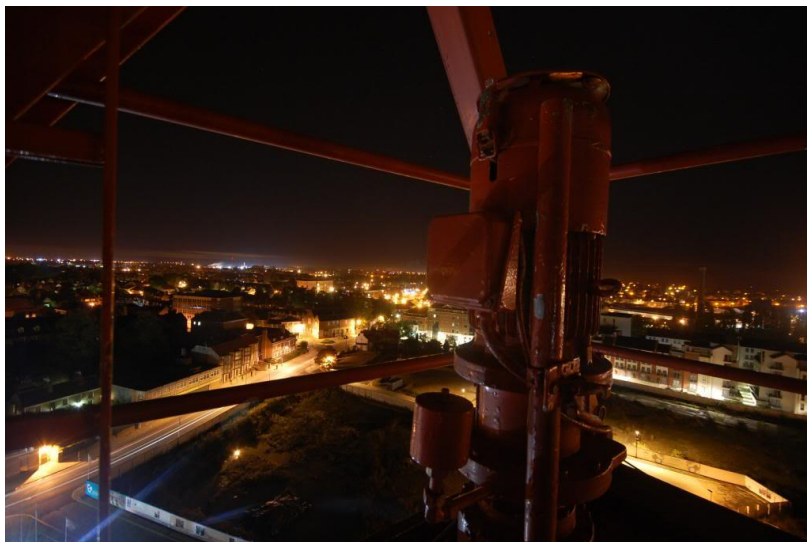


Figure 7.11-2 Photographs from atop the crane in the Hungate dig site looking across the city (Sat. 2013).

The exploration of the same crane by 'the loon' offers a different perspective to understand. While again the intention is to capture images from this temporary perspective, there is a more personal motivation for 'the loon'. 'Been wanting to climb this crane since I first saw it months ago. It stands at 37.5M, so only a small one. However, it's a pretty flat area so there is a good view to be had...' ⁷³² The personal interest in climbing the crane offers up a subjective interpretation. This is about documenting the finds but there seems to be more of

⁷³² the loon, 'Guess Whose Done There First Crane?', *28dayslater.co.uk*, 9th July 2007, <<https://www.28dayslater.co.uk/threads/guess-whose-done-there-first-crane.16567/>> [Accessed 17th June 2016]

an awareness of the risk involved with this particular exploration. 'It was a Wolff crane, with a straight ladder to the top with side platforms where the sections join. It had a safety wire running adjacent to the ladder. We gave the crow's nest a miss. Would have loved it, but the idea of a couple of rungs of 12mm square bar welded on only one end seemed a bit like pushing my luck.'⁷³³ The latter part of this reflects a major difference in this approach to exploration and that of people like Wu Yongning who died in pursuit of UE. This was not about pushing the limits and achieving something for glory, there was a very practical purpose.

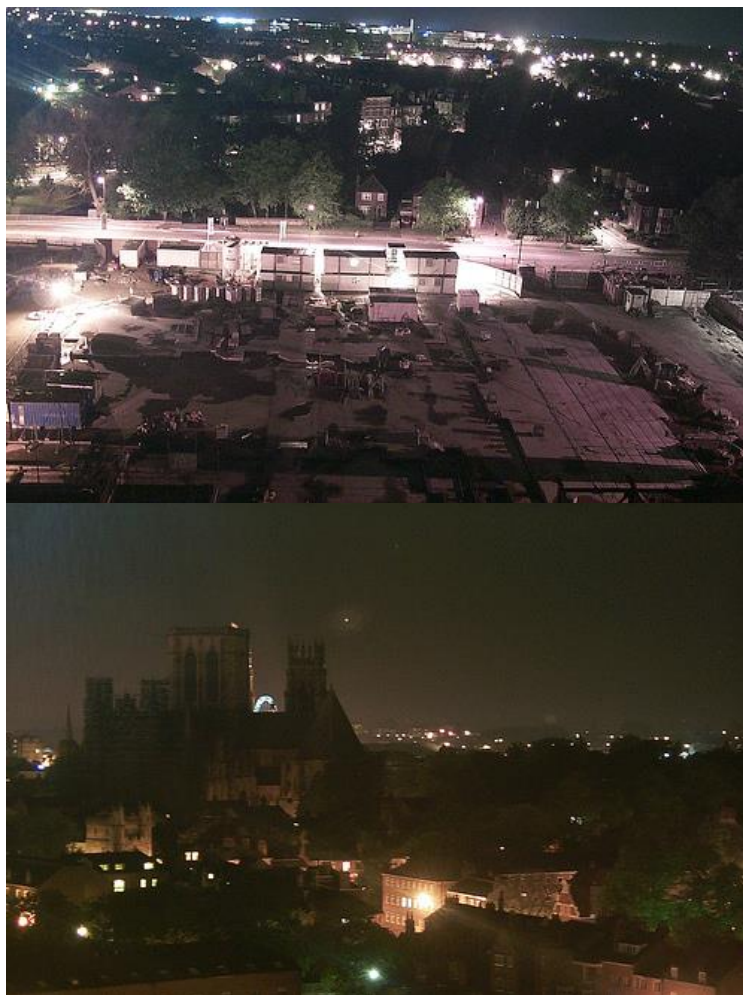


Figure 7.13 Photograph of Hungate redevelopment (Saxofilis, 2007).

Figure 7.14 Photograph towards York Minster (Saxofilis, 2007).

⁷³³ Ibid

The site as seen in Figure 7.14 has since been redeveloped. These explorations though offer a temporary glimpse into that city that otherwise can no longer be obtained. Though Hungate has a more recent history for its archaeological dig it is this redevelopment which once again changed the structure of the city. As a heritage resource, these images can be utilised to document the change of the city but more importantly gain perspectives that are otherwise unseen. During construction, there is a need to board up and hide away work for security, protection and health and safety reasons. These examples of exploration help to see the development unobscured. For Hungate, which has changed repeatedly over the past several decades, this helps document and maintain the narrative of the site in the history of York rather than allowing gaps to form.

The significance of this case study is the value of such experience and documentation in broadening the public access of information. As a development site, places are restricted from view whilst work is undertaken. This creates a division within the city's infrastructure as the public is unable to access those aspects of the environment. In addition, the utilisation of cranes provides a unique perspective upon which to understand the city which is often viewed as from a ground level. These help to add to the broader discussion on space in York, both as a commentary of 'ongoing' redevelopment in addition to the changing landscape of the city. It is important to consider this in respect of the proceeding chapters. As noted, the prioritisation of sites like the Minster has dominated the public's interpretation of York and thus by removing this investigation from institutional authority it is able to present a complimentary alternative. Under Garrett's interpretation, this would be portrayed as an antiauthoritarian expertise in countering the closed space of the development site. However, the personal aspect and documentation provide a much richer resource.

UE Case Study 3 – Terry's Chocolate Factory

Analysing UE from a heritage-based approach brings with it a multitude of possibilities of how this can be a resource. The practice of UE is intensely interested in locating sites of memory with which to engage. For the most part, UE is still a practice based on constructing

assemblages of tangible sites with intangible ideas of emotions and memorialisation melding 'pluritemporal geographical, historical and experiential imagination to assay history.'⁷³⁴ That is to say that these spaces are transient and combine multiple reference points in time through heritagisation. This is an experiential practice and a notable contrast to the more structured methods of heritage; it is not framed around material preservation, but rather is acknowledging the lifecycle of urbanism. For this reason, UE has started to gain some traction as a source of media documentation of urban change. The *Manchester Evening News* published a piece in 2016 covering a story of a disused fire station in the centre of the city.⁷³⁵ As part of this article, there was an officially organised exploration on behalf of the newspaper to gather images.⁷³⁶ In this case, the emphasis of the article is on what could come from the exploration and experience rather than the act itself. These explorations are part of a wider human narrative in that they are experienced in the present where emotional and sensory responses are applied, but this does not prevent the natural progression of these sites.⁷³⁷ Unlike the narratives often applied to heritage and understanding, as noted previously, urban explorers operate on a more freelance basis, appreciating all sites equally. How the public engage with these sites is all the more important because of what can be discovered. As Garrett notes, 'Found material such as personal notes, clothing, toys, computers, tools, and equipment as well as buildings hidden from plain sight in the middle of the city sometimes buried deep under the urban facade led to revelations that cracks in spatial and temporal structures can be exploited to build alternative associations. Although it can be argued that this is a shallow form of historical discovery...'⁷³⁸

⁷³⁴ Bradley Garrett, 'Assaying history: Creating temporal junctions through urban exploration', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29, (2011), p.1050.

⁷³⁵ Katie Butler 'Urban Explorer captures the hidden beauty of London Road Fire Station in stunning pictures', *Manchester Evening News*, 20th March 2016
<<http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/london-road-fire-station-urban-11055107>> [Accessed 26/04/2016]

⁷³⁶ Ibid

⁷³⁷ Caitlin DeSilvey, 'Observed decay: Telling stories with mutable things' *Journal of Material Culture*, 11, (2006), pp.318–338.

⁷³⁸ Garrett, 'Assaying history', p.1050.

In York, amongst the plethora of sites, there are those that draw in the explorers more than others, those sites that hold some deep connection. While many associate with the Shambles or Minster these, for the most part, are public spaces and curated as such. They represent a very mechanised narrative. It is sites like the former Terry's factory that draw more intense attention from explorers.

