

**MEASURING
THE SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION
OF THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT**

**A project by the Institute of Field Archaeologists
and Atkins Heritage
for the National Trust**

PROJECT REPORT

June 2004



ATKINS

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- 1 INTRODUCTION
- 2 CONTEXT
 - 1.1 Making the case for the historic environment
 - 1.2 Addressing the weakness of the argument
- 3 DEFINITIONS
 - 3.1 The historic environment, heritage and archaeology
 - 3.1.1 The historic environment
 - 3.1.2 Heritage
 - 3.1.3 Archaeology
 - 3.2 Social policy terms
 - 3.2.1 Quality of life
 - 3.2.2 Social inclusion and exclusion
 - 3.2.3 Social capital
 - 3.3 Values, benefits and marking
 - 3.3.1 Values and benefits
 - 3.3.2 Marking
 - 3.4 Indicators, measures and toolkits
 - 3.4.1 Indicators and measures
 - 3.4.2 Toolkits
- 4 RESEARCH METHOD
 - 4.1 The route of enquiry
 - 4.2 Expert interviews
 - 4.2.1 Janet Stockdale
 - 4.2.2 Mick Rowlinson
 - 4.2.3 Leonie Kellaher
 - 4.2.4 Barbara Bender
 - 4.2.5 Perry Walker
 - 4.2.6 Jez Reeve
 - 4.2.7 Analysis of the interviews
 - 4.3 Expert workshop
 - 4.3.1 Refining the conceptual framework
 - 4.3.2 Refining the project methodology
 - 4.4 Field trials – testing the indicators
 - 4.4.1 Selecting the field trials location
 - 4.4.1.1 A brief description of Burslem
 - 4.4.1.2 A briefer description of Fenton
 - 4.4.2 Observational research
 - 4.4.2.1 Methods
 - 4.4.2.2 Analysis of the observations – usefulness of the indicators, and refinements
 - 4.4.3 Interview-based research
 - 4.4.3.1 Methods

- 4.4.3.2 Analysis of the findings – usefulness of the indicators, and refinements
 - 4.4.4 Desk-based research
 - 4.4.4.1 Methods
 - 4.4.4.2 Analysis of the findings – usefulness of the indicators, and refinements
 - 4.4.5 Integrating the data
- 5 DISCUSSION
 - 5.1 About heritage
 - 5.2 About social capital
 - 5.3 About social benefits
 - 5.4 About the indicators
 - 5.4.1 Desk-based research
 - 5.4.2 Observational research
 - 5.4.3 Interviews and questionnaires
 - 5.4.4 Shortlisted indicators
 - 5.5 Achievements of stage 1 of the project
- 6 FUTURE RESEARCH
 - 6.1 Some options for further stages of the project
 - 6.2 Proposals for further stages of the project
 - 6.3 Application, and links to other research
- 7 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
- 8 BIBLIOGRAPHY
 - 8.1 Further reading

APPENDIXES

- Appendix 1 Format of semi-structured interviews with experts
- Appendix 2 Analysis of possible indicators
- Appendix 3 Ward comparison based on desk-based research

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Although the heritage sector is making headway in convincing those developing social policy that the historic environment can make a significant contribution to social regeneration and community wellbeing, how it does so is poorly understood. Our arguments are therefore substantially weakened and vulnerable, and the potential contribution is largely unrealised.

The National Trust commissioned the Institute of Field Archaeologists, working with Atkins Heritage, to move beyond ‘regeneration rhetoric’. The project tests the hypothesis that the historic environment enriches people’s lives, and at the conclusion of Stage One has developed and provisionally tested a suite of analytical methods that can measure where people are interacting well with the historic environment and where they are not – a portfolio of simple-to-use, inexpensive techniques that can inform social inclusion agenda, social regeneration projects, development inquiries, development of Local Plans and education provision.

With development these methods would permit the National Trust and others

- analyse the contribution or role of the historic environment to social wellbeing
- articulate that contribution to partners and others
- inform their work in management and regeneration of the environment

Setting the historic environment and social policy background, this report details how with input from experts in other sectors (eg economists, anthropologists and social psychologists) one of a number of potential conceptual models was developed for ways in which awareness of the historic environment might promote social capital and thence a range of social benefits. It reports on preliminary field trials in Stoke-on-Trent, proposes a promising shortlist of indicators for further development, and sets out some of the ways in which further work in Stage 2 would help the historic environment sector ‘put heritage to work where it is needed most’.

1. INTRODUCTION

Is the historic environment good for you? In what ways does heritage benefit people? How does it happen and can the benefits be measured? And if heritage is good for you, how can those people who particularly need it, those with decreased access to health, wealth, and other life-chances, take full advantage of the potential benefits of heritage? This project arose from the need to ask these questions about the value of the historic environment and the contribution it can make to the quality of life.

The National Trust commissioned the Institute of Field Archaeologists (the professional body for archaeologists), working with Atkins Heritage (a specialist team of archaeologists working alongside architects, landscape and planning professionals in Europe's largest consultancy), to undertake the first stage of a research project. That first stage is now completed and proposals are being considered for further work.

The first step towards testing the hypothesis that the historic environment is good for people is to devise techniques by which benefits – or the presence of mechanisms that might bring those benefits – might be measured. Such techniques could be used to test the belief the living in a historic place brings benefits that can be measured at a broad societal level.

The suite of analytical methods that the project is developing are intended to measure where people are interacting well with the historic environment and where they are not – and is a portfolio of techniques that can inform social inclusion agenda, social regeneration projects, development inquiries, development of Local Plans and education provision. The suite derives from a critical review of approaches adopted by other disciplines: the aim is to develop a set of methods with which the National Trust and others can

- use to analyse the contribution or role of the historic environment to social wellbeing
 - employ in articulating that contribution to partners and others
 - apply the tools to their work in management and regeneration of the environment
- The tools are intended to be simple to use, generally inexpensive, and comparatively readily available.

As will be discussed below, the research has had three main strands

- discussion with experts in the disciplines
- assembling a portfolio of techniques used by different disciplines, that might be used in a range of scenarios
- preliminary field trials

To date this has been essentially an archaeological project using archaeological skills. Archaeologists are uniquely placed to analyse material culture and the historic environment, and can bring a discipline of critical rigour to bear to on the problem. But archaeologists alone cannot tackle this question successfully. A sociologist has been a key member of the team, which has consulted with professionals in a range of other disciplines.

The main researchers for the project were Andrea Bradley (Atkins Heritage), Peter Hinton (Institute of Field Archaeologists), Janet Miller (Atkins Heritage) and Steve Shaw (London Metropolitan University), with assistance from Gillian Phillips (IFA). Work was undertaken in late 2002 and 2003.

2. CONTEXT

2.1. Making the case for the historic environment

In recent years there has been ever-increasing recognition that the historic environment can make a significant contribution to social regeneration and community wellbeing. The historic environment community has had considerable success in persuading national and local government and other policy makers of the significance of heritage; reasoning that it helps to create sustainable communities and to tackle social exclusion by nurturing community identity, helping people understand the past and future development where they live, encouraging active citizenship, understanding our long history of immigration and cultural diversity, combating crime and antisocial behaviour through developing pride of place, and creating both skilled and unskilled jobs through traditional crafts and activities involved with investigation and conservation. Similarly the discipline has argued the importance of the historic environment in urban and rural economic regeneration, through the encouraging of good design in which the new complements the old, by promoting traditional crafts and alternative crops (eg thatching straw), and by supporting tourism.

These arguments coincided (but perhaps it was no coincidence?) with two other phenomena. The first was a either a massive increase in public interest in the past, or recognition of it: this was manifested in the wealth of television programmes on the historic environment, particularly in matters archaeological; a MORI poll (English Heritage 2000, 4) that revealed that 87% think that the historic environment plays an important role in the cultural life of the country, and 85% that it is important in promoting regeneration; and the establishment of the All-Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group, now boasting a membership of 140 parliamentarians, by Lords Renfrew and Redesdale to complement – or revive – the work of the low-profile Heritage Group. The second was a general perception in the spatial planning, design and heritage communities (eg Wilson 2001) of continuing urban sprawl and a loss of local character in the face of increasingly homogenous residential, retail and office development; and that something needed to be done about it (eg Urban Task Force 1999; Beacham 2001; Coupe 2001). That something had much to do with the agenda concerned with quality of life and social inclusion (see 3.2.1-2).

Perhaps the most noted exposition of the arguments of the significance of the historic environment was in *Power of place: the future of the historic environment* (English Heritage 2000); for a résumé of recent input into these debates by the archaeological community see Hinton 2002. Examples of government recognition can be seen in *The historic environment: a force for our future* (DCMS & DTLR 2001) and *People and places: social inclusion policy for the built and historic environment* (DCMS 2002) in England; *Creating our future: minding our past, Scotland's national cultural strategy* (Scottish Executive 2000) and *Passed to the future* (Historic Scotland 2002) in Scotland; and *Review of the historic environment in Wales* (Welsh Assembly 2003) in Wales.

Building on these policy statements and a developing body of good practice, guidance notes are beginning to appear on ways of using urban design and the

historic environment to help promote sustainable communities, for example in the context of social housing development (eg Randall undated; Taylor 2003).

2.2. Addressing the weakness of the argument

But in spite of these polemics for the significance of the historic environment and recommendations on how to realise its potential, quite how it works this magic – and how well – are poorly understood. Our arguments are therefore substantially weakened, and the potential to put the historic environment to use largely unrealised. The position of the heritage community was therefore very similar to that of architects in the 1990s: they had consistently argued that architecture and design created ‘value’ in society, but until the publication of papers by Loe (2000) and Worpole (2000) as part of the RIBA Future Studies initiative, were wide open to questions such as ‘how?’, ‘how much?’ – or even ‘how do you know?’. For a review of the economic and social benefits of design, see Garrido 2003.

A similar experience had been shared by Barclays Sitesavers and the Groundwork Trusts, which had collated evidence for the effect of their programme of transforming derelict land on communities and the environment, but had not developed methods rigorous enough to demonstrate the full social, economic and environmental benefits (Perry Walker, pers comm). Knowing that ‘what gets counted counts’ led to the Prove it! initiative of developing measurements with local communities (Walker et al 2000).

The National Trust has produced some valuable ammunition, looking initially at the economic value of the conserved environment generally in several English regions and Wales (eg Tourism Associates 1999; summarised in Middleton 2001). These studies calculated the National Trust’s own direct spend on employment and supplies, expenditure on salaries and goods on Trust-owned farms, and an appropriate multiplier for jobs and services generated by tourism. In Wales, one of these studies (Bilsborough and Hill 2002) was further refined – and expanded – to look at the economic value of the *historic* environment (Hill and O’Sullivan 2002). Related studies undertaken by English Heritage (1999 and 2002a) under the title *The heritage dividend* have measured the economic results of heritage-led regeneration; and the *State of the historic environment report* (2002b) and *Heritage counts* (2003) have collated a wealth of available statistics on the historic environment and its economic and other implications. The English Heritage work builds upon studies by the English Tourism Council (eg 2001) published as *The heritage monitor*. Other studies, notably by David Maddison, have explored contingent valuation of the cultural environment (www.uea.ac.uk/env/cserge/research/)

Looking beyond the economic value of the historic environment to its potential social and community benefits was therefore an obvious next line of research. The Trust’s ‘National Strategic Plan 2001-4’ (National Trust 2001) sets out a vision ‘to inspire present and future generations with understanding and enjoyment of the historic and natural environments through exemplary and innovative work in conservation, education and presentation’. One of the core priorities by which the vision is to be made real is ‘deepening people’s understanding of our landscape, built and cultural heritage and broadening its

appeal'. To develop effective strategies to achieve this requires a better knowledge of 'how the heritage works' than we have at present.

In 2000 the IFA Annual Conference took the theme of 'Valuing archaeology', which included a session which examined the social value of heritage. The introductory paper, given by Janet Miller, highlighted the lack of robust research to support claims of the benefits brought by the historic environment and drew attention to the limitations of widely-used phrases such as 'pride of place'. The paper made some initial attempts at demonstrating the ways in which the possible relationship between living in a historic place and measurable benefits could be explored through the use of indicators and other analytical tools. To our knowledge this was the first such attempt at this kind of analysis.

3. DEFINITIONS

This project, as discussed above and as will be seen, adopts a multidisciplinary approach to the unpicking of the complex issues. As befits a project which explores social behavior, perceptions and attitudes, as well as broad patterns of differences in life-chances, analytical concepts and terminology have been drawn from a range of sources. Many of the key words have acquired multiple meanings over time. They are defined and explained below in order to assist with later discussions of our methodology, research and conclusions.

3.1. The historic environment, heritage and archaeology

3.1.1. The historic environment

There are numerous definitions of the historic environment. The authors' preferred version is the (unpublished) working definition produced by the Historic Environment Forum – an informal grouping on independent bodies concerned with archaeology: *the physical evidence that we see, understand and feel for past human activity. It includes sites, monuments, landscapes, buildings and settlements as well as our appreciation and perception of them. It is the cultural product of human interaction with nature and the evidence of all past human activity*

A working group of the English government review of historic environment policies that resulted in *Power of place* (English Heritage 2000) produced an expanded rendition: *The historic environment is all the physical evidence for past human activity, and its associations, that people can see, understand and feel in the present world. It is the habitat that the human race has created through conflict and cooperation over thousands of years, the product of human interaction with nature. It is all around us as part of everyday experience and life, and it is therefore dynamic and continually subject to change. At one level it is made up entirely of places such as towns and villages, coast or hills, and things such as buildings, buried sites and deposits, fields and hedges; at another level it is something we inhabit, both physically and imaginatively. It is many-faceted, relying on an engagement with physical remains but also on emotional and aesthetic responses and on the power of memory, history and association.*

As will be seen, the concept of material culture is also useful because it helps us to understand and focus on the power of objects as symbols, to be manipulated by individuals for communication and other social ends. Shanks (1992, 79) discusses the concept: *... material culture is like a text, with individual objects or parts of objects words in a language ... Some (archaeologists) have looked for grammars, formal logics, ... rules which ... can generate the patterning observed in the past. Others have gone for ... the idea that objects are connected in systems which speak the structure of society ... Others again have looked at the use of material objects in different contexts ... A pot in a house may mean one thing, something very different in a tomb.*

3.1.2. Heritage

If the historic environment is more than physical remains and objects, then any definition of heritage must also encompass broader *perception* of that environment. In addition, heritage includes such intangible things such as associations, traditions, cuisine and literature.