Posting on the web forum *28dayslater* is an explorer using the name Hamtagger. His post from Jan 7th, 2018, is amongst a plethora of others devoted to the Terry's Chocolate Factory. This post offers something unique in its motivation of the posting and in the images that are shared in providing a double image that documents the changes. Terry's was a chocolate and confectionery maker dating back to 1767; having been purchased by Kraft it has since closed (in 2005) and is in the middle of a process of redevelopment into housing. Hamtagger opens up about why he carried out his exploration:

I read an article in some local rag's website just before Christmas about the redevelopment at Terry's reaching its final phase and showed it photos of what they had done with the place. It spurred me to go back through my hard drive and have a look at the photos from pretty much 3 years ago to the day today.⁷³⁹

Spurred on by news of current developments Hamtagger was encouraged to reminisce and share information about the exploration. They follow up with details on the day in question and how unfortunately they could not gain access to the clock tower to complete documentation of the site. Due to construction, they were held up by supplies around the base which although a nuisance did not prevent the exploration from going again. Writing this post three years after the visit has allowed Hamtagger to produce a commentary to events that is tied heavily to nostalgia. Even his closing comments, 'I love old industrial places like this from back when Britain was more Great than it has become today', hark back to a point that for many is still part of recent living history and still detached in some form. Many of the images included have aspects of photography involved which help map the

⁷³⁹ Hamtagger, 'Terry's Chocolate, York – January 2016', *28dayslater.co.uk*, 7th January 2018, <<https://www.28dayslater.co.uk/threads/terrys-chocolate-york-january-2015.111355/>> [Accessed 17th June 2016]

changes in the site. Three examples have been selected to highlight how the site has changed before analysing what can be gathered from this.

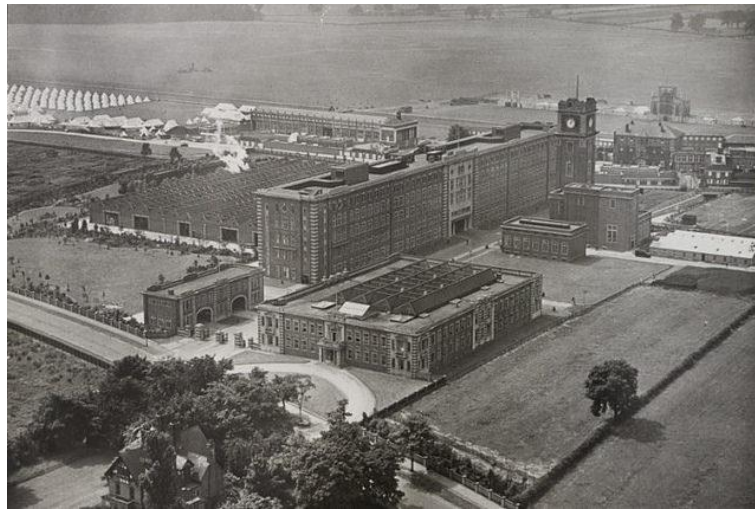


Figure 7.15 Aerial photograph of Terry's Chocolate Factory (Hamtagger, 2015).

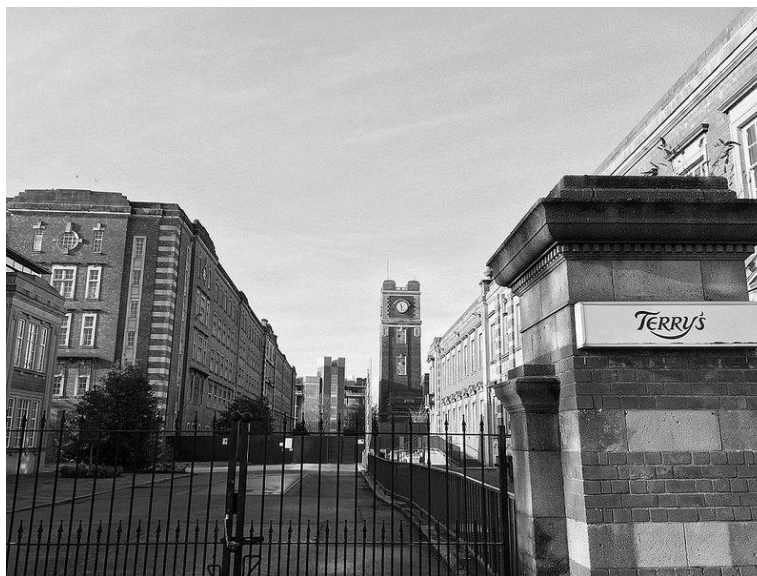


Figure 7.16 Photograph of the front gate of Terry's Chocolate Factory (Hamtagger, 2015)



Figure 7.17-9 Photographs of the admin staircase taken when built, 2015 and 2018 (Hamtagger, 2018).



Figure 7.20-2 Photographs of the Main Admin Shop Floor depicting workers in the 1900s, the site in 2015 and with shops in 2018 (Hamtagger, 2018).

All three of these examples map the site's lifecycle from foundation, dereliction, and redevelopment. Change is a part of urban life, but this exploration allows for the documentation and commentary of that change. York may not be the industrial city it once was, but it has a history that is still relevant to the public today. While the redevelopment has shifted the focus away from industrial to domestic it has preserved the structure and extended its lifecycle. Rather than fall into disregard and demolition it has a new history to tell. Amongst the pages of comments made it is possible to observe the impact that this exploration has had:

'Nice to see its been saved so well – Cloth Head (2018)

'I remember walking into the admin building for the first time and seeing all that glass...good memories' – Bugsuperstar (2018)

'Stunning shots. Strange to see admin like that – the fake plants and mock gas lamps look very 1990's if you ask me, like something out of a Butlins food court!' – clebby (2018)

'Lovely set there HT, made me all sentimental....' – Session9 (2018)⁷⁴⁰

The commenters are able to relate to the post and share in a commentary on the changes. These comments do not attempt to form a shared sense of the space, but the post offers an opportunity to offer subjective views on the matter where fondly reminiscing or critiquing the present. Reminiscent anecdotes although not always accurate are a rich part of heritage. Even likening the admin block to something 'out of a Butlins food court!' positions the site within wider contexts from which members can relate.

Explorations like this can offer insight into the living history of these sites. Amongst the other posts are other explorations of the Terry's site in which people have documents aspects of the working life. The exploration by 'God' in particular captured images of documents dating back to the mid 1990s which provide a temporal glimpse into the past while in situ.⁷⁴¹ Of course, the site has repeatedly altered and shifted but much like the

⁷⁴⁰ Please note that all comments were in response to the post by hamtagger, 'Terry's Chocolate, York – January 2016',

⁷⁴¹ God 'Terry's Chocolate of York – June 2011', *28dayslater.co.uk*, 5th October 2013, <<https://www.28dayslater.co.uk/threads/terrys-chocolate-of-york-june-2011.61574/>> [Accessed 17th June 2016]

opportunity those who explored the cranes had, this is a perspective that is otherwise inaccessible. How much does the mechanism of the city prevent the public from seeing? That is a question that many researchers have, and Garrett certainly has queried this.

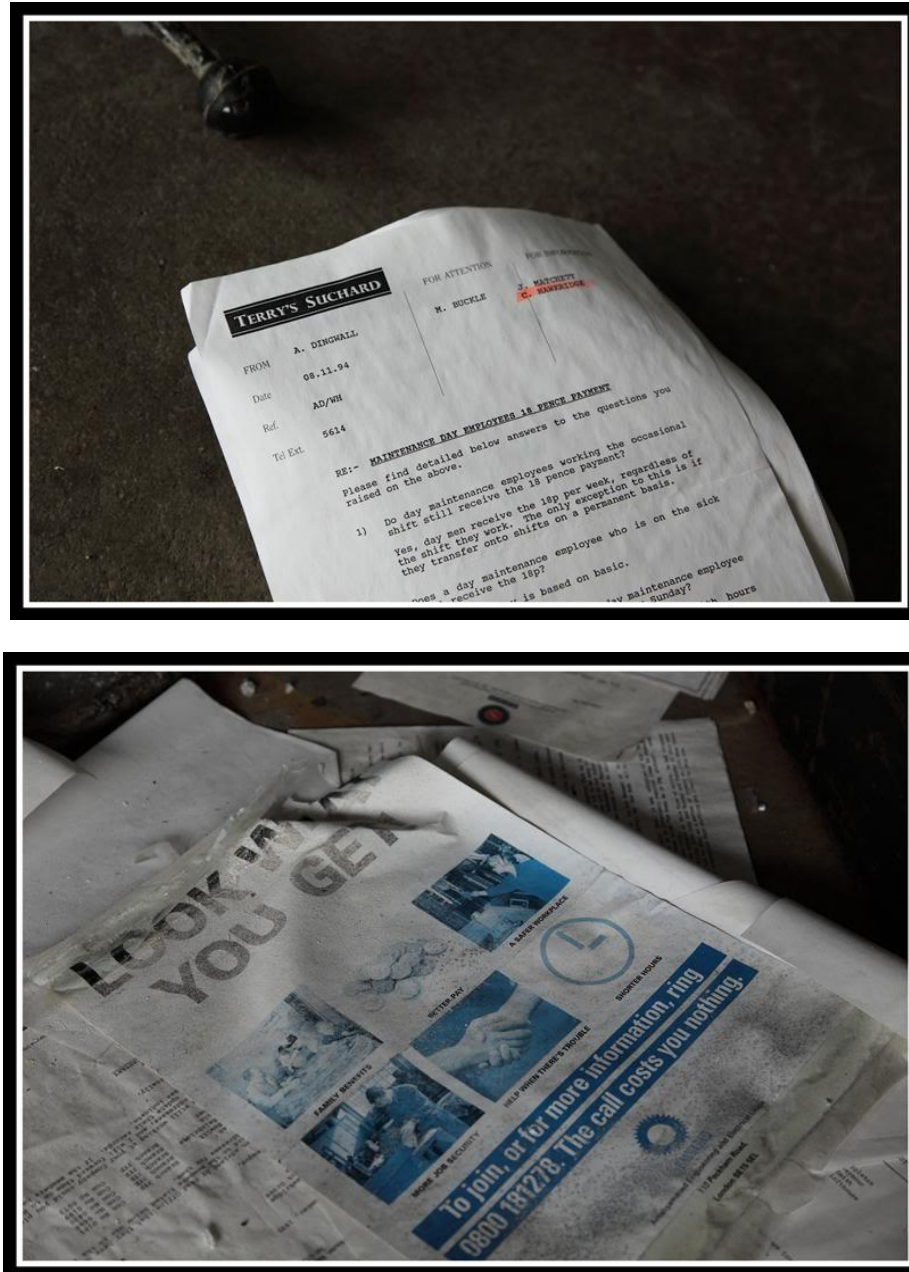


Figure 7.23-4 Photographs of documentation found on within the former factory (God, 2011).