Brian Goodey (1994) wrote: *Heritage, long perceived and legislated for as a process of building preservation, has a significant role to play. But, it is in the associations, meanings and occasional manifestations of belonging that it provides its most enduring elements of future city design. The implication is that amateurs and cultural managers (ie community facilitators) must play an equal part with architecturally derived urban designers.* It is with this conscious understanding that perceptions of the historic environment/heritage are as significant as physical remains, and all that implies for the role of the community, that we approached this project.

3.1.3. Archaeology

Before moving on, a few short words on archaeology. Often used exclusively as shorthand for ‘buried remains’, in this project ‘archaeology’ is taken to refer to *the study of the past through the physical evidence of how people built and made things, and how they lived in and changed their environment.* It is therefore relevant to remains above- and below-ground and under water; static and portable; large and small; ancient and modern. As a means of studying the historic environment archaeology helps all people and cultures enjoy the past, understand the present and shape the future – their future heritage.

3.2. Social policy terms

3.2.1. Quality of life

‘Quality of life’ emerged as concept within the social indicators movement in the United States during the 1960s. It was a radical agenda that questioned whether economic growth equated with ‘individual and social material *and immaterial* well-being’ (National Research Council 2002, 23). Places have been measured in terms of quality of life, producing ‘objective benchmarks’ (‘measures’ in the terminology of this project, see 3.4.1), eg acres of open space per 1000 population. In addition to measurements, Indicators have been developed of people’s *attitudes* to areas as places in which to live, work, enjoy leisure activities: they gauge *satisfaction* with open space, shopping, traffic, crime etc. They can also record satisfaction with ‘less tangible qualities, such with freedom of expression [and] social justice’ (ibid, 24). Such is the place of quality of life indicators in mainstream discussion of social issues today, that they have been enlisted in support of ‘civic boosterism’ eg ‘Sustainable Seattle’, ‘Envision Utah’, in which civic authorities will highlight favourable statistics such as low crime rate, high educational attainment and amount of green spaces, in order to attract residents and businesses (ibid, 28). The UK government’s monitoring of progress towards sustainable development uses a

'*quality of life barometer* to provide a high level overview of progress, and a powerful tool for simplifying and communicating the main messages' (www.defra.gov.uk, www.odpm.gov.uk). The barometer covers economic, social, environmental areas, establishing 15 'headline quality-of-life indicators', eg H11 Road Traffic, H12 Air Quality; H14 Land Use.

Quality of Life studies vary in their emphasis on different facets of life. However all tend to use a conceptual framework which provides for the selection, simplification and structure of data: domains are core elements of life or well-being (health, poverty, environment, education), which are further measured by indicators, (mortality, receipt of state benefits, pollution, qualifications at 16). The selection of domains and indicators is driven by project questions. They can comprise hard economic indicators, or they can be selected through questioning a community about its values and aspirations.

3.2.2. Social inclusion and exclusion

'Social exclusion', and latterly more positively 'social inclusion' has its origins in the work of Lenoir (1974): *les exclus* described those falling outside the social insurance scheme. Giddens (1998, 104) argued in *The third way* that exclusion goes beyond poverty and inequality: 'Exclusion is not about gradations of inequality but about mechanisms that detach people from the social mainstream'. Therefore social exclusion can be seen as relative (to the 'mainstream'), and is dynamic (it is possible to move from exclusion to inclusion and *vice versa*). It can be considered in terms of person, household, area, or institution; and is multi-dimensional, and can be manifest through income level, consumption, propensity to vote, etc. Of fundamental concern are the barriers to advancement that arise from exclusion, through lack of training, self-esteem etc.

3.2.3. Social capital

'Social capital' has probably undergone more changes of meaning than any other term in the debate. Originally coined by Bourdieu (1991) as one of three capitals, economic, cultural and social, which are employed in the struggle between groups to gain access to privilege and power, Putnam (1995) argues that it refers to social connections, and the attendant norms and trust. According to the government's Performance and Innovation Unit (2002, 5) 'social capital consists of the networks, norms, relationships values and informal sanctions that shape the quantity and cooperative quality of a society's social interactions... social capital can be measured using a range of indicators but the most commonly used measure is trust in other people'. So, for Putnam, social capital can result in, and be detected through, quality and quantity of social interaction, shared objectives, cooperative action, reciprocity, civic engagement, and access to resources and opportunities.

The notion of *social capital* is not without its problems. Putnam presents it as a benign, observed, phenomenon which is always beneficial, the lack of which characterises dysfunctional social groups. Critics of Putnam point to his

America-centrism, his romanticism of a past rich in social capital, of ignoring conflict within and between close-knit groups, as well as the social capital found within excluded groups and underclasses.

Nevertheless, Putnam's social capital is an attractive concept, and Kearns (2003, 39) shows that it is now seen by government as an important means of ending social exclusion. It is apparent in the *Third Way* approach to neighbourhood renewal, and illustrates the rise of 'soft goals agenda' in the government's second term. Government is keen to promote local partnerships that will integrate communities with bricks and mortar initiatives. Significantly the Performance and Innovation Unit (2002, 8) identifies one of social capital's implications for policy as 'new approaches to the planning and design of the built environment'.

Putnam's concept of social capital was initially suggested to the project team during an expert interview. As will be discussed below, it was selected as the principal hypothesis of this project, which proposes and explores social capital as a key mechanism by which the historic environment and heritage deliver social benefits. As the project developed it also became clear that if the findings were to be of most benefit, they must ultimately be expressed in the current language of politicians and social policy makers. Using the concept of social capital has the advantage of embedding the project in the context of current policy discourse, and use of the index of multiple deprivation emphasises the pertinence of the historic environment to local authority performance targets.

3.3. Values, benefits and marking

3.3.1. Values and benefits

This project began to discuss the social contribution of the historic environment using the word 'value' rather than 'benefit'. The project team asserted that, as far as it could tell, little or no work had been done toward getting beyond the 'heritage rhetoric' toward measuring the value of the historic environment. Early discussion with fellow professionals were characterised by mutual misunderstandings, with initial reactions being that the project was going over old ground changing through discussion to recognition that something genuinely new was being pioneered.

It took some time for the penny to drop. Although the mantra 'a benefit is a value realised' (Kate Clark, pers comm) was drummed into us at an early stage, it was much later that we finally identified the source of the confusion. In the minds of the project team, 'value' meant 'intrinsic worth' – that might or might not be realised into a benefit by some applied agency. Other writers in the field, particularly from the Australian school, seem to use the term 'value' to mean 'an estimation or recognition of worth' (see, for example, Johnston's (1993; 1994) or Burra Charter definitions). Both uses are equally valid and achieve similar rankings in the dictionary, but they are significantly different. In this field it is essential to define what is meant by such ambiguous words: in this paper the noun 'value' – where it is used – means

‘intrinsic worth with the potential to be realised into a benefit’; ‘to estimate or recognise worth’ is denoted by the verb ‘to value’, the activity labeled as ‘valuing’ using the gerund.

3.3.2. Marking

Sticking with verb forms, the team recognised that before valuing of the historic environment could take place, it had to be perceived. That perception can take many forms, forms that might vary significantly between heritage professionals and the rest of human life, but the presence of that perception will be indicated by a phenomenon called ‘marking’ (Leonie Kellaheer, pers comm). Marking will be evident in the ways people interact with their environment and how they talk about it.

3.4. Indicators, measures and toolkits

3.4.1. Indicators and measures

Further semantic quagmires surround the description of methods for determining the nature and extent of benefits that the social environment might bring to people. We have adopted – less rigorously than perhaps we should – a fairly commonly held distinction between ‘measures’ and ‘indicators’ (Bryman 2001, 67): measures are relatively unambiguously countable quantities (such as age, years in education, numbers of listed buildings); whereas indicators stand for concepts, attitudes and behaviour (eg deprivation indicators as means of estimating poverty, brown signs as an indication of official marking of the historic environment). Their purpose is to summarise where we are at a given point of time; reveal trends and explain causes; provide a basis for establishing direction; and inform changes in behaviour, policy, information, regulation and incentives (National Trust 2003).

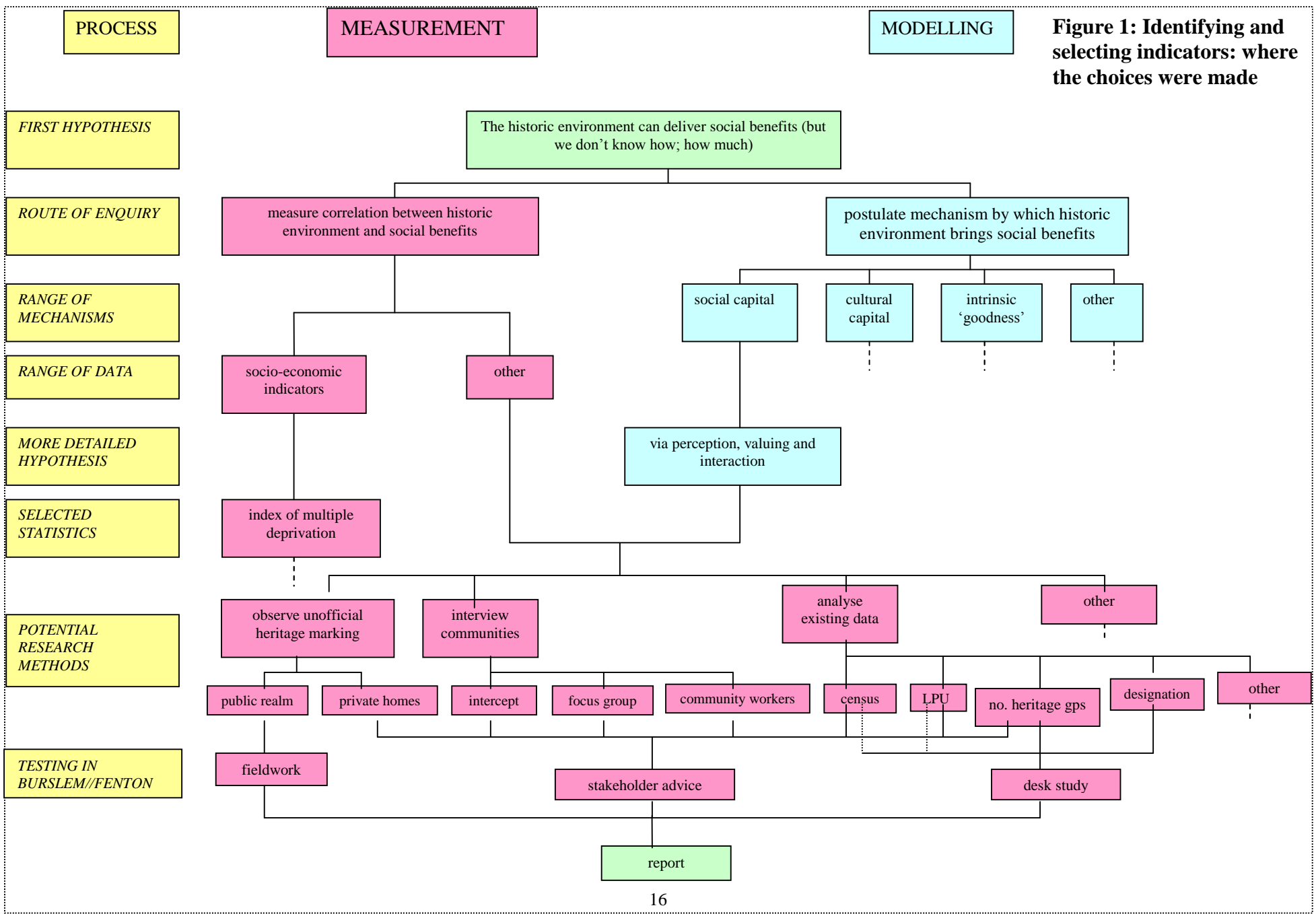
3.4.2. Toolkits

In studies of this nature a single measure or indicator will not suffice, and the original intention was to bundle likely looking tools into a toolkit. At an early stage of the project we were warned off the ‘toolkit’ word because of its association with jobbing management consultants and market researchers (Mick Rowlinson, pers comm); instead with a degree of trepidation we have shifted from blue-collar to white-collar terms such as ‘suite’ and ‘portfolio’ to package and dignify the research methods available.

Terminology aside, it rapidly became apparent that across the disciplines we explored there is a huge range of measures and indicators available, the variety denoting not only diversity of attributes being studied but also the different professions traditional preferences for either qualitative or quantitative research. The project has picked and mixed its way across the sweet counter of possibilities, adopting and adapting what was available, but always mindful of four principal criteria (see appendix 2) derived from the original brief (Tony Burton, pers comm) and the work of the Northern Forest Center (Northern Forest Center, undated)

- is it likely to give accurate information about the attribute we are trying to measure/detect?
- can we gather data efficiently and cost effectively – and how much training investment (or commissioned expert assistance) might be required?
- could it be used to track changes over time, and thus measure the impact of intervention by the historic environment or other sectors?
- can the indicator be developed or refined in partnership with the community?

Figure 1: Identifying and selecting indicators: where the choices were made



4. RESEARCH METHOD

4.1. The route of enquiry

It was understood at the outset that the notion that ‘heritage is good for you’ was simply a hypothesis, albeit one which, as demonstrated earlier, in government and policy circles seems to be gaining acceptance. We were clear therefore that the hypothesis needs to be fully expounded and tested. As the project has unfolded, it became clear that, throughout, hypothesis-building, exploration and testing would characterise the entire project. The project developed through forging a *route of enquiry* through the massive range of questions, data and analytical tools available. The flow-chart here illustrates the step-by-step and iterative process which was undertaken: developing a hypothesis; selecting and identifying appropriate data, sources and methods; gathering data and revisiting the hypothesis.

4.2. Expert interviews

The project design identified that the interview of experts from a range of disciplines would provide the most rapid route into the thinking, concepts and literature of each discipline; and would thus start to highlight the most useful measures and indicators. Two important aims of the interviews were to determine the contribution of each discipline to an investigation into the way in which the historic environment might benefit people, and to understand the principles and applications of the discipline methodology. Six experts generously submitted themselves to semi-structured interviews (see appendix 1) by two members of the project team. The interviews were also recorded on cassette tape. The interview structure is at Appendix 1; a brief summary of the key points of each interview is presented below.