As a key part of York's industrial past, it is imperative that it be documented. Whilst oral histories and archives are useful for providing a rich source of information, it is this candid approach to documentation which can offer new insights into the sites past. In a discussion

with an explorer named Bugsuperstar the topic of Terry's was discussed. They explained that although based in Ireland now there were from Yorkshire originally and 'Terry's was a dominant view of the York skyline. I explore everything and anything so at the time it was something I wanted to see. I had relatives in York so remember seeing the clock tower from a young age and wanted to be on the other side of the clock face looking out.'⁷⁴² Though mentioning that the motivations for exploration vary. Terry's holds significance for them as it played a role in their own life. UE has offered them that ability to re-engage on that personal journey and make those reconnections with the past in the present.

A quote by Ninjalicious helps to explain the culture in terms of the benefit it has to understanding the environment: 'an interim tourism that allows the curious individual to discover the world of behind the scenes significantly'.⁷⁴³ While this has some truth, the term needs to fight the idea that this is just some sort of joy ride through the urban world and acknowledge it as a journey. The significance of the exploration is often around the sites of interest, T.O.A.D.S referencing the temporary, obsolete, abandoned, derelict spaces that are visited.⁷⁴⁴ While these same documents can be held in archives it is the intrinsic value that these particular ones have by being in situ. They carry with them connotations of the people who in living memory have engaged with this site. Much like the carvings Aidan found in Waterworld, UE is able to contextualise these 'dormant' sites into a wider living history in the present. In a society where the gentrification of space is prioritised, it is interesting that urban exploration grows in locations where this is more prominent, harking to the past, the pre-gentrified area. However, it is not just gentrification that has stimulated this growth. Garrett notes that 'the practice is (re)surfacing as a modern coping strategy for encountering cities that are increasingly closed, constricted and off limits.'⁷⁴⁵ This suggests the marginalisation of people through the development and shift of the landscape, though not pushed to the

⁷⁴² Direct conversation on 28dayslater.co.uk with Bugsuperstar 6th April 2018.

⁷⁴³ Ninjalicious, *Access All Areas: A User's Guide to the Art of Urban Exploration* (Infilpress, Toronto 2005)

⁷⁴⁴ Troy Paiva and G. Manaugh, *Night visions: the art of urban exploration*, (Chronicle Books, San Francisco CA 2008) p9

⁷⁴⁵ Garrett, *Explore Everything*, p.4.

edges as Garreau suggests, it is instead a natural countermeasure to understand the changing urban environment.

UE Case Study 4 – York Minster

York Minster is an icon of the York skyline. In 2008, restoration started on the 600-year-old Great East Window. This project has taken over 10 years to complete and is one of the largest restoration projects in Europe.⁷⁴⁶ During this time the site was placed under heavier restrictions due to the increased workforce on site, the level of scaffolding in place and heightened risk. Consequently, this provided opportunities for explorers to gain unprecedented access to the site. Clough, Fowle and GeoVDUB explored the site in 2012 and were able to gather a series of photographic shots from the roof. However, it is Clough's initial post which is interesting in the context of this discussion:

York is one of my fave places to mooch round with the G.F but what the hell happens at night to this place!?it was better than being below on the streets with the sheep⁷⁴⁷

The rest of his post offers a frank and colourful depiction of the city at night, in close quarters to this holy and well-known building. His wording of sheep below draws a contrast to Michel De Certeau who comments on how there are multiple avenues operating within a city that contradict each other.⁷⁴⁸ What he calls 'walkers' is something akin to an ant colony, the depiction of numerous bodies operating independently, but symbiotically as a whole as well. In this case, while the 'sheep' go about their lives doing what the narratives of the night told them, Clough was showing that there was an alternative method available. While they were able to get up close and personal with the gargoyles and grotesques, they also showed that

⁷⁴⁶ Mike Laycock, '£11.5m restoration of York Minster's Great East Window complete', *York Press*, 2nd January 2018, < <https://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/15802696.11-5m-restoration-york-minsters-great-east-window-complete/> > [Accessed 18th March 2018]

⁷⁴⁷ Clough, 'York Minster', *28Dayslater*, <<https://www.28dayslater.co.uk/york-minster-york-09-11.t68888>> [Accessed 29/07/2017]

⁷⁴⁸ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, (University of California Press, Berkeley CA 1984)

they gained something from the experience that those below were missing out on: a quality of life.



Figure 7.25 Photograph from of the rooftop of the York Minster over the city focused on spire (Clough, 2012).

His photographs from the roof depict a rather tranquil city below, but that is far from the reality as Clough goes on to discuss. 'It floods full of pissed 'Epic Bros' flinging kebabs all over the road, s***e music filling the streets and I won't even say what some bird was letting some d**khead do to her in the park next to the minster in full view :O. There was police sirens flying round...' ⁷⁴⁹ Clough paints a sensory scape, but down on the streets this is taken

⁷⁴⁹ Clough, 'York Minster', *28Dayslater*

for granted; only by allowing himself to escape momentarily was he able to position himself outside of this urban cycle and see the city anew. This freedom to escape the norm is important to this research as it implies a sensory and emotional experience that comes from this self-imposed freedom. These descriptions can help expand understanding beyond a singular snapshot in time and allow consideration of the wider context of the journey.

As Chris Philo comments, 'it is no coincidence that many of these adventures are based in global capital cities where everyday experiences and encounters, it has been argued, have been dulled through both sensorial overload and increased securitisation of everyday life.'⁷⁵⁰ The normal world is too controlling, and many see a genuine, pure freedom in the escape of urban exploration. It is not just a thrill ride or novelty, but a journey of discovery and understanding that many people need in their lives to survive the modern world. Louis Wirth's seminal article, 'Urbanism as a way of life', established a conceptual theory to help understand the dynamics of city life as traditional relationships shifted and adapted to the larger population densities. Wirth insists that urban dwellers, in contrast to their rural counterparts, have a greater dependency on people for daily interaction, establishing 'impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental' contacts and engendering 'reserve, indifference and blasé outlook that is used to immunise against the expectations of others'.⁷⁵¹ He believes that there is a certain degree of emancipation from being part of the urban dynamic, which is the cost for 'spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes from living in an integrated society'.⁷⁵² This concept has helped ground urban studies, but there is room to update and redevelop this definition. There are cases in which individuals can gain freedom through integration and community, not unlike the more traditional models that Wirth contrasts with. From Clough's exploration, it

⁷⁵⁰ Chris Philo, 'Security of geography/geography of security', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37 (2012), pp.1–7.

⁷⁵¹ Wirth, 'Urbanism as a way of life', p.12.

⁷⁵² Ibid, pp.12-13.

is possible to engage with the idea of self-expression and integration as it provides a more humanised interpretation of the city.

Clough clearly does not approve of everything going on in the city below him, but he knows what he is doing is just an experience. As he goes on to comment 'I didn't really get the shots I wanted but between us, we had a good night! Either way, it was better than being below on the streets with the sheep.'⁷⁵³ Despite the exploration not garnering him with what he intended he still took value in the opportunity to explore. It has provided him with an opportunity and an emotional experience that he does not have below. A chance to breathe perhaps, or a temporary ability to remove oneself from the machine.

This is by no means the only exploration of York Minster that has taken place and there are many sites across the city that have had the same practise carried out. Clough was chosen because his statement outright remarks that he positions himself outside of the normal life cycle of the city as a pure observer, not an activist as some may argue of explorers. Even though Garrett has at times commented upon this in his research, it can at times appear lost in the wider narrative that explorers have choices and decisions to make. The UE Kings are a Stockholm urban exploration crew who have produced a number of videos which can be found online including a music video filmed in a sewer called 'You have to choose,' where they implore the viewer to 'live your life in a fishbowl...or climb down in a manhole'.⁷⁵⁴ Their central philosophy is that no person, law or physical barrier, can stop you from going where you want to go and doing what you want to do, the choice is always yours. For many, this would be the definition of freedom. In an interview with Garrett, Marc Explo states, 'I don't need anyone to tell me that I am free. I prove that I am free every day by going wherever I want. If I want to drink wine on top of a church, I do that, if I want to throw a party underground, I do that.'⁷⁵⁵ In a city where they feel constricted, this culture offers an

⁷⁵³ Clough, 'York Minster'

⁷⁵⁴ UE KINGZ, 'You have to choose' *YouTube*, (2009)

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xgV6F0XHJ7g>> [Accessed 23/03/2016]

⁷⁵⁵ Bradley Garrett, *Explore Everything*, p.9.

outlet, a means to understand and see new sights in active ever-present practise. Compared to other aspects considered and reviewed this is one of the few topics that cannot be tied purely to literature and must consider the human aspect. Every city, every person is different, and this culture allows it to flourish in so many ways. It is no wonder that despite retribution from police Garrett has continued to investigate and explore, and not undermine the loyalties he had established with the explorers. This is part of the ties and bonds of the lifestyle.

‘...for the first time in my life I looked ... and heard only the wind. That sort of experience cannot be bought, it is pure.’⁷⁵⁶ Many explorers including Garrett acknowledge this new sense of experience and freedom, seeing the value of an individual’s perception of life. Winch, an explorer that Garrett met, believed that ‘our generation has come to realise that you can’t buy real experience, you have to make them and experiences like these are what quality of life are about, it has far less to do with how much stuff you own and more to do with how you choose to spend your time.’⁷⁵⁷ The perception of the city is structured around how individuals choose to experience it and what is associated with that. Though Wirth believed that there was a freedom to be had in urban life, this is not the freedom he implied, instead, this is a counter freedom, one born from within urban living. Urban exploration offers a progressive definition; one in which ideas of bonds, connections, structures are still to be found, but applied in a much looser context within those partaking in exploration. Whether the explorer or the sheep there is a unifying association through the locality. UE does not have to be highly politicised or serve a greater purpose. It can just be used as a practise for people wanted to do something different and enjoy themselves. This approach draws on both Bennett and Garrett but posits itself further by arguing that the greater value is in the freedom that is provided. It does not have to be tied to the ‘other’, it can just be an entity on its own.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid, p.4.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid, p.4.

In utilising this in consideration to the broader themes of emotional attachment, expertise and experience, there is an inherent value to such explorations which has been generally undervalued in earlier research. Clough having a moment of detachment from the world below provided that unique experience and commentary of an observer. From this is a particular understanding gathered from the experience of not only accessing that location but observing York below and the mechanics of city life. The moment of freedom enjoyed established a strong story and bond to their interpretation of space at that moment attached to the Minster site and thus in turn develops the broader grasp of the site beyond the institutional understanding of the Minster as discussed in chapter 4.

Value to Heritage Studies

The concept of heritage has not been defined in this context, but it has been used to reflect the attitudes of UE. Through this practise individuals are able to pursue their interests by immersing themselves in the story of the site, connecting that story to the modern day. By actively enjoying the sites explorers expand the context in which UE remains relevant. This can help imbue a site with a meaning of individual and shared assembled experiences. Although the photographs often include an artistic flair, they provide a record of the experience and permanent documentation of the building. This reflects other more traditional heritage processes such as surveying and archival work. An awareness of the historic and aesthetic values of a building is common by explorers. This can be highlighted in reports by those who specialise in a specific type of building. This appreciation for the site despite its decay is a necessary value to consider as many in the heritage sector consider the terms decay and deterioration as indicative of a parallel loss of cultural information.⁷⁵⁸ Heritage frameworks are slow to accommodate aspects of heritage such as this. Though more practical efforts may be found, they will for now fall short of the resource of UE. As Stone notes there is already something of an acceptance as to what UE can provide with

⁷⁵⁸ DeSilvey, 'Observed decay', pp.318–338.

individuals at Historic England admitting to using explorer forums for information gathering.⁷⁵⁹

The use of images on social media and within forums are a vital form of documentation, that can be utilised to discuss the changing urban landscape. However, this approach to research needs further investigation into the human aspect of exploration, the consideration of accompanying text in addition to the emotional value. Explorers do impart an emotional and descriptive element to their explorations; however, this is often limited, and it is only through discussing matters further with them that the more nuanced feelings and reasoning's become apparent.

Urban exploration is part of urban life; it contributes to knowledge on a subjective personal level and in this case, there is no attempt to build a new narrative of resistance but instead address a personal curiosity. Considering Henri Lefebvre here makes sense as it is suggested that space is always controlled in an entanglement of agreements and acquisitions.⁷⁶⁰ Graffiti artists and hackers in this sense are no different to urban explorers, they tend to overlook what is deemed right or wrong and assert that 'everywhere is free space.'⁷⁶¹ They do not claim ownership, nor act as a community to take space, instead, they do little, but observe for themselves (and sometimes document) the environment and decide if the narrative they are presented with is for them.

In York, there are numerous communities that attempt to engage with the city and establish new grassroots narratives. Groups like Incredible Edible use derelict spaces in carparks, roundabouts and playing fields to grow food and educate residents on how best to use their environment. Urban explorers are part of this wider cultural shift that expands the city narrative worldwide. *Last Breath*, for example, was a project in Melbourne that invited artists to contribute work to a soon to be demolished site; the images were documented and

⁷⁵⁹ Stone, *The Value of Heritage*

⁷⁶⁰ Lefebvre, *The production of space*

⁷⁶¹ Tim Cresswell, In *place/out of place: geography, ideology, and transgression*, (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN 1996), p.47.

presented as a memento mori to the perpetual transitoriness of urban existence and the potential for participation within it.⁷⁶² Ventures like this, while carrying inherent dangers, offer a unique opportunity for direct interaction with the urban environment. Again, De Certeau addresses different walks of life; just because it has been dictated as used or abandoned does not mean that it is at the end of its life cycle.⁷⁶³ This practise embodies the idea that the old, hidden locations still have a purpose and role in modern life, formed by the people within the same space. This relationship is what drives many to participate in exploration as it gives them a personal sense of benefit from it.

Conclusion

Ideas of urbanism have become fixated on a temporal element. The urban environments discussed by Wirth and others function as a looking glass of the changes they experienced at the time of writing. Urban exploration while not a new phenomenon, is positioned as a counter notion to Wirth's ideas. In some ways urban explorers operate in an awkward area of urbanism, where they accentuate the role of architecture within a larger narrative of human history that complements and often surpasses the narrative of a singular building. The level of interaction with the city is ever developing because a building's history is perpetuated through its use, redevelopment, and beyond. If it were possible to select one exemplary building in York, it would hypothetically mean addressing thousands of individual interactions. It is the human presence in these spaces that is important, no matter the role played, whether residents, tourists, homeless, film crews, or royalty, there is a plethora of narrative components beyond that of the explorers. The mechanism of the urban landscape continues to operate despite individual positions or state of ruin, and the ongoing process and evolution of their consumption is what is recorded. These experiences are thus recordable and can be documented in physical self-experiences as well as through

⁷⁶² Thomas Dekeyser & Bradley L. Garrett 'Last Breath: Unofficial pre-demolition celebrations', *Cultural Geographies*, 22(4) (2015), pp.723-730.

⁷⁶³ de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*

document-based ethnography and interviews. Opportunities for further development are available, but it is their application that can have the greatest impact on their understanding.

How much remains unseen? A question rarely asked in the literature of placemaking, what is seen and known to be real is accepted as writ with minimal consideration of that which is out of view. Similar themes are carried throughout the work of Ninjalicious and Garrett, but the notion is manipulated to apply UE as a countermovement to a gradually restricting urban freedom.

Allowing the darkening threat of future terrorist attack or indeed of our increasingly scarce civil rights to deter our curiosity or intimidate us away from expressing our deep appreciation for the hidden and neglected bits of our urban landscapes would be the greatest crime of all. Continuing to support considerate exploration and questioning authority in productive, benevolent, and visible ways will allow us to represent ourselves as what we really are: people who love our cities, not those who wish to destroy them.⁷⁶⁴

Garreau's *Edge City* addresses the movement outwards of the city core and with it the shifting relationship as the urban centre changes with options of leisure and work moving closer. UE as a participatory activity offers the opportunity to connect with the city anew and retain a connection to the past. It is the human presence in these spaces that matter, and as Alan Weisman addresses it does not matter whether it is artists, film crews, squatters, drug users, homeless people, security, or children looking for a space to play, these are components of the narrative beyond the explorers. 'We may appreciate, ignore, despise, or even destroy the ruin, but the ruin continues, with or without us.'⁷⁶⁵ Explorers operate in an area of urbanism in which they accentuate the role of architecture within a wider narrative of human history, complementing that of any singular building. Their actions though seemingly independent cohesively present a new challenging narrative of the unseen in York that can be applied to other locations. UE is a means of realising the localised expert knowledge that is available. The utilisation of internet resources provides an opportunity for the wider public

⁷⁶⁴ Liz and Ninjalicious, 'Suspicious Behaviour': *Infiltration: The Zine About Going Places You're Not Supposed to Go*, (Toronto 2003), p.2.