4.2.1. Janet Stockdale – social psychologist

Techniques for investigation of this kind of question may be

- questionnaires
- observation
- interviews
- focus groups
- experiments
- Q-sort

Interviews, questionnaires and interviews are the most used techniques. The use of large-scale questionnaires followed by focus groups to get at the finer grain is a good approach. The drawback with field observation is that although one might observe how people use the environment, how people feel about a place is difficult to capture. Observational data are also difficult to analyse in a meaningful way. All techniques are well studied, but it is important to get professional help with design and implementation.

Multiple indicators can be a useful approach but would also suggest the use of multiple techniques for capturing data. It is difficult to disaggregate items such as wealth from benefiting from heritage.

It is important to ensure that an appropriate sample of the population is captured, as responses will differ according to gender, ethnic group, age etc.

Respondents do not always identify with the place in which they live, eg migrants often see elsewhere as home. It is important to elicit the micro- and macro-level understanding of place.

The aim should be to gain a full picture of people's understanding and definition of where they live and their place in the world. Social representations, such as the media, provide a very good way of identifying this. Social representations are constantly changing, however; so only a snapshot will be captured.

The idea of continuity and stewardship is becoming increasingly important when looking at people and the environment and it may be that when social support is lacking, the environment in some way begins to compensate.

Key words:

- social representation – shared conceptual understanding of things
- social psychological health – privacy, identity, social support and relationships
- continuity and stewardship
- cognitive maps and concept of place

4.2.2. Mick Rowlinson – sociologist

Mick Rowlinson specialises in organisational studies, particularly looking at the relationship between documentary archives and respondents' perceptions of an organisation's history.

Interview technique, using a proper interview schedule is very important. Questions must be open ended and not leading. Indirect questions tend to elicit longer and more informative responses (eg 'is it better or is it worse to live here today?' is better than 'what is it like to live here today?')

The aim of an interview should be to elicit feelings and understandings and long meaningful responses, not facts that could be gained elsewhere.

Transcription of interviews is expensive and time-consuming, and often unproductive; retaining tapes for reference and re-listening is, however, valuable.

Observation is very important to get at unspoken dialogue.

In sociological circles, 'toolkit' tends mean questionnaires of some sort.

A focus on measuring can deny those phenomena that are really interesting and meaningful

Key words

- good interview technique
- discourse rather than toolkit

4.2.3. Leone Kellaher – social anthropologist

Leone Kellaher specialises in material culture, housing and old people.

The difficulty with quality of life indicators is that they tend to measure what is fixed and hide the activities of negotiation and agency.

A new way of looking at quality of life is to focus on *connectedness*: social networks and the grid are important concepts in anthropology. Connectedness with people, places and time, the multitude of ways in which you place yourself, seems to be essential to humans. For example old people, as their wider social connections break down, tend to focus on smaller connections: for examples ornaments or collections to establish connectedness with something. The greater and more intensive the connections, the better.

The house or home seems to be the most important medium by which people organise their connectedness.

The importance of connectedness is that it can be measured, but not in traditional ways. An anthropologist attempts to identify the intensity of the grid, by, for example, counting objects in a living room. Interview questions and observations would concentrate on identifying juxtapositions of self with objects or buildings: ‘do you rearrange the photos that are on your shelf?’

It may be that there is something about the historic environment – safe spaces, landmarks etc – that facilitate connectedness. Connectedness might be a mechanism by which the historic environment benefits people.

Key words

- connectedness and grid
- memory
- identity
- investment

4.2.4. Barbara Bender – social anthropologist and archaeologist

Barbara Bender specialises in understanding perceptions of landscape, historic landscape and responses to heritage and historic monuments.

It is important to explore where memory meets history. Marginalised people are often the keepers of memory.

It is important to understand the historic specificity of the people to be observed and the different scales of analysis: home, street, village, country etc.

The mechanisms of memory, and the use of material and consumption may be relevant for studying the benefits of the historic environment.

It is helpful to use observations, perhaps of people's responses to exhibitions, as a technique; and test the conclusions with quantitative data in some way. Similarly one can look at how people move through an area or community.

Moving beyond observational research it is revealing to ask people to explain why they keep certain things – why are they important to them? This can evoke memory.

When interviewing always remember that responses to questions will be affected by who else is present.

We need to explore what we have to do to help people benefit from the historic environment, in what way they can be assisted to interact with it productively or rewardingly.

Key words

- memory
- material
- consumption

4.2.5. Perry Walker – economist

To understand how benefits arise it is useful to look at a theories-of-change model.

To develop the appropriate indicators one should first develop hypotheses for where associations might exist between social attributes, then test for those associations and if possible for causality. A graphic approach is a good way to develop the hypothetical model.

A key concept is social capital – can be characterised in terms of connections, 'favours' or trust. One can explore the relationships between a member of the community and that community, for example by assessing the opportunities and places to meet.

Indicators of pride of place may be as simple as seeing if people express pride in conversation: ask people why they are proud. One should also look at human capital (attributes of individuals) eg privacy.

There is no escape from interviews and surveys! An economist would favour a large sample for quantitative analysis, but there will always be a pragmatic trade-off between robustness and participation.

This project should focus on demonstrating the association of the historic environment and social capital, as the links between social capital and health, education, crime etc are well established (for example through the Groundwork programme).

Key words

- social capital
- causation
- hypothetical model for causes of change

4.2.6. Jez Reeve – archaeologist and community organisation worker

Jez Reeve now specialises in building and supporting the voluntary and community sector; she participated in a less formal interview.

It will be useful to understand the complex network of voluntary organisations in the survey area and their relationship to the local authority and area health authority.

Local authorities are driven by targets, often because they form part of the Public Service Agreements – there is political advantage in linking survey indicators to these targets. Study of the local Community Plan (eg Tower Hamlets 2002, part of the Public Service Agreement) will identify the targets: typical strands are safety/crime, health, prosperity, learning and public services.

It will be important to look too at the Index of Multiple Deprivation.

Social capital, citizenship and cultural connections are important concepts.

It is unlikely to be possible to set up a community focus group to talk about the historic environment, unless discussion is piggy-backed onto another meeting.

Measuring people's reaction to the historic environment may affect their future interaction with that environment: it will be a mechanism for releasing its potential.

Key words

- social capital
- local authority floor targets
- cultural connections and connectivity

4.2.7. Analysis of the interviews

The identification of the key words used by each expert was important to elicit the discipline's perspective. Whilst there was far from uniformity of view, there were considerable overlaps in perspective and technique, and no apparent dangers in mixing the methods of different disciplines in a multiple-indicator portfolio.

It became clear that the starting point is to establish a hypothetical model for how the historic environment might bring social benefits, and then test it.

Despite the reservations of many interviewees, observational research may be a very valuable supplement to interviews and questionnaires (and has the potential to be considerably less expensive). Both approaches need to be represented in any balanced portfolio of research techniques.

The expert interviews were a lesson in interview techniques themselves. The open-ended questions tended to be the most useful and informative as to the particular discipline's perspective.

4.3. Expert workshop

Having interviewed experts individually, the project team invited them and other individuals from the UK's key heritage organisations to a workshop, located where the field trials were to be conducted. Attendees were

- Kate Clark (HLF)
- Peter Hinton (IFA)
- Leonie Kellaher (London Metropolitan University)
- Janet Miller (Atkins Heritage)
- Sara Northey (National Trust)
- Steve Shaw (LMU)
- Hedley Swain (Museum of London)
- David Thackray (National Trust)
- Roger Thomas (English Heritage)

Invited but were unable to attend were

- Barbara Bender (University College London)
- Gregor Hutcheon (National Trust)
- Jez Reeve (Community Organisations Forum, Tower Hamlets)
- Mick Rowlinson (LMU)
- Jan Stockdale (LSE)
- Joan Walley MP

The meeting was conducted as an informal workshop, with an agenda to guide and structure discussions. Each part of the meeting was facilitated by a member of the research team and key points were recorded on a flipchart.

The aims of the meeting were

- to disseminate and discuss the findings of the expert interviews
- to review the purpose and scope of the project
- to discuss a methodology for investigating a link between experiencing/living in a historic environment and measurable benefits, such as health, education, life-chances
- to provide an introduction to the area selected for pilot testing

4.3.1. Refining the conceptual framework

The workshop considered how quality-of-life studies vary in their emphasis on different facets of life. However all tend to use a conceptual framework which provides for the selection, simplification and structure of data. There are 'domains' for core elements of life or well-being: health, poverty, environment, education are typical examples. They are recorded by measures and indicators such as mortality, receipt of state benefits, pollution, and qualifications at 16. The selection of domains, measures and indicators is driven by research questions. They can comprise hard economic statistics, or indicators can be selected through questioning a community about its values and aspirations.

In order to develop a conceptual framework for the relationship between the historic environment and social wellbeing, the panel was asked to consider a hypothesis about correlation or causation between domains and indicators. The hypothesis centred on social capital as a key mechanism, postulating the potential for a causal relationship between living in a historic place, social capital manifested in networks and voluntary groups, and a measurable benefit such as health. A potential causal 'chain' was developed from the historic environment to better health:

1. a visible or legible historic environment →
2. a historic environment which is marked/recognised by residents →
3. a topic of conversation/interaction →
4. development of networks→
5. improved self-confidence→
6. better health (or well-being) →

1-3 comprise the process of marking and valuing the historic environment, 4 contributes to social capital, and the relationship between 4, 5 and 6 have been demonstrated by other studies with reference to eg the natural environment (Perry Walker pers comm).

The research methods for this project might be directed at establishing the presence or absence (or potentially quantified value) of associations between these attributes, in order to demonstrate a series of links connecting the domains of historic environment and health. Establishing robust cause and effect particular to the historic environment may be difficult. A network of associations and social capital may derive equally from other domains such as the natural environment, wealth, education, urban design etc, so it is important to establish a control as similar as possible in every regard apart from the perceived value of the historic environment.

Workshop participants noted that the notion of 'connectedness' may be very relevant for this project. The centrality of connectedness for social and psychological health is demonstrated by a study of old people (Leonie Kellaher, pers comm), particularly those resident in old people's homes, and the way in which they use objects such as photographs and souvenirs, to establish or substitute for social connections or support an individual's chosen persona. A display of souvenirs can become a talking point or a visible affirmation that family members think of them while on holiday. A collection of ornamental frogs may be a means by which an individual demonstrates that

they are the carers for something, rather than being simply the object of care. The example of the traveling museum, where the handling and examination of artefacts, perhaps associated with a locality, became a social event forging relationships through shared memory and associations, would seem to confirm the notion of social capital as a key mechanism (Hedley Swain, pers comm). Both examples demonstrate the ways in which people use material culture as a tool for establishing their place in the world, thus, perhaps, preserving or restoring elements of wellbeing, leading to other quality of life advantages. It may be that the historic environment is similarly, or even particularly, useful in some way for such individual or social strategies. Similarly, the examples provide an insight into the unspoken and unacknowledged dialogue between individuals and their material culture and surroundings. This information might provide a much deeper understanding of the relationship between people and the historic environment, but it is less accessible by means of data-gathering such as questionnaires and focus groups. This finer grain information requires more intensive data-gathering akin to anthropological research, such as interviews, participant observation and mapping of material culture.

It remains the authors' belief that the hypothesis tested is only one potential mechanism by which the historic environment might bring social benefits. It was considered inherently plausible – though clearly in need of testing – and sits comfortably with the general perception in the heritage professions that what is critical is the way in which people interact with the historic environment. Nevertheless it would be precipitate to disregard environmentally determinist hypotheses that there is something intrinsic in the shape, texture or scale of the more historic built environment that conveys those benefits. Later phases of the project might aim to test this further by investigating whether there is something beneficial inherent in the historic environment, and whether people who are not conscious of or value it nonetheless benefit from it.

4.3.2. Refining the project methodology

A initial working project methodology consisted of the comparison of two areas of housing: one which might be characterised as old or historic, perhaps Victorian terraces; and one which would not normally be characterized as historic, perhaps a 1950s or 1960s estate. It was planned that both should be broadly similar in attributes such as socio-economic situation, ethnic group etc. In this way the modern estate would act as 'control' group. Quality-of-life domains (see 3.2.1) such as health and education would be studied and compared across the two housing areas. Conclusions regarding the role that the historic environment might play in any variations in indicator scores would be explored through questioning of residents on the appreciation or valuing of the environment. Residents could also play a part in mapping the domains and indicators in order to ensure that they reflect local attitudes and aspirations.

On consideration it was felt that in selecting sites for field trials it will be difficult to identify 'historic' and 'non-historic' places, as such distinctions derive from perceptions, not absolutes – and could run contrary to the thinking

that everywhere has character and a historic or heritage dimension. It may be preferable to draw comparisons between a historic environment that is (generally) collectively valued by residents and one that is not. Research should not be led by the perceptions of heritage professionals, or by official designations of heritage assets. People's/residents' own appreciation of what is 'heritage' or the 'historic environment' must become central to the investigation (cf Caffyn and Lutz 1999). The distinction between individual and collective preferences and values must be considered, and the selection of survey population and control presents many problems

The strategy was refined to identifying two areas under the same local authority regime and

- 1 establishing the differences between their 'official' heritage ratings (eg as indicated by formal protections designations)
- 2 comparing the extent to which the two local communities appeared to mark or value the historic environment
- 3 comparing readily available measures and indicators of social capital and quality of life
- 4 analysing the correlations and differences

Methods 1, 3 and 4 were envisaged as desk-based, and method 2 primarily involving fieldwork.

A variety of indicators were discussed, based around observational research in public realm or private homes; interviews conducted via words, images or objects in the home; intercept surveys; organised focus groups. As the project has developed (see below) the list has been expanded, refined and critically appraised, and is presented here as Appendix 2 and shortlisted at 5.4.4.

4.4. Field trials – testing the indicators

The next stage of the project was to test the measures and indicators. The project design did not intend extensive testing, nor did it propose at this stage a properly conducted experiment to see if, how and how much the historic environment contributed to social wellbeing. The purposes of the exercise were to make a rudimentary assessment of the extent to which heritage appears to have been officially 'marked' in the trial locations, and to assess the indicators against the four criteria (see Appendix 2)

- C1 Is it likely to give accurate information about the attribute we are trying to measure/detect?
- C2 Can we gather data efficiently and cost effectively – and how much training investment (or commissioned expert assistance) might be required?
- C3 Could it be used to track changes over time, and thus measure the impact of intervention by the historic environment or other sectors?
- C4 Can the indicator be developed or refined in partnership with the community?