⁷⁶⁵ Alan Weisman, *The World without Us*, New York, NY, Thomas Dunne Books (2007)

to become part of a participatory culture. It is an activity driven by enthusiasm to connect meaningfully with the urban landscape.⁷⁶⁶

UE provides a form of authenticity that is seeded in the desire to reconfigure space and place on individual terms. Unlike Garrett, this chapter interprets UE less as a call for action against the encircling authorities of local government, but as part of a personalised and emotional journey to learn and position the self within the landscape. This chapter reminds us that the urban environment is filled with symbols of the past and present. The images available online work in tandem with the explorations themselves to provide insight into the parts of the city that operate unseen. The interaction with social media posts and web forums support and reinforce memories of the city while simultaneously establishing collective interpretations of sites. Although early research into Urban Exploration placed a reduced academic value on social media posts due to the limited influence and reach of social media at the time, the posts provide a highly accessible form of documentation for consumption. The adjoining commentary of posts presents a contextualising notion of the emotions and sensory experience that coexists during these explorations. This is important in allowing observers to become stakeholders in UE by developing the narrative of their landscape.

Urban exploration is a practice that takes a step back and follows an alternative path to authorised heritage narratives; it challenges the longstanding conventions of everyday life and forces individuals to think more critically of the rhythms and routines of urban living. Urban explorers find beauty, adventure, and joy in places that others wrote off the map. Lifestyle choices can enrich those who live within the city, helping them learn and carve new understandings of the world in which they operate. Though they manoeuvre through loose connections and ties, these practitioners offer the opportunity to use this as a means of investigating the urban landscape; academically, there is the ability to analyse both the

⁷⁶⁶ Hilary Geoghegan, 'Emotional geographies of enthusiasm: belonging to the Telecommunications Heritage Group', *Area* 45. 2013, pp.40-6.

practice as a concept, as well as the output from this. Exploration is a valuable tool that will continue to develop and expand the interpretation of the city. As a community of researchers, there is a need to be more open in interpreting the possibilities and inputs of these urban approaches.

Applying UE in York has proven that there are those who actively look beyond the authored narrative. As an activity UE should be considered as part of a wider process than the initial exploration. The difficulty of establishing a singular definition of how to approach UE is inherent in the subjective way that information is assimilated. While there are commonalities of interpretation the information, particularly the visual sites of photographs and first-hand exploration, is key to the understanding of UE. Rose argues that the visual is key in the cultural construction of social life in contemporary western societies.⁷⁶⁷ As with interpreting visual imagery, UE is about more than just the methodology it is about consideration of the 'pleasure, thrills, fascination, wonder, fear or revulsion' that imbue the activity with value.⁷⁶⁸ It is the authors' focus on heritage studies in place making that applies an interpretation of heritagisation garnered from the narrative making apparent in sharing explorations and discovering the city. As such, a factor of experience is imperative to UE as it correlates to the broader emotional response formed through exploration. As Madgin has demonstrated, it is possible to consider the interpretation and intimate knowledge derived through familiarity with particular subjects and places.⁷⁶⁹ This familiarity is derived from the experience and potential of individuals and collective groups to immerse themselves rather than being pre-determined by the built environment. By breaking away from the governance and curation of narratives, it is possible to investigate the value of grassroots narratives in developing more robust and cohesive understandings of historical sites. The experience and description of explorers is key in garnering new insights to urban space. This takes on

⁷⁶⁷ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the interpretation of Visual Materials* (London, Sage, 2001), p.6.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid, p.4.

⁷⁶⁹ Madgin, Lesh *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation*

various forms of engagement and emotions association, from Clough describing the ability to detach from life and just observe life below the Minster to Aidan commenting on the reality of change in the city. This proactive engagement with space provides a complete democratised approach to engagement that offers a value to the individual as well as the broader interpretation of urban spaces.

As regards an idea of community, these interactions occur in formed and unformed relationships. Memories are built in the present and separated into a linear process for others to engage with. The case studies discussed show how a single post had an impact with online users whose comments filled in the gap in images and expanded the idea as well of what was behind closed doors. While online forums and interactions in a virtual space may appear to be viewed as a lesser source by explorers, this is a universally accessible resource that maintains input into aspects of community history and landscape development. These participants and forum users can expand the broader understanding by describing their emotional and sensory experiences, and although these remain subjective, they are extra details that would otherwise be lost. Even if people like Oxygen Thief feel that these sites offer little in relation to urban exploration, all the posts offer a rich resource in their own right, which users can begin to coalesce around. Even those who do not partake in UE themselves are still stakeholders in the wider narrative of the location. The people of York are part of an experience, whether they are explicitly aware of it or not. The idea of community is therefore difficult to define in such circumstances, as it partly relies on its level of engagement with the city. The idea of a shared bond based on location does loosely connect all those within the confines of the wider city, but within that are micronarratives that include urban explorers as well as those who passively engage. The degree of community integration is very subjective and open to individual interpretation. Within urban exploration, this is shaped by camaraderie as well as a shared interest in what the practice can uncover.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The past remains integral to us all, individually and collectively. We must concede the ancients their place... but their past is not simply back there, in a separate and foreign country, it is assimilated in ourselves and resurrected in an ever-changing present.⁷⁷⁰

When Lowenthal first stated the above, the perceptions of heritage were still developing with a heavy focus on the past of present things and heritage being a method of understanding the present. However, academic studies have largely expanded on this in the decades since. Scholarship by John Schofield, Rebecca Madgin and Jennifer Gregory, amongst others, have explored the impact of the individual in interpreting historical narratives.⁷⁷¹ In particular, all three have investigated the role of person-centred expertise both as individuals and communities in providing a resource of knowledge counter to institutional expertise.

Each of these scholars has utilised approaches grounded in particular disciplinary methodologies befitting a particular paradigm of thought, for example, archaeology for Schofield, urban studies for Madgin and history for Gregory. However, given the premise of this thesis and the broader interpretation of heritage in reference to place, it is necessary to utilise a more multidisciplinary approach to grasp the multitude of varying aspects to understanding heritage engagement in an urban space. Given the underlying focus of this thesis to address the democratisation of heritage, it has been necessary to operate a mixed methods approach that considers both authorised institutional methods of public engagement with the past as well as person centred approaches. Therefore, the thesis has utilised a broader consideration of sources and methods of investigation. As such, literary and visual analysis of the published materials from institutions such as the City Council, Civic Trust, Archaeological Trust and Make it York has been countered with interviews, questions, and ethnographical investigation of public behaviours. Supporting this has been

⁷⁷⁰ Lowenthal, *The Past is A Foreign Country*, p.412.

⁷⁷¹ Schofield., *Who Needs Experts? Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage*; Madgin, *Why Do Historic Places Matter? Emotional Attachments to Urban Heritage*; Gregory 'Connecting with the past through social media'.

the broader consideration of emotional attachment and inclusivity towards historical places as part of a growing academic interest into emotion in urban spaces.

The preceding chapters have approached particular topics and case studies in order to examine the methods by which heritage narratives are developed and engaged with, from a mixture of institutional top-down approaches and more democratised bottom-up activities. This final chapter examines the underlying necessity of utilising a mixed method, people-centred methodology to further broaden academic scholarship by highlighting the key findings of this approach. This is significant in suggesting the requirement of academia to consider the variety of possible sources as well as suggesting several approaches, such as ethnographically using games and urban exploration, which previously have been dismissed due to their value and ethical status in research. This chapter utilises this as a justification for suggesting that democratising heritage narratives and understanding urban environments requires developing an understanding of the public or communities' knowledge and practices to build a more concise understanding of space, beyond institutional and political values. As part of this, the chapter considers the narrowness of the top-down curated heritage and the need to incorporate community, grassroots interests, and public voices. To democratise narratives, it is necessary to build a substantial understanding of grassroots interpretations which this thesis has shown are developed at the individual and community level through shared interests of practices. Taking each of these in turn helps to establish a foundation of work that is able to counter or dilute the perceived traditional authority of authorised heritage narratives. Underpinning this is the evolving nature and meaning of place attachment, which has incorporated recent shifts in theory and practice around emotional engagement.

Approaching Heritage

More conventional interpretations of heritage in urban studies have placed an increased emphasis on place-making and post-industrial regeneration.⁷⁷² This is based around long-established meanings of history and the persuasiveness of heritage in a way that reflects how the past is selected, manipulated and utilised for the agendas of decision-makers.⁷⁷³ This has influenced much of the decision-making in chapters 2, 3 and 4, which address the institutional approaches to utilising the past in order to promote decision-making processes. As noted, this has included the pedestrianisation of public spaces to preserve the historical character of the walled city, the protection of archaeological remains, and the prioritisation of Viking narratives and methods of engaging the public about these narratives. Furthermore, there is an underlying focus on the promotion and signifying of the importance of iconic sites as part of official marketing materials. Each of these is based on an institutional structure of authority based on a perceived expertise in which 'hegemony in power relations, the agents of change that regulate whether the memories of the city were allowed to remain.'⁷⁷⁴ However, in the consideration of space as noted by Massey and Gieryn, heritage in urban spaces involves three aspects: geographic location, material form, and investment with meaning and value.⁷⁷⁵ This allows for a multiplicity of understandings derived for the values placed on each underlying aspect of the environment. The significance of this thesis is the method by which understanding how value is applied is expanded. At time of Massey and Gieryn's work social, media search engines and smartphones were still in their infancy and recognition of intangible cultural heritage was only just being acknowledged. Therefore, in approaching aspects of social media engagement, forums, games, and applications (apps), it is possible to build upon this work and suggest new methods to investigating how space is

⁷⁷² Madgin 'Reconceptualising the historic urban environment', pp. 29-48.

⁷⁷³ Lowenthal, *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*; Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*,

⁷⁷⁴ Miller, *The Representation of Place*, p. 9.

⁷⁷⁵ Massey, 'Space'; Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*; Gieryn, 'A Space for Place in Sociology', pp. 463–496.

populated. As Dovey comments, our knowledge is based on a language of understanding, but language is not a transparent medium, through which we view the world; rather, language contributes to the experience of those who use it.⁷⁷⁶ Therefore, this helps to build upon the repertoire of sources and approaches for consideration, with different interpretations and approaches; the use of an empirical or singular approach to researching heritage within urban spaces is limited in its potential perspective. Therefore, conducting heritage research in this manner helps to build the academic literature and reflect the need for more adaptative approaches to consider modern cultural influences.

Given some of the broader themes addressed within this thesis and the broader scholarship pertaining to the attachment to place, it has been necessary to apply a mixed methods approach to extrapolate a sense of value.⁷⁷⁷ The qualitative approach in heritage studies is matched by a similar desire within urban studies to increasingly see cities and places through a people-centred lens and to engage with place attachment through communities' culturally specific points of view. Here Rebecca Madgin and James Lesh's work has been instrumental in helping to establish the broader academic discussion on emotional place engagement and person-centred research.⁷⁷⁸ This approach has been consistent throughout the thesis and helps further this burgeoning area of investigation by highlighting the need for a mixed methods approach to address the complex nuances of the subject.⁷⁷⁹ This shift towards understanding heritage and historic places through the eyes of those who value them. demands that new people-centred methodologies are developed to document the attachments and emotions people have towards these places. This is not to overrule existing practices, but rather to contest deeper-rooted perspectives and provide a

⁷⁷⁶ Dovey, 'Becoming Places: Urbanism / Architecture / Identity / Power,'

⁷⁷⁷ See A. Mornement and Cristina Garduño Freeman, 'Assessing and Managing Social Value: Report and Recommendations' *Heritage Victoria and Heritage Council*, (2018) <[http://heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/wp-](http://heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/AssessingManagingSocialSignificance_FinalReportwebsite.pdf)

[content/uploads/2019/05/AssessingManagingSocialSignificance_FinalReportwebsite.pdf](http://heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/AssessingManagingSocialSignificance_FinalReportwebsite.pdf)>

⁷⁷⁸ Madgin, Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies for Heritage Conservation*

⁷⁷⁹ Abbas Tashakkori and Charles Teddlie, *SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research*. 2nd ed., (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2010)

complementary practice. The growing body of cross/inter-disciplinary literature to which this thesis contributes will continue to refine the language utilised in reference to place and emotion.

Basing this research on a case study of York has required a greater consideration of the interconnectivity between methods and practices. This has reflected a significant gap in the evaluation of heritage engagement in urban environments by scholars, policymakers, and curators. Much of the focus is still predominantly placed upon the question of why people form these attachments and how they can be used in policymaking decisions to broaden representation. For example, recent work by Madgin has focused on the incorporation of emotions within the policy making processes of Scotland. Though this has substantial potential to produce more comprehensive outputs in future urban development, it overlooks the practicalities of the everyday and the more academic interpretations of this process. This reflects something of the disconnect within the fields of study to apply such understanding to the present rather than as an aspect of broadening heritage studies. However, as it is still a growing field, there is potential for scholarship to further develop this area of research and establish methodologies and conceptual ideas for future development and refinement across multiple applications.

York was chosen as a case study based on its strong, authorised heritage narratives and clear use of prioritised history derived from its archaeological finds and historical architecture. In addition, York's selection was based on my own personal experience as both a tourist and resident of the city, and the transition to understanding the methods of governance and marketing that dominate non-resident perspectives. Through the initial investigation, it was established that the lack of city-wide governance and oversight has led to a more complex infrastructure of small-scale planning and decision-making processes to ensure the continued development of York into the twenty-first century. This is in stark contrast to many cities addressed in the scholarship that have clear urban development plans offering guidance to governing institutions. This circumstance in York, however, offers

the opportunity to investigate smaller-scale efforts by the city council to collaborate with other institutions and communities to make small scale changes such as preserving green spaces. Rather than rely solely on empirical work, it is, therefore, necessary to factor in the people involved, including their responses to the city's heritage and the impact that heritage has on their lives.

The rich archaeological findings of York have been influential in guiding the city's development over the past century. However, the transition to a post-industrial and tourist-driven economy has shifted attention from the experience of being in the city and immersing in the atmosphere and intangible qualities of urban space. The guidance and, at times, control of curated narratives and of the pedestrianisation of the city have formed designated spaces within which visitors are invited to consume York's official heritage/narrative. This is significant as it highlights efforts by the institutions of the city to develop urban areas based on the historic character of the city through governance, marketing, and curated engagement in lieu of a broader city plan for urban development. More specifically to this thesis, this analysis presented the current situation dominated by the prioritisation of the past as a form of composition by institutions forming a strong historic narrative. However, through the research addressed in the later chapters, there are a variety of bottom-up perspectives highlighted across communities that can challenge and dilute the established authorised heritage narrative. Therefore, by investigating the intentions and approaches of these person-centred approaches, it allows for a broader discussion on the democratisation of narratives in these spaces as it highlights the often disconnect the public's perspective and that of the institutions.

The importance of heritage has been understood as part of legislation since the late nineteenth century. Yet academic interest in understanding why and how individuals engage with a city's past beyond its museums and civic engagement activities is emerging and has been so over the last two decades. The later sections are not to be taken as a guideline to broaden decision making processes in York, but rather reflect the need to factor in that the

city's diverse communities seek more than what is provided within the city core. As Clark noted, the walls have acted as a shield to the city beyond the core.⁷⁸⁰ As such, it is as imperative to define how heritage is presented and interpreted by different people as it is to understand why. Evaluation of public engagement through a mixed methods approach furthers the understanding of non-conventional practices that have significant traction and application not just in York but in the broader discipline. The approaches utilised within this study have gone some way to reflect potential methods of evaluating such engagement and extrapolating the emotional association. This thesis offers novel combinations of people-based methodologies. For example, in respect to urban exploration, which has been an area of enquiry largely dominated by Garrett's ethnographic approach, this thesis focuses on the value of social media, online forums and interviews to ascertain the emotional connotations and values of these explorations. Such resources were limited during Garrett's initial investigation and his suggestions concerning forums are contradictory to the responses collected during research for this thesis. Furthermore, approaching community-led performances has allowed for a discussion on broader social themes with an integration of the built environment to portray the relevance of the past and present settings by focusing on interviews and observational notation of audiences during these performances. Lastly, the approach to digital technologies and social media has required a broader consideration of how these are utilised in academic research. As such, autoethnographic investigations into PokemonGo! have been complementary in understanding the broader cultural fascination of the game at its peak popularity. This, combined with a mixture of interviews with residents and analysis of social media groups such as Memories of York, has helped formulate a broader understanding of what individuals value and gain from participation and engagement with the city's heritage. Reasons include forming a stronger bond to York through building a relationship between space and place to position their own experiential interpretation of the city.

⁷⁸⁰ Paula Clark, 'Interview with Author', 22nd May 2017

The main contribution of these investigations, then, has been to provide access to the diversity of communities across the city. As noted previously, the language of understanding is key to approaching heritage, because people experience and engage with heritage in an array of forms. The methodologies applied here constitute a sample of the variety available to the public and scholars alike. The three main focuses of chapter 5-7 show the novelty of investigating passive and direct engagement with the past, although this is an oversimplification of the nuances and variation within these activities. This thesis focused on providing insight into real-world experiences through interviews, autoethnographic studies and field observations. This combination provides a broader perspective on public engagement whilst allowing for more in-depth investigation into particular topics or themes. This was conducted under the guise of anonymity to allow participants to discuss matters freely. This direct input is vital in providing first-hand perspective and reasoning rather than broad sweeping themes. The structure within case studies has presented the breadth of events and activities that engagement can undertake. This in itself is not equal to just partaking. The underlying theme has been to ascertain the scope to which such activities provide a resource for future scholars and policymakers as well as help to contest the more curated top-down narratives.

The novelty of this thesis thus lies in its utilisation of a mixture of disparate sources in a single investigation. To many observers, playing mobile games is little more than a leisure activity, but the passive engagement across the world through the use of Pokémon Go! in conjunction with a broader discussion of the rise in digital heritage, recontextualises the merit and value of that activity. Building upon this is the consideration of exploration and discovery that is contextualised across these chapters. From direct urban exploration to passive engagement whilst pursuing Pokémon characters, to browsing Facebook, the ability to discover and learn is key to these approaches. By utilising a mixed methods approach and making use of qualitative and quantitative data, this thesis has shown the flexibility of developing methodologies of investigation that focus upon people at the core of its

investigation. This is helpful when addressing the broader themes of democratising narratives, as this approach reflects the varying levels of community engagement present within the city that operate in parallel to the more formalised institutional structures. By incorporating these approaches across both official and grassroots approaches, this thesis has established a context that is necessary for future scholarship. This thesis, therefore, is not intended to be all-encompassing, but rather a cohesive inquiry into the ability to apply a mixed methods approach to investigate the use of community-centred projects for democratising heritage narratives. In doing so, these evaluations can demonstrate the ways in which urban heritage impacts individuals on an emotional level, contributes to improved wellbeing and provides a window onto broader cultural interpretation.