The trials took three principal forms

- an assessment of the ease of obtaining and interpreting existing quality-of-life indicators
- an assessment of the observational research techniques and indicators in the field

- a critical review, conducted with expert ‘stakeholders’ in the selected field trials area, of the likely effectiveness of face-to-face interview, focus group and survey techniques. Real-world testing of these latter techniques awaits a later stage of the project.

4.4.1. Selecting the field trials locations

The potteries towns of Burslem and Fenton were identified as the two areas to be studied. Burslem was because it is a historic town which is in need of regeneration and has relatively high deprivation indicators; because key ‘players’ in the area, notably the MP, Joan Walley, and Mick Downs, head of Urban Design and Conservation at Stoke on Trent City Council, are in support of this project; and because Atkins are currently undertaking the Masterplan for the town centre and so are familiar with the area. Fenton was chosen as a comparator (see 4.4.1.2)

4.4.1.1. A brief description of Burslem

Burslem is located on the A50 just over 1 mile (2km) to the north of Hanley, the City Centre of Stoke-on-Trent. Burslem is part of the North Staffordshire Conurbation, a sub-region of 400,000 people located at the northern edge of the West Midlands region which includes the neighbouring borough of Newcastle Under Lyme. The City of Stoke-on-Trent in total has a population of 240 643. Burslem today has a population of 22 500.

The six Staffordshire towns of Tunstall, Burslem, Hanley, Stoke, Fenton and Longton, grew from small medieval villages and hamlets, located close to the Black Band Coal Measures and Etruria Marl. Pottery was produced in the area from the Roman period but from the early eighteenth century the towns became the centre of a world trade in domestic and decorative ceramics. The industry was foremost in industrial and marketing techniques, scale of output and quality of design and craftsmanship. A complex of railway and canal routes connected the Potteries with international markets. Dinner services from Staffordshire graced the tables of royal establishments across the world. Today, items from the Wedgwood, Doulton, Spode and Minton factories form key elements of ceramic collections in many of the world’s great museums. The height of the industry saw dreadful working and living conditions, with dirt, pollution, poverty and overcrowding for very many of the people of the Potteries, despite the economic benefits represented in civic buildings and municipal parks.

Burslem is the ‘mother town’ of the Potteries and it was the birthplace of Josiah Wedgwood. All the principal elements of a potteries town, the street plan, the potbanks and manufactories, the municipal buildings, churches and chapels and housing for the workers and employers, are preserved in Burslem, documenting the pottery industry and the social and economic history of the town.

The remains of 500 years or more of pottery production underlie Burslem, central core, particularly the dumps of pottery wasters and fragments. The town is also surrounded by the industrial remains and remodeled landscape resulting from the collieries, clay extraction and iron works, on which the pottery industry depended.

The surviving fabric is supported by substantial documentary and photographic evidence, held by the Potteries Museum in Hanley and others. Maps date to the eighteenth century, and there is Historic Building Survey information on key buildings within the centre of Burslem. The novels and essays of Arnold Bennett should also be regarded as supporting information, as they provide rich descriptions of the town and its events. Today, there are still many older residents of who worked in the pottery industry and recall events and details of Burslem life.

The most impressive monument to the achievements and world-wide influence of Burslem, and the other Potteries towns, for nearly three centuries is the massive assemblage of millions of ceramic artefacts to be found in museums, palaces and homes across the globe.

Burslem centre is a Conservation Area, containing some 14 listed buildings. These include the key heritage assets of the Sadler's Site, Queen's Theatre, and Printworks. The Wedgwood Institute is important for the history of design and worker education and the three bottle kilns at Bourne's Bank are the only remaining downdraught type of potters ovens. Burslem Park, opened in 1894, is on the English Heritage Register of Parks and Gardens. Most of the entries on the archaeological Sites and Monuments Records relate to dumps of factory waste, one of which was excavated by Time Team in 1996.

Owing to the decline of the pottery industry, there has been little threat from redevelopment. Recent and current threats to the heritage value of Burslem largely relate to neglect, under-use or physical failure of buildings. Indeed, other than the demolition of most of the hundreds of bottlekilns as a result of changes in technology, the lack of developer investment has meant that much of historic Burslem has largely survived intact. However, the decline has also led to the general rather abandoned air and, perhaps, the under-appreciation of the heritage resource of the town. In addition, many of the traditions and memories of the old pottery industry may be being lost, as the numbers of older residents are declining and are not replaced by a new generation of pottery workers.

During the latter half of the twentieth century Burslem has suffered depopulation, economic decline, and lack of investment. Burslem has struggled to find a clear and sustainable role within the Stoke-on-Trent conurbation. Whilst the other pottery towns have not avoided some of the difficulties experienced in Burslem, southern neighbour Hanley has increasingly developed as the retail centre. Burslem is the smallest of the six pottery towns and has struggled to find a definite role to a greater extent than the other pottery towns.

Since 1989, a series of regeneration strategies, conservation schemes and individual building studies, have sought to turn around the fortunes of the town. These studies have produced initiatives aimed at the revitalisation of the town centre by refurbishing its historic buildings, attracting new economic uses based on its industrial and cultural heritage, and developing local community involvement.

Of the traditional industries (coal, ceramics, iron and steel) on which the wealth of the potteries was founded, only ceramics now remain. Within the ceramic sector approximately 15 000 local jobs exist. The surviving ceramic manufacturers are distributed throughout the conurbation. There are however two noticeable concentrations: Longton to the south of the city producing general ware for the mass market and Burslem to the north producing more well-known “name” manufactures of specialist and collectable items.

Ceramic companies currently operating in and around Burslem include Wade, Royal Doulton, Moorcroft, Dudson, Wood and Sons, Steelite, Burgess Dorling and Leigh, Royal Stafford, Moorland Pottery, LJB Ceramics, Price and Kensington, and Arthur Wood. Most cater for collectors and operate on-site factory shops. Most are diversifying by an increasing use of design and marketing to supply niche markets; and some are outsourcing the production process, although this latter change has inherent dangers of a short life strategy.

Employment is largely generated from the manufacturing industry with a number of pottery works on the periphery of the centre. Burslem also has a number of visitor attractions including factory shops, visitor centres (including Royal Doulton and Ceramica which is due to open in 2003) and Port Vale Football Club. Unemployment in Burslem as a percentage of the workforce was 5.1% in 1996 and 3.2% in 2001. Relative to the other areas of Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem had the lowest rate of unemployment. Burslem has the lowest average weekly wage at £296.7 compared with district, regional and national levels which range from £309 to £368.

The housing stock in Burslem is characterised by a large proportion of Victorian terraced properties and older housing stock. Housing values are subdued at around £100 -125 per sq ft, which makes it difficult to create good land values or to make a proper developer’s profit without cutting corners on building cost and inevitably building quality. Other towns such as Leek, Congleton and Newcastle housing values are approximately 25% higher. Land values within Burslem are approximately £150,000 – £250,000 per acre for residential development. New housing development has to compete with existing housing stock with regard to price. Existing Victorian terraced properties can be purchased for between £20,000 - £60,000 depending on size, condition and location within Burslem. New development that has taken place does not reflect any regional identity and is mainly low density suburban housing that can be seen all over the country.

There is a need within Burslem to increase housing densities in line with Planning Policy Guidance Note 3 *Housing* which seeks densities of between 35 -50 dwellings per hectare. This is further supported by Burslem's compact town centre and range of services within easy walking distance such as the existence of good bus routes.

The pottery industry remains the major employer in Burslem, it is however a declining manufacturing industry in relation to employment. In 1996 there were 5136 people employed in the ceramic goods category, this accounted for 36% of total employment. By 2001 the number of employed had fallen to 3466 or 28.3% of total employment. The closure of a number of pottery manufacturers has led to a ring of dereliction around the town centre which severs links between outlying areas and the town centre.

Burslem is the fifth largest retail centre in the city. It has limited comparison shopping, but provides an important convenience and service role. The main shopping street focuses on Queen Street and St John's Square. Burslem also has an indoor and outdoor market. Burslem lies on a bus priority corridor (the A50) and consequently is well served by bus services. There is no bus station, however many of the bus stops and shelters have been refurbished. There is no rail link to Burslem, the nearest station being 1 mile (1.5 km) to the west at Longport.

4.4.1.2. A briefer description of Fenton

Traditionally there are six towns in the Potteries: Burslem, Hanley, Tunstall, Stoke-upon-Trent, Longton and Fenton. Arnold Bennett wrote of the Five Towns – Fenton was the one that got away. More recently, Stoke-on-Trent's map of visitor attractions shows a scattering of museums and factory shops – most notably the flagship attraction Ceramica, opened in Burslem in 2003 – across the Potteries, with the greatest number in Burslem and an virtual absence in Fenton. At the official tourist level at least, Fenton has 'no heritage', though according to the heritage community it deserves one Conservation Area and four Listed Buildings.

4.4.2. Observational research

4.4.2.1. Methods

The observational research was conducted by Steve Shaw and Peter Hinton in Burslem (Burslem South ward) and Fenton (Fenton ward), Stoke-on-Trent.

It was noted that to an outsider the towns appeared to have much in common

- a central core of relatively well preserved 19th-century civic or public buildings – mainly brick civic buildings (some stone in Burslem) and stone churches
- the historic buildings in the core interspersed with churches and chapels, relatively undistinguished later 20th-century civic and retail

- buildings with little sense of place identity (pubs, post offices, betting shops, bargain shops etc, specialist shops, eg aquaria and gemstones)
- a surrounding of evenly mixed 19th-century terraced housing, 20th-century low/medium rise (Fenton) or medium/high rise housing, industrial buildings in their original (pottery) or subsequent (mainly motor trade or storage) use, chapels, and dereliction.
- the 19th-century retail and industrial buildings, where they survive at all
- the same original function as pottery towns and a similar history of industrial expansion, contraction and economic decline

It was also noted that Fenton has fewer (still in business) restaurants and cafes.

Several indicators were researched (see Appendix 2), by surveying the towns on a street-by-street basis, recording on paper and selectively photographing evidence for material marking of the heritage. We also subjectively photographed what we liked, disliked and considered ‘typical’, and discussed how this technique could most effectively be used to elicit the perceptions and preferences of local people. The differences between ‘outsider’ and ‘insider’ marking of heritage could then be compared. We also engaged in unstructured conversation with an assistant at Ceramica, shop staff, hotel staff and a taxi driver (an Asian driver who insisted that SS should visit Ceramica – what’s the point of coming to the Potteries if you don’t learn about the pottery?).

In our work we adopted the personae of relatively unbriefed and unfamiliar external researchers (this was easy) when observing and making records, and of local residents when taking photographs (this took imagination).

We made the following observations

Location	Marking, and other observations
Burslem	
public realm	Brown plaques of the ‘Bursley Trail’ identifying buildings and streets featured – under different names – in the works of Bennett brown road signs to tourist attractions; black and gold ‘heritage’ signs to visitor attractions and civic amenities black and gold ‘heritage’ bollards and bins footprint of excavated bottle oven marked out in paving and recessed pavement lighting outside Ceramica Statue to Henry Doulton
business names	‘Etruscan’ glass (glaziers and hardware) – Etruria locally redolent of quality? ‘Hairatage’ hairdressers

	<p>'Clayhanger' crafts (artists materials)</p> <p>various 'Potteries', presumably referring to geographical origin</p> <p>various antiques shops, often with a specialism in pottery</p> <p>'Saggar Maker's Arms' – presumably not its original name</p>
street names	<p>Bennett Street</p> <p>Wedgewood Street</p> <p>Enoch Street</p> <p>Lessways Street</p> <p>Clayhanger Street</p>
housing	Fountain Court, a Staffordshire HA conversion of the former Woods Fountain Works
heritage attractions	Ceramica museum in old town hall; included oral history exhibition (must have involved building social capital), apparently sponsored displays of commercial products, high level of educational activity, reportedly mainly tourist rather than local adult visitors
shops	<p>pottery factory outlets</p> <p>selection of 2nd-hand Bennett works in Ceramica</p> <p>'Staffordshire oatcakes' illuminated sign on bakers</p>
George Hotel	<p>restaurant recently renamed 'Bennetts' after Arnold Bennett</p> <p>'Burslem oatcakes' on the menu</p> <p>display of pottery products</p> <p>historic and modern photographs of local landmarks and personages</p> <p>modern paintings of local scenes: contemporary and historic views</p> <p>tourist information</p>
library	information about local voluntary groups: various 'Potteries' titles, presumably referring to geographical origin, Arnold Bennett society, but otherwise nothing obviously devoted to local cultural heritage
local press	no obvious heritage stories
iconic landmarks	<p>the old town hall</p> <p>the 'Burslem Angel' statue on the old town hall</p> <p>the Doulton statue</p>
Fenton	
public realm	<p>black and gold 'heritage' benches and bins around war memorial</p> <p>black and gold 'heritage' signs to civic</p>

	amenities
library	closed on Wednesdays
street naming	Wedgewood Road
Both	
security	most doors to pubs and restaurants in Burslem are locked by 9.30pm; customers must wait for admission (nb 'social capital' sometimes abbreviated to 'trust'). In both Burslem and Fenton there are a lot of security grilles, locks and alarms on properties.

4.4.2.2. Analysis of the observations – usefulness of indicators, and refinements

The list of indicators, with comments against criteria C1 – C4 (see 4.4 above) is at appendix 2.

In general most of the indicators that can be addressed through observational research were found to be relatively reliable, but with a need for refinement to target them better. Most are relatively cheap and easy to research, but would need validation (as do our own researches in the field trials) by an expert in local heritage and culture, to spot misidentifications and oversights. We also know that Burslem oatcakes filled with bacon and cheese need careful handling. The indicators could measure changes over time if there is some form of quantification or mapping were to be used (see 4.4.5). Probably all would benefit from being developed and undertaken in partnership with the community, (see 5.2 and 5.4 for observations on the effect this might have on both social capital and awareness of the historic environment).

There is a need to separate marking in the sense of physically labeling (brown signs, naming etc) from mentally registering the presence and perhaps value of the historic environment. The criteria used in Burslem and Fenton were intended to do both, but clearly observational research needs to be supplemented by interactive survey for measuring perception.

Different people are marking the historic environment in different ways and to different ends. We detected evidence of valorisation: referring to the heritage to add value to the tourist economy (pottery museums), to tradition to denote quality (Etruscan glass), to cultural tradition to reinforce local identity (oatcakes – there's a tourist dimension too) and local pride (statues, naming). Commerce (including retail, hospitality, tourism and manufacturing), the local authority, voluntary and special interest groups are marking the heritage in different ways for their own purposes. Are they marking the same heritage? Some refinement or at least subdivision of the indicators could prove revealing.