Voices of Authority

In approaching the city of York, or indeed any urban environment, it is important to consider the degree of authenticity granted to a site through the value and expertise of the public. As a result, the structure of the thesis considers a mixture of authorised heritage narratives and more person-centred interpretations to balance and build the discussion around authenticity of the city's heritage. Chapters 2 and 4 showcase the attempts to manage and preserve the historic character of the city by prioritising strategies of development and ensuring public awareness of specific sites. However, the consequence of this is that the city council and other stakeholders have prioritised the leisure industry for commercial gain to the detriment of residents' interests. This suggests a broad necessity to consider the views of those who live there and have an innate knowledge of the city. Whilst this has been alluded to within scholarship as a concept of citizen expertise, the nuance and intricacies of this are far more significant to understanding broad topics of heritage, space and place. As noted throughout, Madgin's work has been critical to the framing of this research, not only in respect to citizen expertise but the influence of emotional place attachment. In particular, her work on the

Southbank is reflective of the disconnect between these parties and the significant negative impact of not considering the input of information at a community level.⁷⁸¹

In the case of York this factor of expertise goes beyond residential knowhow. The research conducted for this thesis approaches the mixture of public commentary on these sites through mutual reminiscence and nostalgia, combined with quantitative and qualitative investigation into the impact and value of these sites and stories on the individuals within the wider development of York, united in an investigation of tangible and intangible heritage reflects the strong community-based efforts to engage with the city's past. Because this is not dictated from the top down, there is an inherent freedom to this engagement and a form of expression that is built upon a shared gestalt understanding of urban space. The personal stories and individual perspectives formulate a resource of the people of the city, with a character and value associated to the lived expertise of the city. This in turn is contradictory to the perceived expertise of the institutions that operate under the guise of being the experts. As a resource, this challenges the city council's governance with a more grounded understanding of what is needed or desired by the public, as well as a commentary on city life.

From a more practical perspective, the integration of community information is a fundamental factor of urban planning. As noted in chapter 2, the development of the York City Beautiful scheme was devised by experts within the field, drawing on academic and professional insights to suggest an overarching theme of development.⁷⁸² However, the scheme's report overlooked the public perspective, neglecting the interpretation of the very people who were to use these intended spaces. There is therefore a broader need for an open form of discussion and consultation with community groups with a vested interest in York's urban space and historical narratives. Such a conclusion, however, must also introduce the caveat to remind that whilst consultation with the public has the potential to

⁷⁸¹ Madgin et al., 'Resisting relocation and reconceptualising authenticity'

⁷⁸² York City Council, *York: New City Beautiful*.

provide a more grounded perspective on space, there is a broader assumption on two accounts. The first is that the community is willing to participate in the consultation, and the second is that the relevant institutions are willing to allow such a process. It must be remembered that an underlying issue that has hampered development within York is the lack of a coherent and implemented city plan by the council. As such, the focus over recent decades has been on developing smaller-scale projects in conjunction with different institutions. However, the infrastructure of these varies greatly. While the control of the council is based on regular local elections, institutions such as the Civic Trust are supported by a board of trustees and patrons. Therefore, whilst ideal to incorporate public perspectives, there is a fundamental need to consider the mechanisms of how this is incorporated. More broadly, councils have historically been accused of failing to properly consult with residents about major changes to the urban fabric in a long-standing issue since the end of the Second World War.

In order to incorporate the perspectives of the public into this thesis, it was necessary to investigate more bottom-up and grassroots forms of engagement. In particular, the social media groups discussed in chapter 6 provide a useful commentary both on the reminiscence of a changing urban landscape but also on the calls for change by the public. These social interactions and, in particular, the choice of language utilised by participants reflects the lack of coherence between the governing institutions and the people of York. Of course, it is important to note that based on the underlying focus of these institutions on a tourist economy with supportive marketing and narratives, the interactions found on social media are more reflective of the residents' perspectives. This, therefore, is a core contribution to the broader scholarship as this approach offers documentation from a different audience than the one aimed at by the bulk of material produced by the council. As noted above, this gap between residents and the governing bodies needs to be addressed by institutions to reduce any such tension. Therefore, considering the insights and impact of such digital

groups and even small-scale aspects of performance is key to understanding the shortcomings of the existing approaches and also opportunities to interconnect.

This latter point is particularly important given some of the case studies examined in this thesis. In particular, performances within this thesis have been addressed at multiple levels from part of large-scale European initiatives to small community groups interested in archaeological finds. The interest and opportunity to push and explore narratives led by these groups is key. This thesis does not advocate that such grassroots approaches should be merged into the broader narrative as they have a key value to the participants and audiences alike. However, this research shows that there is a need to shorten the gap between the varying narratives and provide a more comprehensive and inclusive perspective. After all, whilst York may be a tourist destination, it is the residents that live in and operate the city on the ground level. Therefore, this input must be factored into narratives of heritage and urban studies.

In addition to this, there is the discussion of Urban Exploration (UE), which has been contained in a separate chapter due to its tenuous legal standing. As a core investigation of this thesis, UE challenges the official narratives of York both on a practical level as well as a subconscious discourse on experiencing urban spaces. As a practice, UE challenges the governance of the city authorities through its participants' contestation of boundaries and access rights. By circumventing these to gain access to sites, participants gain unfettered access to parts of the city that are otherwise off-limits. Despite the criminal ambiguity of this practice, its scholarly assessment broadens the physical interpretation of space by generating photography, media and first person-accounts of urban spaces. As such this furthers the idea of a citizen expert and reflects the intimate knowledge of, and familiarity with, particular places.

While discussing the topic of UE more thoroughly the difficulty is in legitimising this as a part of heritage and urban studies. Whilst Bradley Garrett perceives something of a crusader attitude to uncover the truth of these places, this thesis argues that there is both a

valid documentary resource as well as a personal experience to be derived from this practice. Garrett focuses on the nature of UE as exploration and trespassing. However, for documentary purposes and as mentioned in reference to the Manchester fire station, there is scope to grant access for a limited number of participants. This would help legitimise the practice, introduce additional safety measures, and preserve documentation. The counter to this is the potential for these sites to come under that same umbrella of control and governance that has led to the need for such exploration in the first place. However, this in turn would remove the thrill that many achieve through this action. Therefore, finding more of a balance would be advantageous to provide greater freedoms to access areas but done in a manner that ensures the safety and security of the individuals.

More broadly then is the consideration of authenticity which Silverman viewed as stable. In reality, authenticity is diverse, dynamic, and complex in its deployment.⁷⁸³ This has ramifications in understanding ideas of collective identity and social status as there is a constant shift, again one that follows the changes of the city. By considering the grassroots narrative, there is potential to embellish the tapestry of historical narratives. This can both support and reinforce upheld official narratives as well as establish alternative perspectives that challenge, contest or complement.

Building Emotional Attachments

We frame place by engagement with it; we position it within our sphere of understanding whether this is a physical location or one external to our mindscape. We build the world we live in, using the characteristics available, and, in many cases, this relates to the use of heritage to construct an environment fitting of our perception. Familiarity, escape, reaffirmation, identity, guidance, and enrichment: each of these play a role in our understanding of heritage. We guide ourselves based on our familiarity; our sense of identity

⁷⁸³ Silverman, 'Heritage and Authenticity', p.69.

is reaffirmed and enriched by that in which we place value. For this reason, when change occurs, this provokes a sense of loss. Madgin has consistently focused on topics of demolition and urban change as provocations in documenting emotional attachment to places.⁷⁸⁴ Whilst demolition has the potential to strip the familiarity and security of place as memories are relocated due to a sense of disorientation and loss of identity this has not been the focus of this thesis. Instead, the thesis has utilised the core principles of building emotional and expert driven experiences to examine heritage and urban narratives.

In approaching this thesis, the research was framed as part of a larger shift within heritage and urban studies to expand beyond established concepts of 'sense of place' in order to consider themes of emotional attachment. In doing so this thesis has positioned emotional attachment as a fundamental factor in determining the differences between official, curated narratives and bottom-up perspectives through the use of citizen expertise.⁷⁸⁵ Earlier interpretations have focused on 'place attachment', to define an individual's emotional and affective bonds with historic places.⁷⁸⁶ Conventionally, this has then been applied as a theoretical grounding of the how's and why's of emotional relationships with historical places. However, interpretations of this have remained vague or utilised alternative lexicon to suggest a more complex construct. As such, more attention is needed to understand the emotional attachment to places as both as a response to an activity as well as a method of forming attachment.

Chapters 2-4 focused on the role of interpreting heritage through archaeological finds, city governance and curated access whilst these have the opportunity to generate an emotional response to a curated narrative. For example, respondents to the questionnaire on Jorvik were able to make comments on the smells or the memories of visits. However,

⁷⁸⁴ Rebecca Madgin, 'Urban Renaissance: the meaning, management and manipulation of place, 1945-2002' (Doctoral Thesis, University of Leicester, 2008), p.16.

⁷⁸⁵ Madgin and Lesh, 'Exploring Emotional Attachments to Historic Places: Bridging Concept, Practice and Method'; Madgin, *Why Do Historic Places Matter? Emotional Attachments to Urban Heritage*; Manzo and Devine-Wright, *Place Attachment*

⁷⁸⁶ Altman and Low, 'Place attachment: A conceptual inquiry', pp.1-12.

within these chapters has also been the spark of emotional responses stimulating a larger reaction, as seen by the Haver Lane performance. Such a strong attachment not only to the archaeological site at Hungate but to the former residents instilled a need to tell that story.

For this reason, chapters 5-7 of this thesis focused on more experience-based pursuits within the city that more directly instil and draw upon experience and emotions. The inclusion of social media has been fundamental in establishing both a suitable resource in such studies as well as reflecting the importance of language utilised on a public forum. The Memories of York Facebook group is instilled with reminiscence and discovery by its users. The use of language is helpful in understanding the connections and bonds with the city, regardless of current location. More in line with Madgin's work or similar case studies regarding Perth, Australia, the choice of wording reflects a strong emotional attachment provoked by urban change. The discussion of memories of visiting sites thus builds upon this and instils a multi-layered narrative of these locations. While these narratives are always present, the emotional connotations instilled not only reflect the lack of consideration for this within urban planning, but also permit scholars to investigate and comment on broader themes of urban life. In particular, the examples used in chapter 6 pertaining to the structure on the bridge provoked curiosity, intrigue, and joy, rather than sadness due to negative change. Therefore, there is a broader need to factor in that emotional attachment does not always need to be reflected as one associated with loss.

Moreover, this positive perspective is reflected in the response from urban explorers. Clough, in traversing the Minster, reflects on the freedom and joyous release to be high above the city. Such a sentiment is shared by Garrett and thus, as this is a practice that is so heavily tied to the experience, the emotional deliverance is intricate and inherent. Whilst scholarship on this topic is still limited, the strong psychological component of this activity presents a clear emotional/experience-driven activity with the sole purpose of building upon that. In this instance, the emotional attachment is reinforced through the consumption of exploring these spaces not just in the observation of passive change.

As such, in approaching concepts of emotional attachment and person-centred experience-driven methodologies, it is necessary to consider that attachment differs across communities and activities. The novelty of these cases studies has provided a variety of different forms of engagement for establishing an emotional attachment, as both a performer and audience member, active member of social media groups or as urban explorers. Of course, this is not the boundaries of such engagement as being present and consuming is an experience in of itself. The intricacies of emotion within such narratives will continue to develop. What is important is to prevent the broader focus on the negative emotions as earlier scholarship had, and instead consider the broad spectrum present within the public.

In summary, there is a need to hold an open discourse on the role of experience and expertise through multiple practices, to not only broaden the narrative of York beyond its walled core but to enhance the existing narrative in a more relatable manner by removing the solely top-down curation. This suggests a more discursive and co-produced model that reinforces broader themes of the existing scholarship, but which also makes more use of people centred methodologies. However, the application of this is beyond the remit of this study. Instead, the extrapolation of evidence across these chapters is suggestive of two worlds of heritage engagement: the one portrayed and represented to the outside world in order to attract consumers and visitors, compared with the grassroots and practical methods of locals. From a disciplinary perspective, these need further consideration to fully map such works into a broader paradigm. In the meantime, it is the work of individual studies on the boundaries of established paradigms that will continue to venture forward and show the need for emotional and individual insights to be included.

Appendix

9.1

Theatres of Memory: Identity Formation in the Historic City

PROFESSIONAL PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Invitation

You are invited to participate in a research study that is investigating the role identity formation in the urban environment. The study is being conducted by Taras Nakonecznyj, a PhD student at the Faculty of Arts, Environment and Technology at Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to participate in this study, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully.

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to sign a Consent Form.

You will be free to withdraw from the research at any time and/or request that your transcript not be used.

The study seeks to investigate variety of coexisting identities within the city formed by communal groups and how this helps to inform ideas of identity in the urban environment which is often controlled by institutional bodies. How this awareness might be better used as a resource and incorporated into event and institutional planning as well as cultural planning frameworks both in York and more widely across urban environments. The study is being conducted as part of a PhD Research Project at the Faculty of Arts, Environment and Technology at Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK.

Why have I been invited to participate in this research project?

You have been invited to participate in this study because of your knowledge an interaction with the City of York.

What does my role in this study involve?

This research involves your participation in a semi-structured interview to explore your insights into aspects of the city.

What happens if I don't want to take part in the study?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to participate. If at any point in the interview you become uncomfortable, we will stop the interview immediately.

If you have any concerns with the research, please contact myself or my Director of Studies, Shane Ewen, Senior Lecturer, School of Cultural Studies and Humanities, Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK; E-mail S.Ewen@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

Why do interviews need to be recorded?

Interviews are recorded so that your views are accurately documented. Information collected will only be for the purpose of this research project.

What should I do if I want to discuss this study further before committing to the interview?

If you wish to discuss this study further before committing to an interview, please contact the researcher, Taras Nakonecznyj, email: [redacted] . Mobile: [redacted]

What will happen to the final report of the research?

The final report will be published at the library of Leeds Beckett University and may form part of an academic journal article and conference paper.

Thank you for taking the time to consider this study, this information sheet is for you to keep.

CONSENT FORM

Theatres of Memory: Identity Formation in the Historic City. - a Research Project conducted by Taras Nakonecznyj, PhD student at the Faculty of Arts, Environment and Technology at Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK.

Research Purpose

To understand the variety and coexistence of conflicting identities within the city to inform the understanding of the urban environment beyond the institutionalised perception.

I understand the information will be used:

1. To inform a PhD thesis at the Faculty of Arts, Environment and Technology at Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, UK.
2. For possible publication in journals, textbooks, or similar publications. In which case I understand that:
 - The material may be published in journals world-wide.
 - The material may also be placed on a world-wide web site.
 - The material may also be used by book publishers.
 - The material will not be used for advertising or packaging.

I understand that:

1. Any quotes or views attributed to me will be sent for approval in advance of use in the final report and that consent can be withdrawn at this time.
2. *Anonymity will be discussed at the outset of each interview or focus group session. If* I request that views expressed by me during the interview or focus group session should appear anonymously, an appropriate form of words will be agreed at or following the interview or focus group session.

Recording of interview or focus group session:

I consent to being recorded during the interview or focus group, as part of the research study. I understand that this information will be used only for the purpose of this study.

Name of person taking part in the interview or focus group.

.....

Signed Date

Contact Form (please provide at least one)

(Phone).....

(Email).....

9.3

Questionnaire 1 v3

Participant Name

Date of Questioning

Location

Has the participant requested anonymity?

Has the required consent form been signed?

Q1. Would you refer to yourself as a resident or visitor to the city of York?

Q2. How would you quickly describe the city?

Q3. How would you summarise what makes the city iconic?

Q4. Please explain your reason for this response.

Q5. Thinking of the selection of museums on offer within the city what comes to mind when you think of York?

Q6. Over the last 50 years there has been several archaeological digs, most recently the Hungate excavation in the early 2000s that allow the public to visit the site and take part in the excavation. What do you feel has been the significance of this sought of approach on the city?

Q7, As part of the Hungate excavation Jorvik Dig! Was set up. Do you feel that there should be greater public engagement with archaeological activities like this?

9.4

Questionnaire 2 – Perceptions of York

Thank you for agreeing to complete these questions, they are aimed to be as open as possible to allow you to contribute as much or as little as you like. These questions are intended to be precursory and are likely to be followed up with a more in-depth round of questions that are more specifically aimed to the answers you provide.

Name _____ Gender _____

Age _____ Occupation _____

Location (City/Borough/District) _____

1. Can you please provide a short biography detailing your relationship and interaction with the city?
2. How would you identify the city of York?
3. What do you feel are some of the strongest influences in the city?
4. Do you see York as a forward-thinking city?
5. York has previously attempted to gain world heritage status, what do you categorise as qualities of the city that make it worthy or unworthy of recognition on a global scale?
6. York is an ever-changing city; do you feel that there is a sense of legacy within it? If so from what?
7. Who do you feel is responsible for the city? Who do you think is responsible for the way it is viewed?
8. Slogans are a powerful tool of marketing, some that are associated with York include, 'York, still making history' and 'promoting heritage, shaping tomorrow'. What are your thoughts on these and the potential impact of them drawing on the past can have?
9. Do you feel there have been any noticeable changes within the city in the past few years? If so, could you describe them?
10. Do you believe there is a strong community presence in the city?
11. Are you involved in any community groups? Please name.
12. Do you feel that there is any conflict within the city between certain groups?

13. How would you identify yourself within the class structure of York? Do you believe this is a common response across the city?
14. How do you feel the city of York as a whole compares with other cities?
15. Do all of the groups and narratives in the city get appropriate presentation and equality?
16. Is there adequate diversity in the narrative of the city? How could this be developed? Should it be?
17. In an era of technology and social media, do you feel York has a presence online?
18. Do you feel that there is a cycle within the city? For example, night/day, weekday/weekend? Inner city/outer city?
19. Like many cities across the world there is a need to engage with the public both as tourists and residents, what efforts has the city made that you are aware of? Do you feel that these have had an impact?
20. York is noted for its limited derelict space, what impact does this have on the city?
21. How would you describe the ties and benefits of being from York?
22. Do you feel you as an individual have an impact on the city?
23. Do you have any comments you feel would be useful in understanding further the identity of the city?

Questionnaire 3 Post Museum Feedback

Thank you for agreeing to complete these questions, they are aimed to be as open as possible to allow you to contribute as much or as little as you like. These questions are intended to be precursory and are likely to be followed up with a more in-depth round of questions that are more specifically aimed to the answers you provide.

Name _____ Gender _____

Age _____ Occupation _____

Location (City/Borough/District) _____

Have you ever visited Jorvik or Dig!? If so, how recently was this?

Thinking just on your experiences of Jorvik what can you tell me about the museum?

In a sentence, how do you feel this experience relates to the archaeological excavations of the city?

What is your lasting memory of York's museums?

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