The study of photographs presents some interesting issues. It may be better to have focus groups (see Armstrong 1993, 19-22, Walker 1993, 40-42 and Ramsay 1993, 28-9 for potential methodologies) discuss pictures they or their community have taken themselves. In taking the photographs we found ourselves betraying our own values in the photography (using a wide-angle lens to exaggerate the desolation of waste ground, using a long lens to compress perspective and emphasise density).

4.4.3. Interview-based research

4.4.3.1. Methods

As stated above, no formal interviews, intercept surveys or focus group discussions were carried out as part of the project. Instead, a ‘what-if’ workshop was held with expert stakeholders at Stoke-on-Trent City Council Offices.

In addition to members of the research team, participants included representatives of organisations with key interests in the communities of Burslem and Fenton.

- Kevin Birks (Stoke-on-Trent CC, Burslem Regeneration Company)
- Andrea Bradley (Atkins Heritage)
- Dave Chetwyn (Stoke-on-Trent CC, Regeneration and Community; IHBC)
- Peter Hinton (Institute of Field Archaeologists)
- Adele Landon (Joan Walley MP, representative)
- Steve Shaw (London Metropolitan University)
- Janet Simpson (Stoke-on-Trent CC, Community Facilitator Burslem South)

Invited but were unable to attend were

- Judith Barker (Advantage West Midlands)
- Mick Downs (Stoke-on-Trent CC, Urban Regeneration)
- Janet Miller (Atkins Heritage)
- Joan Walley MP

The meeting was conducted as an informal workshop, with a broad agenda to guide and structure discussions. The aims of the meeting were

- to disseminate and discuss the findings of the project so far
- to assess the scope for improving indicators so far devised
- to determine how a number of our indicators might be applied in the ‘pilot’ study areas of Burslem and Fenton
- to investigate alternative methods for assessing social wellbeing which could be compared with the ‘officially’ and ‘unofficially’ mapped heritage

4.4.3.2. Analysis of findings – usefulness of indicators, and refinements

Various potential indicators were discussed

- Members of the community could be asked to photograph six things which they felt belonged or were out of place in their town – the reasons why these were chosen could then be explored. Who to choose to take the photos? What would be a representative sample of the community?
- It would be difficult to get a representative sample, and that it might be better to target specific groups such as market stall holders or school children (who would not be influenced by preconceptions of the ‘official’ heritage – it was also noted that a school project on the Burslem angel had caused a two-week improvement in (unrelated) schoolwork). If a sample were to be chosen, then this should not focus on age or ethnicity (as some groups were bound to get left out) but perhaps on those who lived/worked in Burslem; visitors/stakeholders (business or property); those educated/retired in Burslem; and community organisations. Undue emphasis on living in a place valued for its heritage might draw artificial boundaries between living and working, and overlook the potential benefits of working in or visiting historic places.
- Members of the community could be asked (say, by means of a questionnaire or focus group discussion of images) about landmarks, or meaningful things about a place.

In Fenton, responses would be very varied, including the public square, but also depending on the person, the Thursday Market (not mapped) and the cycle and tea shop (not always open). In Burslem responses would include the ceramics industry, but might also include local shops (such as traditional butchers or greengrocers). The difficulty would therefore be getting people to think broadly enough to include elements of the ‘intangible’ heritage or ‘traditions’ of a place. Perhaps better to ask for the three best or worst things about a place, and then deduce the ‘heritage’ associations (if any) from the responses. These might refer to the Burslem Festival, the Bull’s Head, and Titanic Brewery. One could also ask people ‘what is your neighbourhood’ or ‘town’ to establish boundaries within which the community interacted at higher levels of intensity.

Key factors for valuing the historic environment may be time depth, visibility, survival, aesthetic component, contemporary significance (for whomever) and legibility, the latter potentially dependent on interpretative activities.

- Members of the community could be asked what is good or bad about a place.

It was felt that in view of the problems Burslem and Fenton are facing any questionnaires and interviews would attract a range of abrupt and robust responses...

Community comment had already been attracted as part of the development of the Burslem Masterplan, particularly about what residents liked about the area and what they wanted to see. Such data if available should always be used, and would provide a basis for testing a control.

Area Plans (produced as part of wider Community Strategy in Stoke-on-Trent, but possibly in various forms countrywide) would be worth consulting as these often include priorities for the environment (including heritage), as well as for community safety, education, lifelong learning, and health.

If community groups were approached, it might generate a valuable insight into community values. In Burslem these groups would include the Potteries Heritage Society, Burslem Community Development Trust and the Friends of Burslem Park. These groups were not felt really to represent well the community of Burslem, although the PHS included a wider range than the BCDT which was made up predominantly of professionals and non-locals. Furthermore, the influence of these groups would vary widely, and it might be that some had their own political motives which could become confused with the determination of true values. However, Area 'Fora' (of elected members, agencies and community networks) would identify these local groups, and would be able to identify those which were more representative of the community, and potential conflicts. Area Fora themselves, or youth services might be more objective bodies to consult, and would represent a broad range of concerns such as action groups and special interest groups.

In order to map community groups geographical and subject remit it would be best to work with local authority community facilitators or similar. There was not much confidence that Citizens' Panels would be representative. It would be sensible to talk too to local chambers of trade and commerce.

Enquiries could focus on the ceramic industry, to see whether responses talked about the present or the past might be revealing.

- Studies could be undertaken of people's homes, to see how the use material culture and to what extent they are affected by where they live/lived. The study of objects in peoples homes, and the way in which they use objects, such as photographs and souvenirs, might be found to represent an understanding or appreciation of the local heritage. Such studies demonstrate the ways in which people use artefacts and material culture as tools for establishing their place in the

world, thus, perhaps, preserving or restoring elements of wellbeing, leading to other quality-of-life advantages.

There are real issues of practicality around such approaches, and because of security or privacy issues such studies might best be carried out through schools or community groups. It would be essential to involve community facilitators to get the necessary introductions to potential study subjects.

- Community members might be asked ‘where would you arrange to meet a friend/stranger?’

This generally agreed to be revealing.

4.4.4. Desk-based research

4.4.4.1. Methods

Desk-based research covered official heritage designations, quality-of-life indicators based on census statistics, crime statistics based on Local Policing Unit performance reports, and heritage-based groups and societies (as an indicator of heritage-related social capital). Findings are presented at Appendix 3.

The research identified official designations represented by

- Listed Buildings
- Conservation Areas
- Scheduled Ancient Monuments
- Historic Parks and Gardens

4.4.4.2. Analysis of findings – usefulness of indicators, and refinements

The results from and methods for desk-based research also benefited from discussion by the stakeholder workshop.

Based on initial field trials, the research seems to show that the marking and appreciation of heritage in the community does not conform with official heritage mapping. For example, in Burslem, although the Conservation Area is very compact, Victorian terrace housing outside has been successfully converted to conservation standards for offices and now contributes valuable character to the local scene. This indicates the value of unofficial mapping, which perhaps distinguishes between heritage assets as marked by heritage experts based substantially on what might be considered valuable for posterity, and the heritage that may be appreciated by a community, which may be defined in terms of other values. In cases where Conservation Area Appraisals exist, it might be that additional values determined by the community have already been incorporated. Otherwise methods of determining these values need to be sought.

Generally, though, most of the ‘heritage marking’ indicators that can be addressed through desk-based (primarily internet-based researched) are cheap and easy, and capable of measurement through time. Few would directly benefit from community involvement (mapping of voluntary and special interest groups may be an exception), though the social value of a community project should not be underestimated.

Some additional forms of research might usefully include physical analysis or characterisation of space and the urban environment, focusing on the contribution made by original street patterns and open space to pedestrian permeability and convenience. The number of historic buildings providing residential or business accommodation or accommodation for key facilities (housing libraries, community projects or municipal halls etc) – or the proportion of such facilities in historic buildings – is another potential indicator. Another measurable occurrence might be the number of buildings or areas within a community receiving funding from heritage funding bodies and directly providing community facilities and benefits.

Census statistics at ward level seem too general to be helpful when looking at small areas or concentrated communities such as Burslem and Fenton, where there can be skewing or muffling of data due to collection over too wide an area. Census information at ‘output area’ level (ie for 125 houses approximately) would be more useful, and statistics from local policing units are revealing. Other ways of gathering quality-of-life indicators might include

- asking the local police force to characterise the worst areas for crime (getting below the published statistics), using maps to define zones
- asking community wardens to do likewise – they may also know areas in terms of types of housing ownership, age of occupants, poverty, domestic violence etc.
- using ‘natural neighbourhoods’ data. Natural neighbourhoods are beginning to be defined within many local strategic partnerships. They are defined by geographical boundaries such as roads, rivers or parks, information is collected for each on health, crime, poverty etc. These figures would be collected by agencies under the strategic partnership umbrella. Strategic partnerships could therefore be approached to determine if such figures exist for a particular area of study. Such areas might even be found to conform partly with historic or heritage ‘zones’ as they may also be defined by longstanding communications lines such as road or rail, or by natural features such as hills or rivers.

4.4.5. Integrating the data

Many of the attributes could usefully be mapped, both to locate them in space (and in the event of resurvey to establish trends or effectiveness of interventions, time) and to provide some quantitative data. It would also allow overlaying of ‘popular’ heritage on official ‘heritage’ maps. John Forester and colleagues at the Stockholm Environmental Institute at the University of York have already experimented with using different layers in a GIS database to overlay maps of different communities’ perceptions on official designations – for example of air

pollution in York or water rights in South Africa (reality checking for one side or the other). One advantages of this relatively inexpensive technique include the ability to compare many different datasets (for example different age groups, genders or ethnic origins of the people of Burslem and Fenton.) Another is the presentation of popular perceptions in media as presentable and authoritative as official maps. These maps would be ‘owned’ by the participants. Many of the indicators in this toolkit could be better discussed, analysed and presented using this technique, and there is a clear need for further research. Some potential partnership funds for research may have been identified.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1. About heritage

What is heritage? This question was much debated throughout the project. It became clear during the field trials that some skill would be required to disentangle the physical and intangible heritage. Burslem enjoys a parallel, literary heritage in the form of Bursley, a fictional town whose buildings and events are reflected, in a distorting mirror, in the works of Bennett. The literary heritage is marked in a different way from the historical/industrial: the EU-sponsored Bursley Trail is not matched by a Burslem Trail, for example; and it is possible that the literary heritage is stronger than the historical, but with resonance for different people. Note that the only ‘heritage labeling’ of many Burslem buildings indicates what Bennett made then into, not what they actually were. Another key part of Burslem’s heritage is its oatcakes – culinary traditions are an important part of cultural heritage.

What do people want to do with the heritage? At a political level there is a clear desire to market it for the benefit of the local community. How might this best be achieved? Is it the pottery industry or its interpretation through Bennett that is Stoke-on-Trent’s USP? What would be the effect of a television adaptation of Clayhanger set in Burslem?

In developing the agenda, and therefore in developing and selecting the indicators, there will be a need to understand and make hard choices about the different needs of the visitor and the visited in historic places – tourists support the economy, but they can also bring congestion, pollution and damage. Work on the naming of places, for example by Melanie Smith, and on the meaning of lost places by Read (1998), needs to be combined with the study of ‘heritagisation’. This would potentially make a valuable and practical contribution to current debates and discussion on how the balance can be struck between visitors and local people the use of the public realm in historic areas (c.f. Orbasli 2001, Orbasli and Shaw 2003)

What does the National Trust want to do with the heritage? The further development of the indicators will be informed by how they fit into the broader National Trust programme, *The meaning and value of heritage*, and how they will be used. That is a question for the Trust to answer, but it seems likely that they will have greatest value in demonstrating to funders, policy makers and the Trust itself the social benefits locked up in the historic environment, how they can be realised through programmes of community action and interpretation. The indicators therefore have the potential to assist in tackling the unspoken but apparently widespread perception that heritage is a middle class preoccupation and a luxury at odds irrelevant to, and unimportant in comparison with, the needs of health, education and the economy. A tougher problem for the National Trust and the heritage community generally is to demonstrate that the historic environment has the same potential for public benefit, and sympathy, as the natural environment. As Lord McIntosh (one of the two English ministers with the main historic environment remit) has said: *Great progress has been made over the past 20 years in recognising the important public interest in taking firm action to*

protect the natural environment. We now want to make similar progress to protect the historic environment, which has significance for all of us. (Power of Place debate, 2000).

5.2. About social capital

Whilst remembering that it is not the only hypothesis, much of our work on the indicators has been based around the idea that engagement in activities relating to the heritage (including passive enjoyment?) can increase social capital, and that the links between social capital and social benefits such as health, wealth and education have been demonstrated by other studies and need no repetition here.

There has been a number of imaginative projects designed to promote community enjoyment in the heritage. Some have been primarily educational, seeking to instill an awareness, then a love and then a caring for the historic environment. Arnold Bennett himself (1910) noted that the intrinsic beauty of the historic environment is not apparent to all, particularly those closest to it:

In front, on a little hill in the vast valley, was spread out the Indian-red architecture of Bursley – tall chimneys and rounded ovens, schools... the high spire of the evangelical church... the crimson chapels, and rows of little red houses with amber chimney pots, and the gold angel of the blackened Town Hall topping the whole. The sedate reddish browns and reds of the composition all netted in flowering scarves of smoke, harmonised exquisitely with the chill blues of the chequered sky. Beauty was achieved, and none saw it.

The development of Ceramica is an example. As well as interpreting the pottery heritage in a museological manner, the attention of the schools programme to different elements of the core curriculum has clear educational benefit. The oral history programme must have promoted social capital. The creation of ‘pavilions’, galleries displaying the products of local manufactories, must have levered in funding, enabling local industry to invest in a very real way in the community it is rooted in.

Another effective way of promoting understanding and valuing of the historic environment has been, often unplanned, in response to threat. The campaign to save the Rose Theatre and the BBC series *Restoration* are both examples, but community-based action has proved very successful on occasion and its potential for promoting social capital is considerable.

By involving local communities in the process of developing indicators and measuring the marking of the historic environment, we have the twin potential for creating social capital through promoting community interaction, and nurturing appreciation of the historic environment through encouraging residents to look for it and record it. Experimentally this could be problematic, as reapplication of indicators over time to measure changing awareness could easily be affected by the conduct of the project, which could generate the attributes that it is trying to record. Socially and environmentally, though, who cares?

It may be that the process of measurement may end up producing more of value than the measurements themselves.

5.3. About social benefits

Appendix 3 shows a comparison of key census and other data between the two wards.

The main differences between the two wards seem to be that Burslem enjoys slightly better educational qualifications and marginally lower reported crime (per capita) than Fenton. Yet Burslem also appears slightly less well off, with fewer cars, lower employment (but more in education), and significantly fewer owner occupiers (council housing making up the difference).

Are these differences between the two wards, which are not great, due to Burslem South's significantly larger Asian and Black population, or the higher ratio of Moslem to Christian workers? Or to Burslem's apparently richer designated and unofficially marked heritage? Or to the fact that there are 20 voluntary societies in Fenton (none obviously directly focused on heritage) and 29 in Burslem (3 with a clear heritage focus)? Can we be sure that the apparently greater social capital in Burslem relates to activities in Burslem? Are Burslem-heritage-related activities actually benefiting people in Meir Park? Or something else entirely different going on?

These questions are still to be answered, but the research has demonstrated the potential of some of the indicators to raise interesting questions, some of which in the real world could be addressed by more detailed study (see 6.2).

5.4. About the indicators

The indicators are analysed in detail in Appendix 2. Discussion with experts and stakeholders revealed that some were considered to have more potential than others, but responses were not consistent. Many disciplines seemed quite uncomfortable with the idea of observing people's reaction with the historic environment or cultural objects rather than talking to them; for others it was an obvious line of enquiry. This is not necessarily a problem for the indicators themselves, but it may indicate that when it comes to serious research it's a question of 'horses for courses', or training.

Nevertheless, it is apparent that some indicators are more practical, more reliable or more suitable for community involvement than others (see table below).

A range of methods are required to apply the indicators.

5.4.1. Desk-based research

Much of the information required for this kind of research is available on the internet. Access to information about heritage designation or activities (eg indicators I1, I18 – see Appendix 2) is via heritage portals or the local authority website; access to other statistical data (eg indicators I26, I30 and

I31) is via the local authority site, on-line census data and local policing unit statistics. Different bodies and agencies have different timescales for resurvey, but nevertheless change over time could be mapped. Work could readily be undertaken by community groups, assuming a basic level of IT competence and equipment.

In some areas statistics are now being collected on an 'output area' basis (see 4.4.4.2), which provides a smaller and more meaningful catchment area than census statistics when seeking employment, income, educational, crime, health and other statistics, particularly as efforts are being made to collect all of these data from the same area: at present many studies define their own, overlapping areas. 'Natural neighbourhoods' (see 4.4.4.2) are another useful way of parceling up the landscape, may have heritage meaning, and may be the basis for local strategic partnership surveys.

5.4.2. Observational research

Adequate techniques of observational research in the public realm can be relatively easily acquired, and requires little more than a map, clipboard, pencil, camera and receptive eyes and ears. It was used, for example, for indicators I6, I14 and I16 to assess the way in which the historic environment had been marked by local authority, retail and other concerns; repeated it could measure changes over time. Perhaps most importantly, the relative economy and ease of application make it well suited to use and development by community groups.

Methods of observational research in the public realm include recording the number of local heritage keywords in books and magazines on sale in local shops (I6), mapping local speciality products in shops (I14), plotting the presence of shop, street and pub names showing local heritage key words (I15), or counting 'brown signs'; all of these approaches would reveal unofficial or semi-official marking of the historic environment and heritage of the area.

More thought needs to be given to use of historic landscape characterisation and studies of movement in/permeability of the public realm in this context.

No attempt was made to apply observational research or other archaeological/anthropological techniques in private homes, as would be required for I10, or other adaptations of indicators used in public areas. It is clear that there would need to be significant groundwork to make the contacts, to provide reassurance and to arrange a visit. Working with community groups and facilitators would ease some of these problems, but the techniques would remain considerably more time-consuming than those undertaken in the public realm.

5.4.3. Interviews and questionnaires

No formal interviews were carried out as part of the field trials. Such interviews could take the form of

- intercept surveys in the public realm
- individual interviews in the home or community venue
- focus group discussion
- telephone survey
- questionnaires

and could be used to generate indicators such as I4, I5, I22 and I 24.

Some indicators (eg I19, I29, I21, I25b) would require the identification of key community figures; others would need input from structured samples of the community. Only for the former might telephone surveys and questionnaires be appropriate; for all others (and possibly for everyone) one should anticipate considerable resistance to such impersonal, unmediated approaches. Unless there is a need to generate analysable statistical data, focus groups would appear to be preferable, as there would be economies of scale. As discussed in 4.4.3.2, getting a representative sample of the whole community is probably an unrealistic aim; it would be more practical to target specific groups: particular age, ethnic or economic groups, those that live in, work in or visit the area in question, and so forth. Note that some of the information may already be available as a result of community strategy or masterplanning work

Community involvement in the setting up and running of focus groups would have considerable advantages. It is unlikely that focus groups based exclusively on discussion of the historic environment alone would attract many participants: it would be better to piggy-back on another event. Community development organisations and community facilitators are essential allies and stakeholders, as are area fora: Citizens' Panels may not be.

Methods to be used could include either asking focus group members

- to take their own photographs of things they liked or disliked about where they lived (I4), or be presented with photographs to rank as 'best' and 'worst' (I5 - for a discussion of the merits of each approach, see 4.4.2.2: I5 is preferred from the point of view of practicality.
- if you were arranging to meet a friend in a public place, where would you choose? (I32)
- what would make a difference to where you live? (I24)
- where do you feel safest/most at home (I27)
- how does living here now compare with 100 years ago? (I3)
- what have you gained from being involved in x heritage group; have you new skills or qualifications? (I25b)
- how many heritage-based community events a year? (I18)

5.4.4. Shortlisted indicators

With these considerations, and assessing each measure or indicator against the criteria with a score

0 = does not meet

1 = may meet, partially meets

2 = reasonably meets

3 = fully meets

provided a ranking, and (assuming ‘output area’ is read for ‘ward’), at this stage of research most favoured indicators are, therefore

	<i>Question: asked of observable phenomena or individuals (research method)</i>	<i>Indicator detected/measured in response to question (research datum)</i>	<i>Interpretation supporting or challenging the presence of an association between attributes/variables</i>	<i>Analysis against criteria</i>
I5	Study range of photos – what do you like most/least about living here? Sort	Historic structures selected from photos; discussed	Awareness of historic environment	12/12
I6	Local heritage key words in books/magazines in homes or shops	Marking	Awareness of history of place/historic environment	12/12
I14	Relevant merchandise in shops (local speciality products incl food and drink, souvenirs, branding)	Marking	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	12/12
I15	Survey of street names, pub names etc for local heritage key words	Marking	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	12/12
I16	Survey of public realm	Presence of ‘brown signs’ and plaques	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	12/12
I4	Disposable camera – photograph the five things you like most/least about Burslem – Q-sort	Historic structures recorded in photos	Awareness of historic environment	11/12
I22	Who do you know around here? Who looks out for you?	Increase in trust	Social capital: association to be explained	11/12
I25b	Discussion with key players in community heritage groups	Learning outcomes of societies – formal and informal	Skills benefits from social networks based on historic environment	11/12

			(‘increased access to life chances’)	
I28	Movement/activity survey	Level of activity in public realm	Sympathy of public realm	11/12
I32	If you were arranging to meet a friend in a public place, where would you choose?	Level of activity in public realm	Sympathy of public realm	11/12
I18	Counts of community events (heritage) per year	Walks, plays, open days, meetings, protests	Social networks based on historic environment	10/12
I19	Establish cvs of leaders	Community leaders drawing on historic environment	Social capital, skills	10/12
I20	Make up of heritage-related groups	More diverse access to other ages, classes, ethnic backgrounds etc	Diversity of social networks based on historic environment	10/12
I21	Discussion with key players in community heritage groups; local employers etc	Volunteers etc gaining employment with new found technical/social skills	Employment directly resulting from historic environment social capital	10/12
I24	What would make a difference? Could you make a difference?	Apathy	Social capital: association to be explained	10/12
I27	Where in this town do you feel most comfortable/safe/at home? Sort	Historic dimension to sense of place	Sympathy of public realm	10/12
I1	Schedule, list, conservation areas; characterisation	Designations	Historic environment (expert opinion)	9/10
I3	Ask: how does living here compare to 100 years ago?	Pottery industry etc referred to in conversation	Awareness of history of place	9/10
I11	Ranking of objects of old/new, local/non-local relevance	Marking	Perceived value of/comfort with history of place/historic environment	9/10
I12	Ranking of local attributes (old and new buildings,	Survey results	Perceived value of history of place/historic	9/10

	services etc) Q-sort		environment	
I13	What difference does it make to you to live in a place where...?	Considered important/unimportant	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	9/10
I17	Counts, eg no of community groups (of any sort) per 1000 pop	Local history societies, conservation pressure groups, museum volunteers, other involvement	Social networks based on historic environment	9/10
I22	Who do you know around here? Who looks out for you?	Increase in trust	Social capital: association to be explained	9/10
I23	Interview: Rosenberg self-esteem scale	Self-esteem	Social capital: association to be explained	9/10
I26	Ward education achievement statistics	Achievement	Association to be explained	9/10
I30	Ward health statistics	Health	Association to be explained	9/10
I31	Ward crime statistics	Crime	Association to be explained	9/10

Those scoring 10/12 – 12/12 are the primary indicators to develop, but for balance and to enable comparison, some of the indicators scoring 9/12 would also be required.

As stated above, it has become obvious that some indicators lend themselves better to community involvement; and these are prime candidates for further research. Indeed there is considerable merit in concentrating energies on those indicators that require community researchers to look at, analyse and discuss the historic environment even if they are potentially less revealing than some other, for this process has the potential to produce

- improved social capital
- greater marking and valuing of the historic environment
- improved care for the historic environment, for the benefit of the rest of society now and in the future
- ... and the benefits with which we began in 1.1.1

5.5. Achievements of Stage 1 of the project

At the beginning, we were painfully aware of the ambitious and apparently innovative nature of the project, and we were often humbled by the scale

of questions being addressed. Nevertheless, against this background, much has been achieved. Real progress has been made in realising the original aims and we believe the achievements provide a sound basis for further stages, as well as material for enhanced discussion and debate on the social benefits of heritage. The key lessons and achievements are

- Our hunch that the complexity of the issues required a multi-disciplinary team proved to be absolutely correct. The project research methods, communications and conclusions were immeasurably enriched by the inclusion of an academic expert in the social sciences in the core project team, but also by the perspectives and advice of our interviewees and workshop attendees.
- Conversely, we have stubbornly insisted throughout that we should not undertake consultation with a wider range of interested heritage parties at this stage, despite our natural inclinations to enlist support wherever it might be available and ensure that the project is itself inclusive. We recognised early on that such consultation would almost certainly shift the agenda of the project. This also proved to be a wise decision. It meant we could remain focused the key project questions
 - is the historic environment good for people?
 - how does it benefit people and how much?
 - can the benefits can be demonstrated, and measured?and press on with the research and delivering the findings.
- The original project design proposed a literature review at the beginning of the project. Tony Burton of the National Trust suggested that, instead, we should plunge right in with the research, again focus on answering the fundamental questions and fill any gaps in our knowledge as the project unfolded. This was wise advice and meant that our reading became very focused in each phase.
- We forged a coherent 'route of enquiry' through the massive range of issues, available methods and data, in order to find a means of answering the fundamental questions. Better, we remained clear about the assumptions and choices that we had to make at each step and we were able to document and communicate them to our workshop and stakeholder partners.
- We were very pleased with Burslem and Fenton as our choice for the fieldwork. Not only are the towns very close to our original ideal for exploring the project questions, we were very pleased to play some part in the forthcoming regeneration of the area. One of the objectives of the Regeneration Action Zone for the area is the preservation of the heritage of Burslem. We hope further stages of the project will allow us to remain involved in the area.
- Last but not least, we have fulfilled the key project objective. We have developed an embryonic suite of methods
 - a conceptual framework of domains
 - a range of indicators

- a range of techniques for collecting and (potentially) recording data, and for testing our hypothesis.

6. FUTURE RESEARCH

6.1. Some options for further stages of the project

The initial project proposal identified two further stages of the project

- testing or piloting the methodology
- developing further case studies, and dissemination of the findings.

Section 4.1 explains how the project has unfolded through the route of enquiry. It is clear that the project can only be developed through the process of making further choices. There is a number of options

- option 1: continue the exploration of the relationship between social capital and designated and undesignated heritage, through the expansion of the sample size
- option 2: explore in more detail the relationship between *marking* heritage and measurable benefits, perhaps through the real-world testing of proposed indicators such as face-to-face interviews, focus groups and material culture analysis, in order to understand *how* heritage and the historic environment works at an individual level
- option 3: testing the indicators over time to obtain a longitudinal study of change
- option 4: undertake further case studies, exploring how the indicators might need to be adapted or different methods chosen for work in a rural or semi-rural rather than urban environment
- option 5: pick up an alternative route of enquiry, such as greater exploration of the statistical social and economic data and a possible causal relationship with the character of the historic environment

6.2. Proposals for further stages of the project

As was identified at the stakeholder workshop, this project is highly relevant to the heritage protection review, and the current enquiry of the ODPM into regeneration and the historic environment. There is a strong need for robust empirical evidence for the contribution made by the historic environment to a range of public policy aims. This had been discussed by the Heritage Link economic value group and IHBC. The project could help raise the priority of the historic environment with RDAs and central government (as evidence compiled by CABE on the importance of design had helped raise the profile of urban design).

Potential audiences for this work therefore include

- historic environment professionals
- amenity societies
- historic environment campaigners
- planners
- architects
- sociologists
- housing developers
- community groups
- community workers

- tourism professionals
- politicians

We propose, therefore to pursue options 1-4 above, exploring further in Stages Two and Three the hypotheses that

- social capital is the key mechanism through which the benefits of living in a historic place are realised
- that the benefits are expressed in a range of established social and economic indicators, and the mechanisms measurable in some of the newly developed indicators

Stage Two would consist of

- shortly after dissemination of this report, a workshop of interested stakeholders in the historic environment (see list above) to advise on the selection of case studies and scenarios, to develop the proposals and to identify potential partners
- formal testing via one or more case studies
 - to refine the toolkit identified at Stage One, including
 - the development of a GIS-based mapping system
 - identifying appropriate urban and semi-rural testbed areas
 - exploring in more detail the potential of the methods based on focus groups
 - exploring in more detail the potential of working with community groups to use the toolkit
 - exploring the use of indicators over time to map change
 - to demonstrate the potential contribution to society of the historic environment
- holding a multi-disciplinary colloquium to present findings, develop networks and share perceptions

Stage Three

- further case studies
 - to identify practical advice on ‘putting the heritage to work where it’s needed most’
- dissemination of findings
 - a refereed, academic paper based on the colloquium and research
 - literature for use within and beyond the Trust, demonstrating the potential community benefits of the historic environment and suggesting techniques to be used to realise the potential

The proposed outputs and outcomes are

	Outputs	Outcomes
Stage 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a team of sympathetic and supportive stakeholders • results of test of the toolkits • short circulation case study report • articles in Trust and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • better understanding of the social contribution the historic environment • improved recognition of the Trust’s role in promoting effective

	Outputs	Outcomes
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> professional press summarising case study and promoting the colloquium • colloquium press releases and flyers • colloquium briefing papers, programme and delegate list • colloquium • text for National Trust Annual Report • project design for Stage 3 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • partnerships • better understanding of how to enable community groups to assess, understand and influence their historic environment
Stage 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a communication strategy for the findings, possibly including • short circulation case study reports • refereed academic paper • flyers and other publications produced with and for the Trust • practical guidance to Trust staff and others on exploiting the potential of the past to create a better future • press articles • text for National Trust Annual Report • recommendations for further action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improved communication between historic environment professionals and other sectors • recognition of the Trust's relevance to a broader cross-section of society • the opportunity for the Trust and partners <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ to support more successful communities ○ to encourage sustainable new uses for older structures and landscapes ○ to promote the skills to interrogate and value the historic environment

6.3. Application, and links to other research

As was identified at the outset and emphasised at the stakeholder workshop, this project is highly relevant to a number of other projects. They include

- the heritage protection reviews in England and Wales and the ensuing white paper
- the enquiry of the ODPM into regeneration and the historic environment (reporting March or April 2004)
- the Heritage Lottery Fund's *New life* project (Heritage Lottery Fund, undated)
- the work of ODPM, CABE, English Heritage with the Housing Market Renewal pathfinders (see also CABE undated)
- the DCMS research strategy
- the DCMS policy paper on culture and regeneration (due March 2004)
- the English Heritage policy paper on regeneration (due March 2004)

- the EH paper on regeneration as part of the Historic Environment Local Management (HELM) programme
- the work of the National Trust for Scotland
- the Heritage Link regeneration sub-group's work on promoting the potential of the historic environment to add value to economic, social and environmental regeneration
- the work of the Built Environment Forum, Scotland
- the work of IHBC
- the IFA's *Homes with history* project, supported by English Heritage and the Housing Corporation.

7. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of the research in this project has involved talking to experts in their field. The list of names to who we own thanks is therefore enormous, but those to whom we owe particular gratitude are listed below. Most of the credit for the successes of the project rests with them; responsibility for misinterpretations and errors rests squarely with the project team.

Our thanks to Nicola Andrews, Judith Barker, Barbara Bender, Kevin Birks, Tony Burton, Kate Clark, Dave Chetwyn, Frances Garnham, Gregor Hutcheon, Leonie Kellaheer, Adele Landon, Sara Northey, Mick Rowlinson, David Thackray, Jez Reeve, Janet Simpson, Jan Stockdale, Hedley Swain, Roger Thomas, Perry Walker, Joan Walley, Rob Woodside; the staff of the George Hotel, Burslem; the School of Art, Burslem and Supasnacks, Burslem.

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Armstrong H (1993) 'Post World War II immigrant places: the focus group method for heritage interpretation' in Blair (ed) 15-23

Beacham P (2001) 'Urban regeneration' in *Conservation bulletin*, **41**, 4-7

Bennett A (1910) *Clayhanger*

Bilsborough S and Hill S (2002) *Valuing our environment: the economic impact of the environment in Wales, technical summary*. Partnership Report: Cardiff

Blair S (ed) (1994) *People's places: identifying and assessing social value for communities*. Australian Heritage Commission: ACT

Bourdieu P (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Polity Press: Cambridge

Bryman A (2001) *Social research methods*. Oxford University Press: New York

CABE (undated) *Building sustainable communities: actions for Housing Market Renewal*. CABE: London

Caffyn A and Lutz J (1999) 'Developing the heritage tourism product in multi-ethnic cities', *Tourism Management*, **20**, 213-221

Coupe M (2001) 'A role in the mainstream' in *Conservation bulletin*, **41**, 12-15

DCMS & DTLR (2001) *The historic environment: a force for our future*. Department of Culture, Media and Sport & Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions: London

DCMS (2002) *People and places: social inclusion policy for the built and historic environment*. Department of Culture, Media and Sport: London

English Heritage (1999) *The heritage dividend*. English Heritage: London

English Heritage (2000) *Power of place: the future of the historic environment*. English Heritage: London

English Heritage (2002a) *The heritage dividend 2002*. English Heritage: London

English Heritage (2002b) *State of the historic environment report 2002*. English Heritage: London

English Heritage (2003) *Heritage counts 2003*. English Heritage: London

English Tourism Council (2001) *The heritage monitor*. English Tourism Council: London

Garrido (2003) 'What's the value of design?' *Property people*, 29 May 2003, 8-9

- Giddens, A (1998) *The Third Way: the renewal of social democracy*. Polity Press: Cambridge
- Goodey B (1994) 'Spreading the Benefits of Heritage Visitor Quarters', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 1 (1), 18-29
- Heritage Lottery Fund (undated (2004)) *New life: heritage and regeneration*. Heritage Lottery Fund: London
- Hill S and O'Sullivan D (2002) 'Appreciating assets: estimating the economic value of the historic environment in Wales', unpublished paper at *The historic environment of Wales – an asset for the future* conference (Cadw, National Trust, Welsh Assembly), Cwmaman, July 2002.
- Hinton P (2002) Repositioning ourselves in society, *Context*, **76**, 23-5
- Historic Scotland (2002) *Passed to the future: Historic Scotland's policy for the sustainable management of the historic environment*. Historic Scotland: Edinburgh
- Johnston, C (1993) 'Social values – overviews and issues' in Blair (ed) 5-14
- Johnston, C (1994) *What is social value?* Australian Heritage Commission technical publications series 3: ACT
- Kearns, A (2003) 'Social capital, regeneration and urban policy', in Imrie, R and Raco, A (eds.) *Urban Renaissance? New Labour, community and urban policy*. The Polity Press: Bristol
- Lenoir, R (1974) *Les exclus*. Seuil: Paris
- Loe E (2000) *The value of architecture: context and current thinking*. Royal Institute of British Architects Future Studies: London
- Lumsden and Page (Eds) (2003) *Progress in tourism and transport research: issues and agendas for the new millennium*. Pergamon: Oxford [in press]
- Middleton, V T M C (2001) *Valuing the environment: summary report*. National Trust: London
- National Trust (2001) *National Strategic Plan: summary*. National Trust: London
- National Research Council (USA) (2002) *Community and Quality of Life*. National Academy Press: Washington DC
- National Trust (2003, unpublished) 'Indicators for the historic environment' workshop: report of proceedings, September 2003
- Northern Forest Center (undated) *Northern Forest Wealth Index: exploring a deeper meaning of wealth* (www.northernforest.org/windex.htm)

- Orbasli, A (2001) *Tourists in Historic Cities*. Spon Press: London and New York
- Orbasli, A and Shaw S (2003) 'Transport and visitors in historic cities' in L. Lumsden and S. Page (Eds) 2003, 93-104
- Performance and Innovation Unit (2002) *Social capital: a discussion paper*. Performance and Innovation Unit: London
- Putnam, R (1995) 'Tuning in, tuning out: the strange disappearance of social capital in America', *Political Science and Politics*, 28 (4), 664-83
- Ramsay J (1993) 'Assessing the social value of Victoria's East Gippsland and Central Highlands forests' in Blair (ed) 25-30.
- Randall B (undated) *Affordable housing: better by good design*. The Housing Corporation: London
- Read P (1998) *Returning to nothing: the meaning of lost places*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Scottish Executive (2000) *Creating our future: minding our past, Scotland's national cultural strategy*. Scottish Executive: Edinburgh
- Shanks M (1992) *Experiencing the Past: on the character of archaeology*. Routledge: London
- Taylor, A (2003) *Homes with history*. Institute of Field Archaeologists: Reading
- Tourism Associates (1999) *Valuing our environment: a study of the economic impact of conserved landscapes and of the National Trust in the Southwest 1998*. National Trust: London
- Tower Hamlets (2002) *The community plan 2002/03*. Tower Hamlets: London
- Urban Task Force (1999) *Towards an urban renaissance: the report of the Urban Task Force*. Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions: London.
- Walker M (1993) 'Social value: meaning and action!' in Blair (ed) 39-43
- Walker P, Lewis J, Lingayah S and Sommer F (2000) *Prove it: measuring the effect of neighbourhood renewal on local people*. New Economics Foundation: London
- Welsh Assembly (2003) *Review of the historic environment in Wales*. Welsh Assembly Government: Cardiff.
- Wilson G (2001) 'Urban matters' in *Conservation bulletin*, **41**, 2-3
- Worpole K (2000) *The value of architecture: design, economy and the architectural imagination*. Royal Institute of British Architects Future Studies: London

8.1. Further reading

- Aitchison C, MacLeod N E and Shaw S J (2000) *Leisure and tourism landscapes*. Routledge: London
- Byrne D, Brayshaw H and Ireland T (undated) *Social significance: a discussion paper*. National Parks and Wildlife Service, New South Wales www.nationalparks.nsw.gov.au/PDFs/Social_significance.pdf
- Clark K (2001) 'Preserving what matters: value-led planning for cultural heritage sites' *Conservation, the GCI Newsletter*, **16.3**, 5-12
- Clark K (2001) *Value-led planning: a comparison of the work of four heritage organisations*.
- Creigh-Tyte, S (2003) *A research strategy for DCMS 2003-2005/6*. Department of Culture, Media and Sport: London
- Evans, G W (1996) 'Cultural trends in environmental psychology' *IAAP Newsletter, Fall 1996*
- Fyfe, G and Ross M (1996) 'Decoding the visitor's gaze: rethinking museum visiting' Macdonald and Fyfe (eds) 127-150.
- Glyn L (2003) 'Stopping the rot of low demand' *Property people* 9 January 2003, 8-9
- Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2001) *The environmental concerns of disadvantaged groups*
- Macdonald S and Fyfe G (eds) (1996) *Theorizing museums*. Blackwell: Oxford
- Miller J (2003) 'Putting heritage to work where it is needed most' paper for Landscape Institute *Making cities liveable* conference, Burslem, 2003
- National Trust Conservation and Policy & Strategy Directorates (2002, unpublished) *Beauty, historic environment and the meaning and value of heritage* Paper for the Executive Committee 21/11/02)
- National Trust (2003, unpublished) *Indicators for the historic environment workshop: report of proceedings, September 2003*
- National Park Service and National Trust (2002) *Developing a research agenda: a national heritage areas workshop* (20/11/02, USA) www.er.nps.gov/heritage_areas/REP?heritagesearch
- PLB Consulting Ltd 2001 *Developing new audiences for the heritage: executive summary*. Heritage Lottery Fund: London
- Rypkema D (2001) 'The economic power of restoration' paper for *Restoration and renovation* conference, Washington DC, 15/1/03
- Room @ RTPI (2002) papers for *Housing market renewal strategies for intervention* conference, Manchester 11/12/02
- Shaw S and MacLeod N E (2000) 'Creativity and conflict: cultural tourism in London's City fringe' *Tourism, culture & communication*, **2**, 165-75.
- Walker M (1998) *Protecting the social value of public places*. Australian Council of National Trusts: ACT

Appendix 1: format for semi-structured interviews with experts

Experts were given the following briefing

The objectives of the interviews are to

- 1. Explore the range of analytical tools available across a range of disciplines*
- 2. Identify the tools which will be most effective*
- 3. Understand how, when and in what circumstances the tools can be used*
- 4. Set the project within the context of similar or complementary work.*

Each interview will last c 2 hours and will be in four parts. The main body of the interview will concentrate on questions about the existence and applicability of analytical tools.

Part 1 – Introduction

The project will be briefly described and discussed.

Part 2 – The analytical tools

Questions

- 1. What is your profession's unique perspective?*
- 2. If you wanted to tease out the benefits/effects of living in a historic place (ie **what** are the effects and **how** does heritage cause the effects) how would you, as a member of your profession, go about exploring this? What methods would you use?*
- 3. What particular requirements of your methods are there to ensure that the best results can be obtained*
 - sample size*
 - timescale/phasing*
 - size of team*
 - baseline data*
- 4. What are the limitations of these methods?*
- 5. Do the methods lend themselves well to working within a recipe/toolkit of methods?*

Part 3 – Similar or complementary work

Questions

- 1. Are there any similar project/approaches that you are aware of?*
- 2. Would you recommend particular literature, websites etc?*
- 3. Are there any other individuals you recommend that we talk to?*

Part 4 – Arrangements for further consultation/involvement of experts

Appendix 2: analysis of possible indicators

Criteria against which indicators were judged

C1 Is it likely to give accurate information about the attribute we are trying to measure/detect?

C2 Can we gather data efficiently and cost effectively – and how much training investment (or commissioned expert assistance) might be required?

C3 Could it be used to track changes over time, and thus measure the impact of intervention by the historic environment or other sectors?

C4 Can the indicator be developed or refined in partnership with the community?

The potential indicators have been grouped into domains relating to *culture, community, economy, education* and *environment*. Note that some indicators can be applied to more than one domain.

	<i>Question: asked of observable phenomena or individuals (research method)</i>	<i>Indicator detected/measured in response to question (research datum)</i>	<i>Interpretation supporting or challenging the presence of an association between attributes/variables</i>	<i>Analysis against criteria</i>
	<u>Culture</u>			
I1	Schedule, list, conservation areas; characterisation	Designations	Historic environment (expert opinion)	C1: yes C2: yes; some training

				C3: yes C4: ideally not
I2	Ask: how does living here compare to 100 years ago?	Long past refer to in conversation	Awareness of time depth of place	C1: probably not C2: relatively, subject to setting up intercepts/focus group C3: yes C4: ideally
I3	Ask: how does living here compare to 100 years ago?	Pottery industry etc referred to in conversation	Awareness of history of place	C1: possibly C2: relatively, subject to setting up intercepts/focus group C3: yes C4: ideally
I4	Disposable camera – photograph the five things you like most/least about Burslem – Q-sort	Historic structures recorded in photos	Awareness of historic environment	C1: Yes, we took photos as if members of community of what we liked, disliked, thought typical and ‘out of place’. C2: It would involve some cost and capital risk; for focus group discussion it would be better to work with existing photographs, but would need facilitator, organisation of venue and focus group, facilitator, tea, film etc C3: Yes if repeated C4: Yes
I5	Study range of photos – what do you like most/least about living here? Sort	Historic structures selected from photos; discussed	Awareness of historic environment	C1: yes C2: yes C3: yes C4: Yes; see field trials 4.2.8 for values imposed by the photographer, and consider community facilitator

I6	Local heritage key words in books/magazines in homes or shops	Marking	Awareness of history of place/ historic environment	C1: Yes, but could also indicate sense of place (local word). Needs to be broken up according to context (see field trials 4.2.6) C2: Yes, observational research C3: Yes if repeated, but would need some form of mapping (see field trials 4.2.7) or quantification C4: Yes; a community survey, but would need validating by someone with expert knowledge of local history and culture
I7	Local heritage key words in conversation	Marking	Awareness of history of place/ historic environment	C1: possibly C2: relatively, subject to setting up intercepts/focus group C3: yes C4: ideally
I8	How does this place compare with X?	Comparative histories referred to in conversation	Awareness of history of place	C1: possibly C2: relatively, subject to setting up intercepts/focus group C3: yes C4: ideally
I9	How does this place compare with X?	Comparative historic structures referred to in conversation	Awareness of historic environment	C1: possibly C2: relatively, subject to setting up intercepts/focus group C3: yes C4: ideally
I10	Visit to home – talk about ornaments etc	Heritage of area reflected in objects (incl pictures) at home	Awareness of history of place/ historic environment	C1: possibly C2: potentially timeconsuming if many homes are visited , subject to setting up intercepts/focus

				group C3: yes C4: yes
I11	Ranking of objects of old/new, local/non-local relevance	Marking	Perceived value of/comfort with history of place/historic environment	C1: possibly C2: relatively, subject to setting up intercepts/focus group/home visit – easier and cheaper with focus group C3: yes C4: ideally
I12	Ranking of local attributes (old and new buildings, services etc) Q-sort	Survey results	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	C1: yes C2: relatively, subject to setting up intercepts/focus group C3: yes C4: yes
I13	What difference does it make to you to live in a place where...?	Considered important/unimportant	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	C1: possibly C2: relatively, subject to setting up intercepts/focus group C3: yes C4: ideally
I14	Relevant merchandise in shops (local speciality products incl food and drink, souvenirs, branding)	Marking	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	C1: Yes; some marking has been made manifest for commercial reasons, other for sentimental (see field trials 4.2.6), but marking is a requisite of valuing C2: Yes; observational research C3: Yes if repeated and mapped (see field trials 4.2.7) or quantified C4: Yes; a community survey (see field trials 5.2.5 on creation of social capital through measurement of indicators)

I15	Survey of street names, pub names etc for local heritage key words	Marking	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	C1: Yes, but could also indicate sense of place (local word). Needs to be broken up according to context (see field trials 4.2.6) C2: Yes, observational research C3: Yes if repeated, but would need some form of mapping (see field trials 4.2.7) or quantification. Street names change infrequently C4: Yes; a community survey, but would need validating by someone with expert knowledge of local history and culture
I16	Survey of public realm	Presence of 'brown signs' and plaques	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	C1: Yes, but shows only 'official or 'special interest group' marking and may not indicate popular awareness. C2: Yes, observational research, and comparison with official and popular tourist maps etc C3: Yes if repeated, but would need some form of mapping (see field trials 4.2.7) or quantification C4: Yes; a community survey
	<u>Community</u>			
I17	Counts, eg no of community groups (of any sort) per 1000 pop	Local history societies, conservation pressure groups, museum volunteers, other involvement	Social networks based on historic environment	C1: Can detect existence of groups; but geographical boundaries to areas of interest unlikely to correlate with ward boundaries C2: Hard to measure; relatively cheap to research – perhaps better statistic would be 'is membership/activity growing, static or shrinking' C3: Yes, especially if growth/shrinkage is

				measured C4: Most effectively conducted by locals who can supplement library and internet searches; and can consult with membership secretaries etc
I18	Counts of community events (heritage) per year	Walks, plays, open days, meetings, protests	Social networks based on historic environment	C1: Can detect existence of events; but geographical boundaries to areas of interest unlikely to correlate with ward boundaries C2: Yes C3: Yes C4: Most effectively conducted by locals who can supplement library and internet searches; and can consult with events secretaries etc
I19	Establish cvs of leaders	Community leaders drawing on historic environment	Social capital, skills	C1: yes, best done by interview C2: yes, relatively C3: yes C4: not easily?
I20	Make up of heritage-related groups	More diverse access to other ages, classes, ethnic backgrounds etc	Diversity of social networks based on historic environment	C1: yes, best done by interview C2: yes, if prepared to go on perceptions of eg membership secretary C3: yes C4: not easily?
I21	Discussion with key players in community heritage groups; local employers etc	Volunteers etc gaining employment with new found technical/social skills	Employment directly resulting from historic environment social capital	C1: yes C2: yes, if prepared to go on perceptions C3: yes C4: not easily?
I22	Who do you know around here? Who looks out for	Increase in trust	Social capital: association to be	C1: yes C2: yes, subject to setting up intercepts/focus

	you?		explained	groups C3: yes C4: yes
I23	Interview: Rosenberg self-esteem scale	Self-esteem	Social capital: association to be explained	C1: yes C2: yes, subject to setting up intercepts/focus groups C3: yes C4: ?
I24	What would make a difference? Could you make a difference?	Apathy	Social capital: association to be explained	C1: possibly C2: yes, subject to setting up intercepts/focus groups C3: yes C4: yes
I25	Participation in elections	Citizenship	Social capital: association to be explained	C1: Yes, but there are other factors C2: Yes C3: Yes C4: Not really
	<u>Economy</u>			
I21	Discussion with key players in community heritage groups; local employers etc	Volunteers etc gaining employment with new found technical/social skills	Employment directly resulting from historic environment social capital	C1: yes C2: yes, if prepared to go on perceptions C3: yes C4: not easily?
I14	Relevant merchandise in shops (local speciality products incl food and drink,	Marking	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	C1: Yes; some marking has been made manifest for commercial reasons, other for sentimental (see field trials 4.2.6), but marking is a requisite of valuing

	souvenirs, branding)			C2: Yes; observational research C3: Yes if repeated and mapped (see field trials 4.2.7) or quantified C4: Yes; a community survey (see field trials 5.2.5 on creation of social capital through measurement of indicators)
I22	Ward average earnings statistics	Wealth	Association to be explained	C1: Not really; output areas better C2: other measures of home and car ownership readily available from census data C3: Yes C4: Not really
I23	Ward employment statistics	Employment	Association to be explained	C1: Not really; output areas better C2: Yes C3: Yes C4: Not really
I24	New business start-ups	Economic performance/confidence	Association to be explained	C1: yes, but association to be explained yes C2: ? C3: yes C4: ?
	<u>Education</u>			
I19	Establish cvs of leaders	Community leaders drawing on historic environment	Social capital, skills	C1: yes, best done by interview C2: yes, relatively C3: yes C4: not easily?
I25	Discussion with key players in community	Learning outcomes of societies – formal and	Skills benefits from social networks based	C1: yes, best done by interview C2: yes, relatively

	heritage groups	informal	on historic environment ('increased access to life chances')	C3: yes C4: yes
I26	Ward education achievement statistics	Achievement	Association to be explained	C1: Not really; output areas better C2: Yes C3: Yes C4: Not really
	<u>Environment</u>			
I27	Where in this town do you feel most comfortable/safe/at home? Sort	Historic dimension to sense of place	Sympathy of public realm	C1: yes, potentially C2: yes, subject to setting up intercepts/focus groups C3: yes C4: yes
I28	Movement/activity survey	Level of activity in public realm	Sympathy of public realm	C1: yes, potentially C2: yes C3: yes C4: yes
I32	If you were arranging to meet a friend in a public place, where would you choose?	Level of activity in public realm	Sympathy of public realm	C1: yes, potentially C2: yes, subject to setting up intercepts/focus groups C3: yes C4: yes
I15	Survey of street names, pub names etc for local heritage key words	Marking	Perceived value of history of place/historic environment	C1: Yes, but could also indicate sense of place (local word). Needs to be broken up according to context (see field trials 4.2.6) C2: Yes, observational research

				C3: Yes if repeated, but would need some form of mapping (see field trials 4.2.7) or quantification. Street names change infrequently C4: Yes; a community survey, but would need validating by someone with expert knowledge of local history and culture
	<i>Mixed</i>			
I29	What difference does it make to other people to live in a place where...?	Considered important/unimportant	Perceived relevance of history of place/historic environment	C1: Probably not C2: C2: yes, subject to setting up intercepts/focus groups C3: yes C4: possibly
I30	Ward health statistics	Health	Association to be explained	C1: Better at output area level C2: Yes, at a very basic level C3: Yes C4: Not really
I31	Ward crime statistics	Crime	Association to be explained	C1: Available at LPU level, should also ask police for fine tuning C2: Yes C3: Yes C4: Not really

General note on criterion 3: the ability to measure change over time will potentially be affected if when interviewing residents, different ‘sorts of’ people are asked than, say, 3 years before.

Appendix 3: ward comparison based on desk-based research of quality-of-life indicators, voluntary groups and ‘official heritage’ designations

Population (2001 census)

Burslem South: 12,071

Fenton: 12,194

Gender % (2001 census)

	Burslem South	Fenton	Stoke-on-Trent	England and Wales
Male	49	49	49	49
Female	51	51	51	51

Age % (2001 census)

	Burslem South	Fenton	Stoke-on-Trent	England and Wales
Under 16	21.5	21.4	19.9	20.2
16 to 19	5.3	4.8	5.4	4.9
20 to 29	14.2	13.6	13.5	12.6
30 to 59	39.2	41.5	40.1	41.5
60 to 74	11.8	11.4	13.4	13.3
75 and over	8.0	7.3	7.6	7.6
Average age	37.3	37.3	38.4	38.6

Marital status (2001 census)

	Burslem South	Fenton	Stoke-on-Trent	England and Wales
Single (never married)	31.6	31.1	30.2	30.1
Married or re-married	44.4	46.5	48.9	50.9
Separated	3.4	2.8	2.4	2.4
Divorced	10.2	10.3	8.8	8.2
Widowed	10.5	9.4	9.7	8.4

Ethnic group % (2001 census)

	Burslem South	Fenton	Stoke-on-Trent	England
White	85.5	96.3	94.8	90.9
of which White Irish	0.3	0.2	0.4	1.3
Mixed	1.9	1.0	0.9	1.3
Asian or Asian British	10.6	2.3	3.5	4.6
Indian	0.1	0.7	0.5	2.1
Pakistani	7.8	1.3	2.6	1.4
Bangladeshi	2.0	0.3	0.2	0.6
Other Asian	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.5
Black or Black British	1.5	0.3	0.4	2.1
Caribbean	0.8	0.2	0.3	1.1
African	0.2	0.0	0.1	1.0
Other Black	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.2

Religion % (2001 census)

	Burslem South	Fenton	Stoke-on-Trent	England and Wales
Christian	66.3	75.5	74.7	71.8
Buddhist	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3
Hindu	0.0	0.2	0.2	1.1
Jewish	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Muslim	10.7	1.7	3.2	3.0
Sikh	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.6
Other religions	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3
No religion	14.4	13.9	13.4	14.8
Religion not stated	8.1	8.0	8.0	7.7

Health and provision of care % (2001 census)

self assessed	Burslem South	Fenton	Stoke-on-Trent	England and Wales
Good	60.1	62.9	63.0	68.6
Fairly good	24.8	24.1	24.1	22.2
Not good	15.1	13.0	12.8	9.2
With a limiting long-term illness	26.0	23.1	23.9	18.2
Provided unpaid care	10.3	10.5	11.2	10.0

Economic activity % (2001 census)

	Burslem South	Fenton	Stoke-on-Trent	England and Wales
Employed	51.4	59.1	54.5	60.6
Unemployed	4.9	4.1	4.0	3.4
Economically active full-time students	2.2	1.8	2.7	2.6
Retired	12.0	11.6	14.0	13.6
Economically inactive students	4.2	3.2	5.1	4.7
Looking after home/family	8.4	6.1	6.3	6.5
Permanently sick or disabled	11.3	9.9	9.6	5.5
Other economically inactive	5.6	4.1	3.9	3.1

Qualifications % (2001 census)

	Burslem South	Fenton	Stoke-on-Trent	England and Wales
Had no qualifications	46.7	45.0	42.9	29.1
Qualified to degree level or higher	8.4	6.6	9.9	19.8

Housing and households % (2001 census)

	Burslem South	Fenton	Stoke-on-Trent	England and Wales
One person households	37.4	34.6	31.5	30.0
Pensioners living alone	15.2	15.8	15.4	14.4
Other All Pensioner households	6.5	6.7	8.6	9.4
Contained dependent children	29.6	30.8	29.5	29.5
Lone parent households with dependent children	8.8	9.1	7.7	6.5
Owner occupied	58.1	68.4	65.2	68.9
Rented from Council	18.6	13.8	19.5	13.2
Rented from Housing Association or Registered Social Landlord	8.2	4.6	5.0	6.0
Private rented or lived rent free	15.1	13.2	10.4	11.9
Without central heating	14.2	15.9	9.3	8.5
Without sole use of bath, shower or toilet	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.5
Have no car or van	44.4	38.6	34.6	26.8
Have 2 or more cars or vans	12.4	15.1	20.2	29.4
Average household size (number)	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.4
Average number of rooms per household	4.8	4.8	5.0	5.3

Crime (Stoke LPU performance report Apr – Dec 2002)

	Burslem	Fenton
population	46,646	35,050
violent crime	873	722
domestic burglary	323	259
vehicle crime	645	456
public disorder	3196	3036
nuisance disorder	2114	2122
serious/fatal RTA	10	7

Voluntary groups (Stoke-on-Trent library database)

Burslem	Fenton
29 (3 heritage)	20 (0 heritage)

Historic environment (various)

	Burslem South	Fenton
Listed buildings	23 (approx – some may be in other wards)	4
Conservation areas	1	1
Scheduled monuments	0	0